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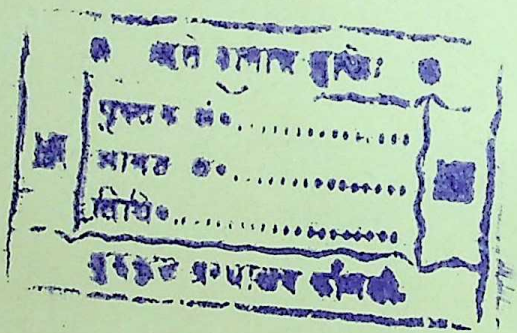



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VOLUME IV

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# JOURNAL

OF THE

# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

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## LETTERS

VOLUME IV

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गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
हरिद्वार

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*Volume IV*, 1938.

ARTICLE No. 1.

# The Dialects of the Khaśālī Group.

By SIDDHESHWAR VARMA.

The discovery of the 'Khasālī' dialect was announced by me before the session of the Oriental Conference held at Lahore in 1928. I then named it the Khasālī[1] (not Khaśālī) dialect, and suggested that it was a sub-dialect of Bhadarwāhī.

I undertook another tour in 1930 to the region where it is spoken. This tour has established the following results :—

(1) The dialect should be called 'Khaśālī', not Khasālī. For it is called Khaśālī by the speakers themselves as well as by their Bhadarwāhī neighbours. The [ś] is consistent with the treatment of OIA. [ś] in this dialect, which has preserved it, cf. Khaś. [dʌʃ] 'ten', [ʃun`ɑ] 'dog'. The official Ḍogrī name is 'Khassālī'.

(2) Khaśālī is not a sub-dialect of Bhadarwāhī but is the representative of a number of dialects which in pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammatical structure are considerably different from Bhadarwāhī.

## WHERE SPOKEN.

These dialects are spoken in a valley which may be called 'the Raggī valley', fed by the stream Raggī and its tributaries. This stream Raggī falls into the Chenab at a point about 10 miles west of Ḍoḍā (the dialect of which, the Sirājī of Ḍoḍā, has been described in L.S.I., Vol. VIII, Part ii), and about 30 miles west of Bhadarwāh town. Politically, the Raggī valley has two divisions : (1) Marmat-Galliāṇ, (2) Rudhār.

(1) Marmat-Galliāṇ—(phonetically [`mʌrmət-gəl,ljɑṇ]), now a part of the Udhampur District in Jammu Province, was originally a possession of the Galliāṇ Rajputs who came from Chamba, where they had founded a settlement named

---

[1] Vide the *Proceedings of the Sixth Oriental Conference*, paper on the 'Neuter Gender in Bhadarwāhī', footnote on the first page of the paper.



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Galli.[1] Marmat-Galliāṇ is thus the official name of the region. But the inhabitants call the region Khāśāl *and* Marmat. The former, called Khāśā by the Bhadarwāhī people, is situated in the north, being bounded by the river Chenab on the north, Bhadarwāh on the east, and Rudhār on the west.

The people of Khaśāl are called Khaś in Bhadarwāhī and Khas in Ḍogrī, and Ḍogrī and Bhadarwāhī folklore is full of the stories of the savage simplicity of these people in the past, though now they have become considerably civilized.

The Marmat region is situated in the south of Khaśāl and touches the boundaries of Bhadarwāh in the east, Rāmnagar in the south, and Rudhār in the west.

(2) Rudhār, the popular etymology of which is [rudra-dhārā] 'Rudra's mountain', is a division of Chineni Jāgīr. It constitutes a lofty ridge overlooking the western bank of the Raggi on one side, and another stream 'Ṭhaṇḍā Pāṇī' on the other side.

## The Number of Speakers.

It is difficult to form an estimate of the correct number of speakers, for in official circles these dialects are called 'Bhadarwāhī or Kashmīrī'—Bhadarwāhī being the *lingua franca* of these valleys, though each valley preserves its own dialect. The difficulty is further enhanced by the mixed nature of the population. The Muslims speak Kaśmīrī or Bhadarwāhī; the Hindus, if not Ḍogras, speak the dialects in question. But as the number of Hindu Ḍogra settlers in the valleys is increasing every year, the census figures showing the number of 'Hindus' cannot give an exact idea of the particular dialect spoken by a certain group of Hindus. In official documents[2] the language of the whole region of Marmat-Galliāṇ has been called 'Khassālī, i.e. Bhadarwāhī and Kashmīrī'.

Roughly calculated, however, the total number of speakers may be about 2,210, based on the following figures:—

(1) Khaśālī. The number of Hindus in Khaśāl (according to the official documents mentioned

---

[1] I owe the above information to the courtesy of Ṭhākur Gopāl Singh, the hereditary Ṭikkā of Marmat-Galliāṇ.

[2] Supplied to me by Ṭhākur Dhruv Singh, Wazir Wazarat, Udhampur District.

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above) is 2,339. Of these, about 800 may be speaking Ḍogrī and the rest Khaśālī. So the number of Khaśālī speakers may be about 1,500.

(2) Rudhārī. In Rudhār, according to the calculation made by the Zaildar of the tract, the total number of houses in which Rudhārī is spoken is 144. Taking 4 persons as the average number inhabiting each house, the number of Rudhārī speakers may be about 600.

(3) Marmatī, Śeuṭī and Sunḍh͡lāsī (being the other dialects discovered), according to the statements of their respective Numberdars, are spoken by about 40, 40, and 30 persons respectively.

So the figures roughly stands as follows :—

| *Dialect.* | *Number of speakers.* |
|---|---|
| Khaśālī .. .. | 1,500 |
| Rudhārī .. .. | 600 |
| Marmatī .. .. | 40 |
| Sunḍh͡āsī .. .. | 30 |
| Śeuṭī .. .. | 40 |
| Total .. | 2,210 |

## General Characteristic Features.

The following general features of these dialects, as distinguished from Bhadarwāhī, may be mentioned :—

I. Pronunciation.

Phonetically, the following points may be noted :—

(1) The occurrence of a phenomenon which I may call 'non-acoustic articulation'. In a word like Southern Khaśālī ['bɐ̨ɕhrᵘɑ̃] 'calves', there is a rounding of the lips after the phonation of [ɕh], but the [ᵘ] transcribed hereafter is not heard. If, however, the speaker is asked to describe very slowly what he has actually pronounced, then he says [bɐ̨ɕhɽu-ɑ̃]. Again, in Śeuṭī the peculiar consonants [ḍ͡l, ḍh͡], so frequent in Bhadarwāhī, are heard as l, though the tongue approximately touches the points of articulation of ḍ, ḍh as well, cf. Śeuṭī ['lɑṭi] (narrow transcription ['(ḍ)lɑṭi]) 'sickle', [ˌluɽnu] (narrow transcription [(ḍh)luˌɽnu]) 'to pluck grass'.

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In Bhadarwāhī no such phenomenon has come to my notice, though in Bhalesī I have noticed it occasionally, as in the word ['mɑʈʈhu] 'boy'. The word for 'calves' is a straightforward ['bʌɕhṛɑ̃]. Similarly as regards Bhad. ['d̠͡lɑti] 'sickle' and ['d̠͡hl̥u, ṛnu] where d̠͡l and d̠͡hl̥ are heard much more clearly.

(2) A word like ['bɐɕhṛuɑ̃], as noted above, also indicates the preservation, in some of these dialects, a pre-Bhadarwāhī vocalic system. This is further confirmed by the Static Participle forms in Rudhārī, which preserves a pre-Bhadarwāhī vowel-system, while Khaśālī indicates a post-Bhadarwāhī stage.

Thus we have

(*a*) for 'arrived':—

| | |
|---|---|
| Rudh. | 'ʌorɑ |
| Bhad. | 'ɸro |
| Khaś. | 'urɑ |

(*b*) for 'eaten':—

| | |
|---|---|
| Rudh. | 'khʌorɑ |
| Bhad. | 'khɸro |
| Khaś. | 'khurɑ |

(3) The absence of mixed vowels.

Bhadarwāhī has mixed vowels like French ɸ and y, as in ['rɸʈʈi] 'two loaves', ['ɟyɟi] 'two caps'. There is no such vowel in these dialects.

(4) Significant nasality.

(*a*) In words like

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | `ɑ | (Khaś.) | 'we (men)'. |
| but | `ɑ̃ | (Khaś.) | 'we (women)'.[1] |
| | tũ | (Khaś.) | 'thou'. |
| but | tu | (Khaś.) | 'you'. |

(*b*) 'sitɑ (Khaś.) 'name of a boy named Sītā'.
'sitɑ̃ (Khaś.) 'name of a girl named Sītā'.

(5) The various 'gradations' of nasalization in these dialects constitute a very interesting subject. We have on the one hand Northern Khaśālī, which would nasalize the finals of even (fem. pl.) adjectives, as in North Khaś. ['roṛī

[1] For gender in Personal Pronouns, see below, page 8.

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'ghoṛī] 'good mares'. On the other extreme is Rudhārī, which has a great aversion to nasality. In oblique cases (except in pronouns), Rudhārī has entirely discarded the plural number, thus ['ghoṛeṣẹi] means at the same time 'with the horses' and 'with the horse', and only the context could tell whether the speaker means one or many horses. The corresponding pl. form in Khaś. is ['ghoṛẽṣẹi].

Between these two extremes there occurs a wide divergence in the intensity of nasality. In the Marmati dialect it is only after frequent repetition of a nasalized word that the nasality is actually heard; while in the investigation of Śeuṭī I had to put my hand near the noses of the speakers in order to feel the emission of the breath in the articulation of the nasal sounds. Only an elaborate apparatus could bring out accurately these interesting gradations.

(6) In the consonantal system, these dialects have more or less preserved the stage anterior to the peculiar Bhadarwāhī consonants [d̥͡h̥̤, ṭ̥͡ʂ̤, ḍ̥͡ʐ̤]. Low Rudhārī, a sub-dialect of Rudhārī, has preserved this stage consistently, and its vocabularies throw interesting light on the etymology of Bhadarwāhī. Cf.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Low Rudh. | 'bhrʌbbu | |
| Khaś., Śeuṭ., Marm. | 'bhrẹbbu | |
| Bhad. | 'd̥͡h̥̤ẹbbu | 'brown beer'. |
| Low Rudh. | trɪʃ | |
| Bhad. | ṭ̥͡ʂ̤ɪʃ | 'thirst'. |
| Low Rudh. | bɪɑl | |
| Bhad. | ḍ̥͡ʐ̤ʌòʑ | 'early night'. |
| Low Rudh. | 'drʌknɑ | |
| Bhad. | ḍ̥͡ʐ̤ʌknu | 'to boil'. |

(7) Nearly all these dialects, as distinguished from Bhadarwāhī, have a tendency to change an intervocalic or suffixal [k] to [g̊, g or g̃]; thus while in Bhad. we have ['ghoṛekɑ] 'near the horse', in these dialects the expression (with the same meaning) is pronounced by some ['ghoṛeg̊ɑ], by others ['ghoṛegɑ], and by many others ['ghoṛegɑ], which seems to be the most frequent, except in Rajput Rudhārī. A striking example of this tendency is the verb ['gẹnnu] 'to do', the original [k] of which in these dialects has become [g], as this

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verb is often used as an auxiliary, e.g. in the Durative Continuous Tense, cf. Khaś. group [khɑe 'gẹttɑ] 'he is eating', but the initial [k] of other verbs, such as [kəmaṇu] 'to accomplish', [ˋkılnu] 'to cry', ['kuṭṭnu] 'to strike', remains unaffected. In Low Rudhārī, in fluent speech, the original [k] of ['gẹnnu], i.e. ['kẹnnu], entirely disappears, and by syncopation a new suffix seems to have arisen; thus Low Rudh. ['ʊḍre 'kẹtti] 'is flying' becomes in fluent speech ['ʊḍreti]. No such change occurs in Bhadarwāhī.

(8) Though an occasional treatment of OIA. [kṣ] in these dialects is, as in Bhad. [ch] or [ɕh], cf. Khaś. [ɕhɛṭ͡ṭ], 'rice-field', ['lʌcchu] 'name of a girl (Lakṣmī)', these dialects seem to have a more predominant tendency to [kh]. Cf.

| *Khaś. group* | *Bhad.* | |
|---|---|---|
| 'mɑkhi | 'mɑɕhi | 'bee'. |
| rıkkh | ıɕh | 'the bear'. |
| 'ɑkhe | 'ɑɕhã | 'strawberry'. |
| bəkhornu | bəɕhoṛnu | 'to dishevel hair'. |
| ʌkkh | ʌɕh | 'eye'. |

II. In Vocabulary, there are certain shibboleths which distinguish these dialects from Bhadarwāhī. A few of these may be noted :—

'where ?'—

| | |
|---|---|
| ˋkɔṛi | (Bhad.) |
| kẹ̀ṛi | (Marm.) |
| ˋkʌṛi | (Khaś.) |

'somewhere'—

| | |
|---|---|
| kɔskoi | (Bhad.) |
| kocch | (Khaś.) |
| koɲch | (Marm.) |

'firewood'—

| | |
|---|---|
| 'ɕoṛi *or* 'coṛi | (all dialects of Khaś. group) |
| kè̤ṛu | (Bhad.) |

'abuse'—

| | |
|---|---|
| 'dʌggɑ̃ | (all dialects of Khaś. group) |
| gɛi | (Bhad.) |

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'to be lost'—

'ghʌɟɟnu (all dialects of Khaś. group: Rudh. ['ghʌɟɟnɑ])
hɪ'roṇu (Bhad.)

'to rant in sleep'—

'pʌṇɕnu *or* 'pʌṇɕhnu (Khaś.)
'pʌṇʃnu (Marm.)
sup'nõnu (Bhad.)

'to shut the eyes'—

'ɕɪmni ('ʌkkhĩ) (all dialects of Khaś. group)
'pundni (ɛ̀ɕhi) (Bhad.)

'to stick to' (spoken of mud)—

'pʌlcnu (all dialects of Khaś. group: Rudh. ['pʌlcnɑ])
'khʌttnu (Bhad.)

III. Grammatically, the following points are worthy of note:—

(1) Corresponding to the final ā of Hindī words like [*ghoṛā*], [*merā*], etc., the Bhad. vowel is [o], but in all the dialects concerned the final vowel is [ɑ]. Cf.

| | *Bhad.* | *Khaś. group.* |
|---|---|---|
| 'horse' | 'ghoṛo | 'ghoṛɑ |
| 'my' | 'mero | 'mɛrɑ |
| 'black' | 'kɑlo | 'kɑ̰lɑ |
| 'was' | thio | thìɑ |

(2) The Khaś. group, except Rudhārī, has, like Bhad., the neuter gender, but not only does the group as a whole generally differ from Bhad. in certain aspects of the neuter, individual members of the group also mutually differ in their treatment of the OIA. neuter.

Thus the Khaś. group (except Rudhārī, which has no neuter gender) has, like Bhad., consistently a neuter adjective before every *singular* neuter noun, e.g. ['bʌḍḍu ghʌr] 'a large house', ['lʌmmu ʃɪŋg] 'a long horn', but no member of the group has neuter adjective in the *plural* number. Cf. Bhad. ['bʌḍḍã 'ghʌrã] 'large houses', but Khaś.-Marm. ['bʌṛe 'ghʌrã]; Bhad. ['lʌmmã 'ʃɪŋgã] 'long horns', but Khaś.-

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Marm. ['lʌmme 'ʃɪŋgã]. The treatment of plural participles and plural verbs formed of participles is similar. Cf. the following neuter plurals :—

| | *Bhad. neut. sg.* | *Bhad. neut. pl.* | *Khaś. neut. sg.* | *Khaś. neut. pl.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 'came' | ęũ | ã | ʌũ | ɑe |
| 'gave' | 'dɪttu | 'dɪttã | 'dɪttu | 'dɪtte |

As regards the indef. pres. tense singular, the Khaś. group is more strict than Bhad. in the treatment of the neuter singular. Thus while in Bhad. the neuter sg. preś. indef. tense of ['bhoṇu] 'to be' is optionally ['bhote] ([te] being properly the termination of the masc.) or ['bhotu], the Khaś. group has *necessarily* the neuter termination [tu], i.e. the form in this group is ['bhõotu] (Khaś.-Marm.) or ['bhõdu] (Śeuṭ.), the masc. termination being [tɑ].

Again, the Khaś. neuter pl. of demonstrative pronouns is more distinctive than its Bhad. correspondent. For while Bhad. has ['tęnã] 'they', ['ɪnã] 'these', ['ʊnã] 'those', both when neuter or masc. objects are meant, Khaś. uses these forms for neuter only, the corresponding masc. forms being [tęn], [ɪn], and [ʊn].

The individual members of the Khaś. group also vary in their treatment of the neuter gender. Thus Śeuṭī has the neuter only of *singular*, not of plural nouns, e.g. the nom. acc. plural of [ghʌr] both in Khaś. and Marm. is ['ghʌrã], but in Śeuṭ. it is [ghʌr], though before the *singular* [ghʌr] Śeuṭī would use the neuter adjective. Cf. Śeuṭ. ['bʌṛu ghʌr] 'a big house', but ['bʌṛɑ hʌtt] 'a big hand' (masc.). Marmati follows Bhad. in the treatment of neut. plural pronouns. Cf. Marm. [`tęṇã] 'they', [`ɪṇã] 'these', [`ʊṇã] 'those'.

(3) Another striking feature which these dialects share with Bhad. is the distinction of gender in personal pronouns, though in the nom. pl. only. But the forms differ. Cf.

| | *Bhad.* | *Khaś.* | *High. Rudh.* | *Marm. Sun.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 'we (men)' | ʌs | `ɑ | `ɑ | ʌs |
| 'we (women)' | 'ʌsã | `ã | `ɑ (no diff.) | 'ʌsã |
| 'you (men)' | tʊs | tu | tu | tʊs |
| 'you (women)' | 'tʊsã | `tʊã | `tʊɑ | 'tʊsã |

Low Rudh. and Śeuṭ. do not possess this distinction.

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(4) A feature which is common to all the dialects of the Khaś. group but is absent in Bhad. is the fact that the oblique of all non-feminine nouns ending in consonants has the suffix [ɑ], and of those ending in [ɑ] has the suffix [e], thus the instrumental sg. of the word [ghoṛ], which means 'a stone' both in Khaś. and Bhad. groups, is in Khaś. group ['ghoṛɑ sɐ̨ī], 'with a stone', but of ['ghoṛɑ] 'horse' it is ['ghoṛe sɐ̨ī] 'with a horse'. In Bhad., however, ['ghoṛe sɐ̨ī] is the form in both the senses, and only the context will show whether Bhad. ['ghoṛe sɐ̨ī] means 'with a horse' or 'with a stone'.

(5) The dative postposition [ni] (or n), as in Churāhī, is used in Khaś. group, but Bhad. has [ɟo] (which is, like the genitive, adjectival). Cf. Khaś. ['ghoṛeni] 'to the horse', but Bhad. ['ghoṛeɟo].

(6) The locative postposition in all these dialects is different from that in Bhad. The leading dialects, viz. Khaśālī and High Rudhārī, together with Śeuṭī, have [tɪr], while Bhad. has [puṛ]. Cf. Khaś., High Rudh., Śeut. ['ghoṛe tɪr] (actually pronounced [ghoṛe ḍɪr (or dɪr)]) but Bhad. ['ghoṛepuṛ] 'on the horse'. Of the other dialects in the Khaś. group, Low Rudh. has ['bʌle], Nālā Rudh. [ʊr], Marm. [bʌl], and Sun. [bər].

(7) Another feature, which is common to the leading dialects of this group, but is absent in Bhad., is that in the oblique of all nouns and adjectives ending in [i], the [i] is changed in [ɪɑ] or [iɑ], while in Bhad. it is [ɑ̃] or [i]. Cf. the following examples:—

'thy mare struck me'—

| | |
|---|---|
| Khaś. | 'teɪrɪɑ 'ghoṛɪɑ ʌũ 'mɑrɑ |
| Rudh. | `toriɑ 'ghoṛiɑ ʌũ 'mɑrɑ |
| Śeuṭ. | `tirɪɑ ˏkuṛɪɑ ʌũ 'mɑrɑ |
| Bhad. | 'terɑ̃ 'ghɸṛɑ̃ ʌũ 'mɑrɑ |

'he made a sign with the finger'—

| | |
|---|---|
| Khaś. | 'tɐ̨ni 'ɐ̨ŋgulɪɑsɐ̨ī ˏsart gi |
| Rudh. | 'tɐ̨ni 'ʌŋguliɑsɐ̨ī sart gi |
| Bhad. | 'tɐ̨ni 'ɐ̨ŋgulisɐ̨ī sarth kɪũ |

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'with great pleasure'—

| | |
|---|---|
| Khaś. | 'bʌṛɪɑ 'khuʃɪɑseʲĩ |
| Rudh. | 'bʌṛiɑ 'khuʃiɑseʲĩ |
| Bhad. | 'boṛi khuʃiseʲĩ |

(8) The negative pres. indef. tense in Bhad. is formed from the subjunctive present, to which the negative particle is added, e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| ʌũ nə gẹĩ | 'I do not go'. |
| ʌũ nə bhɸĩ | 'I do not become'. |

In Khaś. group the negative present is formed from the present indef. tense, the corresponding sentences in these dialects being—

| | |
|---|---|
| Khaś. | ʌũ `nãi `gatha |
| Marm.[1] Rudh. | ʌũ `nãi `gata |
| Śeut. | ʌũ `nãi `gada |

Similarly:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Marm.[1] Khaś. | ʌũ `nãi 'bhãota |
| Rudh. | ʌũ `nãi 'bhõta |
| Śeuṭ. | ʌũ `nãi 'bhõda |

(9) The terminations of the pres. indef. tense in these dialects are simpler, viz. masc. sg.[2] [tɑ], masc. pl. [te]; but in Bhad. they are

| *Masc. sg.* | *Masc. pl.* |
|---|---|
| 1. tã | təm |
| 2. tɑ | təth |
| 3. te | tən |

e.g. Khaś. group ['mʌrtɑ], ['mʌrte] (all persons), but Bhad.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. 'mʌrtã | mʌrtəm |
| 2. 'mʌrtɑ | mʌrtəth |
| 3. 'mʌrte | mʌrtən |

---

[1] When a feeling of anger or humour is to be indicated, Marm. uses the subjunctive:—

ʌũ nə `gã 'I don't go!'

[2] After verbs ending in vowels, Śeuṭ., Low Rudh., and Nālā Rudh. change the [t] into [d].

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(10) The fem. pres. tense has in Bhad. the terminations beginning with the consonant [c], in Khaś. group there is [t] or [d]. Cf.

'(those women) become':—

| | |
|---|---|
| Bhad. | bhocən |
| Khaś. | 'bhɑ̃otĩ |
| Marm. | 'bhɑ̃oti |
| High Rudh. | 'bhõti |
| Low Rudh. | 'bhõdi |
| Śeuṭ. | 'bhũdĩ |

(11) Bhad. differentiates between the present participle and the present indefinite tense, the present participle having a nasal sound if the verb ends in a vowel. Cf.

| *Bhad. pres. part.* | | *Bhad. pres. indef. tense.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'bhõto | 'becoming'. | 'bhotɑ̃ | 'I become'. |

But the Khaś. dialects make no such distinction. They preserve the nasal sound invariably when the verb ends in a vowel, whether it is pres. participle or pres. tense. Thus Khaś. group has ['bhɑ̃otɑ], ['bhõtɑ] or ['bhõdɑ] in either case.

## The Classification of the Khaśālī Group.

The dialects of the Khaśālī group are five:—

I. Khaśālī.
II. Rudhārī, including—
  (1) High Rudhārī,
  (2) Low Rudhārī,
  (3) Nālā Rudhārī.
III. Śeuṭī.
IV. Marmati.
V. Sunḍhl̥āsī.

I. The Khaśālī dialect is spoken in the region called Khaśāl, indicated above. Of all the dialects in the group, it is the representative dialect, and most of its striking features have been noted above. A peculiar phenomenon in which Khaśalī differs from most of the other members of the group is that the pre-terminational suffix [ɑ] added to consonant-ending

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nouns (see p. 9) remains unchanged in the genitive case. In other dialects of the group it is changed to [e]. Thus cf. Khaś. [lu'harɑ:ɑ] 'of the blacksmith' or 'of the blacksmiths', ['ghoṛɑrɑ] 'of the stone' or 'of the stones'. All the other dialects in the group (except Sunḍh̥ā̆sī) have [lu'hɑrerɑ], ['ghoṛerɑ].

Khaśālī has two divisions: (1) Northern Khaśālī, (2) Southern Khaśālī.

(1) Northern Khaśālī is phonetically more interesting than Southern Khaśālī. A striking point is the deaspiration of the final aspirated consonants. Cf.

| *North. Khaś.* | *Bhad.* | |
|---|---|---|
| hʌtt | hʌtth | 'hand'. |
| grɪṭṭ | ḍ͡h̥ɪṭṭh | 'the span'. |
| kʌnt | kʌnth | 'wall'. |
| bhʊkk | ḍ͡h̥ʊkkh | 'hunger'. |

The other dialects and sub-dialects in the group are comparatively inconsistent in the treatment of this sound. Another feature, already mentioned (vide p. 4) is the nasalization of the endings of fem. pl. adjectives, as ['roṛī 'ghoṛī] 'good mares', the corresponding form in South. Khaś. being ['roṛi 'ghoṛi]. Similarly the fem. past participle plural in North. Khaś. ends in a nasal sound, while South. Khaś. has no such nasality. Cf.

| *North. Khaś.* | *South. Khaś.* | |
|---|---|---|
| ẽi | ɛi | '(the women) came'. |
| bhũi | bhui | '(the women) became'. |

(2) Southern Khaśālī has two noteworthy peculiarities:—

(*a*) The occurrence of the diphthong [ɛɪ] (almost exactly like English [eɪ], though in very fluent speech the second element of the diphthong is not heard so distinctly). This diphthong does not occur independently, but is a modification ('Umlaut') of the vowel [ɑ] or [e] when occurring in the oblique forms of nouns and adjectives ending in [i], e.g. ['pɑni] 'water', ['hɑti] 'elephant', ['mɑkhi] 'bee', ['teli] 'oilman', become in the instrumental

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singular ['pəɪnɪɑ si], ['heɪtɪɑ si], [meɪkhɪɑ si], and ['teɪlɪɑ si] respectively. This [eɪ], then, is an Umlaut of [ɑ] or [e].

(*b*) A very marked tendency to pronounce a vowel with a low-rising tone, in case the vowel occurs after a fricative. Cf.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| South. Khaś. | ˏʃʌddɑ | 'called'. |
| | ˏsʌʂʂ | 'truth'. |
| | ˏsɪkk | 'gravel'. |
| | khəˏʃɑli | 'Khaśālī'. |
| | ˏʃʌnn | 'roof'. |

II. Rudhārī, the dialect of Rudhār in Chineni, is the most complicated of the whole group, although its grammatical structure is simpler. Its classification within the Khaś. group, no doubt, is somewhat arbitrary. For, in the first place, it is a very complicated dialect. It is pre-eminently a caste-dialect. Thus the Rajputs, the Ṭhakkars, and the Untouchables—even those living in the same street—have in Rudhār slightly divergent pronunciation and grammar. Thus for the verb 'to go' the corresponding form among the Rajputs is [ˆgʌʂʂhnɑ], among the Ṭhakkars it is [ˆgɑṇɑ], and among the Untouchables [ˆgʌcchnɑ]. Again, the subjunctive pres. 3rd person plural of ['bhoṇu] 'to be' is, among the Rajputs [ˆbhõu], among the Ṭhakkars [bhoṇ], and among the Untouchables [bhõt] or [bhõth] 'they may be'. The difficulty of grouping it with Khaśālī is further enhanced by the fact that Rudhārī has geographically and dialectically three subdivisions: (*a*) High Rudhārī, spoken on the lofty ridges of Rudhār; (*b*) Low Rudhārī, spoken in the submontane tracts of Rudhār; (*c*) Nālā Rudhārī, spoken in a narrow valley between High and Low Rudhārī. Nālā Rudhārī may be geographically called Mid-Rudhārī. A third difficulty of grouping it with Khaśālī consists in the fact that Rudhārī has no neuter gender, while all others have it, and on this ground alone it may seem desirable to take it as the representative of a separate dialectical group. Again, Rudhārī has no epenthesis, while the vowel-system of all the other dialects concerned betrays a definite influence of Umlaut. Thus the

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Rudhārī plural of ['mʌchli] is ['mʌchliɑ], while in the other dialects it is ['mę̣hli] (Khaś.) or ['mɪchli] (Śeuṭ.).

In spite of the above circumstances, it seems to be desirable to group Rudhārī tentatively with the Khaśālī group, for many of the general features noted above characterize this dialect as well. For instance: (*a*) In Rudhārī, as in all the other members of the Khaś. group, the oblique of non-feminine nouns ending in consonants has the suffix [ɑ], and of those ending in [ɑ] has the suffix [e], cf. Rudh. ['ghoṛɑ sę̣ī] 'with a stone', but ['ghoṛe sę̣ī] 'with a horse' (vide p. 9). (*b*) The dative postposition in Rudh., as in all other dialects of the Khaś. group, is [n] or [ni]. (*c*) In Rudh., parallel to Khaśālī, in the oblique of all nouns and adjectives ending in [i], the [i] is changed into [iɑ] (Rajput) or [jɑ] (Ṭhakkars and Untouchables) as ['ghoṛiɑ] or ['ghoṛjɑ] 'by the mare' (vide p. 9). (*d*) Besides the above facts, social reasons seem to require this grouping. For marriage relations between Khaśālī and Rudhārī people are very common and consequently a close interaction between these dialects is quite natural.

As regards its leading features may be mentioned: (*a*) Its strong aversion to nasality. In oblique cases, except in pronouns, Rudhārī has discarded the plural number altogether (vide p. 5). Even in the nominative case of a fem. noun like [ˋʐɪb] 'tongue', it forms its plural without nasality, its plural being [ˋʐɪbbɑ] as against [ˋʐɪbbɑ̃] in other dialects of the Khaś. group. (*b*) It significantly differentiates between double consonants proper, and merely long consonants, cf. [ˋkhol:lɑ] 'he will open', but [ˋkhollɑ] 'opened'; [ˋbol:lɑ] 'he will speak', but [ˋbollɑ] 'speak' (imperative plural); ['sʌn:nɑ] 'to knead flour' and ['kę̣ri 'sʌnnɑ] 'to finish'. (*c*) It is a 'Colonialsprache', and very complicated, as noted above. (*d*) It has [iɑ] (or [jɑ]) not only in oblique cases, but also in the direct case of all plural nouns, adjectives, and participles, e.g. Rudh. nom. pl. of ['ghoṛi] is ['ghoṛiɑ] (or ['ghoṛjɑ]), and thus even the fem. indef. pres. tense has this [iɑ], e.g. ['bhõtiɑ] '(these women) become', ['gę̣ttiɑ] '(these women) do'. Of the sub-dialects of Rudhārī may be mentioned:—

(1) High Rudhārī. It is spoken by about 400 persons. As it is pre-eminently a caste-dialect, it is very complicated.

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The various grammatical points connected with it have been already noted above.

It has also peculiar vocabularies, including many shibboleths, such as the following :—

| | |
|---|---|
| `ẹmbre | 'in this way'. |
| `kẹmbre | 'how ?' |
| hɑu | 'yet, still'. |
| ṭɪkkər | 'above'. |
| 'kẹdi | 'whither ?' |
| `kẹṛi | 'where ?' |
| `kẹṛkhi | 'somewhere'. |
| kẹ'tɑn | 'why ?' (All the other dialects have [ki].) |
| `pɑ | 'but'. |

Besides the above shibboleths, we may note the following words :—

| | |
|---|---|
| khuṇḍ | 'the pole or peg to which an animal is tied'. Khaś. [`thoɑ]. |
| `gʌuṛ | 'cow-shed'. Khaś. [`goḍ]. |
| gjẹũ | 'village'. Khaś. [grɑ̃o], Śeuṭ. [grʌũ]. |
| dern | 'sheep and goats'. (All other dialects ['poru].) |
| ʒʌṛ | 'hair of goat'. Khaś. [ɕhʌɕh]. |

Note the rich variation of its vocabulary in the following :—

| | |
|---|---|
| `lɪŋuṇi | 'tail of sheep or goat'. |
| ṭʌõr | 'tail of wild beast or dog'. |
| põsəṛ | 'tail of cattle'. |

(2) Low Rudhārī, called 'Kaṇḍhiālū Rudhārī' (i.e. submontane Rudhārī), is spoken by about 100 persons. It has the following peculiarities :—

(*a*) As already noted above, it consistently preserves the stage anterior to the Bhad. consonants [t̪͡l̪], [d̪͡l̪], and [d̪͡hl̪]. A few more examples may be cited :—

| | |
|---|---|
| `trɪmṛi | 'wasp' (all others have [`t̪͡l̪ɪmṛi]). |
| trɪkk | 'dung of bird' (all others : [t̪͡l̪ɪkk]). |
| 'ɑ̃trɑ | 'intestines'. High Rudh. ['ɑ̃t̪͡l̪ɑ], Khaś. ['ɑ̃t̪͡l̪ɑ̃]. |

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| | |
|---|---|
| `trɪuṛ | 'frown'. High Rudh. [`ʈ̪ɪuṛ]. |
| kʌn'dhrʌʈ | 'earache' (all others: [kʌnḍ̪ʱ̪ʌʈ]). |
| traṛ | 'common grass'. Khaś., Bhad. [ʈ̪ɑʈ]. |

(*b*) Its strong tendency to syncopation and lax pronunciation of the [k] of the auxiliary verb ['kɐ̨rnɑ] 'to do' has been already noted (vide p. 6). Cf.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'uḍ̪reti | 'is flying'. Khaś. ['uḍ̪re 'gɐ̨tti]. |
| 'soetɑ | 'is sleeping'. Slow speech [soe 'gɐ̨ttɑ]. |
| 'kɐ̨retɑ | 'is doing'. Slow speech ['kɐ̨re 'gɐ̨ttɑ]. |

(*c*) Corresponding to the [ʒ] and [ʒh] of most of the Khaś. group, Low Rudhārī has [ɟ] and [ɟh]. Cf.

| | |
|---|---|
| `ɟɛ̃ | 'who'. Khaś. [`ʒɛ̃]. |
| ɟɐ̨khoṇ | 'when'. Khaś. [ʒɐ̨xoṇ]. |
| ɟhʌll | 'thicket'. Khaś. [ʒhʌll]. |
| bɪ'ɟhɑlnɑ | 'to awaken'. Khaś. [bɪ'ʒhɑlnu]. |

(*d*) For the prolative or 'above' case, Low Rudhārī has ['ʊpri] while High Rudh. has ['ʈ̪ɪkkre] or ['ʈ̪ɪkre], Khaś. [`bɑ̃mni], Bhad. ['puṛmɐ̨ĩ]. Low Rudhārī, like the other allied dialects, distinguishes between the locative 'on the horse' ['ghoṛe 'bʌle] and 'over the horse' ['ghoṛe ʊpri]. Cf. Low Rudh.

'ghoṛe-ʊpri 'mʌkkhi 'uḍ̪reti
'the bee is flying over the horse',

but 'ghoṛe-bʌle 'mʌkkhi 'bɪʃʃuri
'the bee is sitting on the horse'.

(*e*) For the ablative, the postposition in all the main dialects is [kɑ], but in Low Rudh. it is [thɑ̃]. Cf. ['ghoṛethɑ̃] 'from the horse'; other dialects ['ghoṛegɑ] ([gɑ] or [g̊ɑ]).

(*f*) To express the potential or 'can'-sense, the other dialects use the root [bʌʈ̪-] or [sʌn-], but Low Rudh. has [ʃʌk]. Cf.

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| | |
|---|---|
| Low Rudh. | ʌũ ĩ kʌm 'kẹri 'ʃʌktɑ |
| | 'I can do this work'. |
| Khaś. | ʌũ ĩ kʌm 'kẹri 'bʌṭṭɑ *or* ˌsʌttɑ. |

(*g*) The occurrence of [t] in the past participle is more frequent in Low Rudhārī than in the other Khaś. dialects. Cf.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'pitɑ | 'drank'. Khaś. [piɑ]. |
| ˌnɪttɑ | 'brought'. Khaś. [ˌniɑ]. |
| 'kɪttɑ | 'did'. Khaś. [giɑ] (North.), ['gẹrɑ] (South.). |
| 'dhotɑ | 'washed'. Khaś. [dhoɑ]. |

(*h*) The vocabularies of Low Rudhārī are interesting. The common shibboleths are the following:—

| | |
|---|---|
| ˋkuṛi | 'where?' |
| 'kudi | 'whither?' |
| 'kudɑgɑ | 'from whither?' |
| ˋɪdɑgɑ | 'from hither'. |
| 'pʌcce | 'behind'. (High Rudh. ['pʌtte]). |
| 'kute | 'somewhere'. (High Rudh. [ˋkẹṛkhi]). |
| 'minku | 'frog'. |
| 'ghrẹṇṭuli | 'snail'. |
| cumb | 'tail of cattle'. High Rudh. [põsəṛ]—a word which is a shocking vulgarity to Low Rudhārī. |
| ˋḍumb | 'pool'. Other dialects [ˋḍʌl]. |
| ku'laṭnɑ | 'to seize'. Khaś. [thu'soṛnu], Bhad. [thəsoṛnu]. |

(3) Nālā Rudhārī or Mid-Rudhārī is spoken by about 100 persons and may be called Pahāṛī transitional to Ḍogrī. Like Ḍogrī it pronounces [gh], [ɟh], and [bh] as [ˌk], [ˌc], and [ˌp] as [ˌprāchu] 'gums of teeth', [ˌkoṛɑ] 'horse'. Its locative postposition is [ur], as ['gʌllaur] 'on this thing', ['pɪṭṭhiur] 'on the back'. Its vocabularies also resemble the Ḍogrī of Baṭot, the nearest Ḍogra territory. Cf. [ˋkokɑ], 'which (of the many)', [ɟat] 'mouth', ['saṛɑ] 'our', [tu'saṛɑ], 'your', [poɑ] 'lay'.

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III. The Śeuṭī dialect, spoken in a village named Śeuṭ (phonetically [ʃɐ̯uṭ]) and even there only among 11 houses, is perhaps the most interesting dialect of the Khaśālī group. No doubt it is spoken only by about 40 persons and is so strongly influenced by Ḍogrī that a number of random sentences in the dialect may suggest it to be transitional Ḍogrī, but a deeper study will show that it is the type of a dialect combining striking preservations and innovations with powerful external influence.

(*a*) Its vowel-system is unique in the whole group. It has a strong Schwundstufe tendency to [i] or [u] vocalization. Its vowel gradations, the product of Umlaut or epenthesis, may be noted below :—

| *Ablaut.* | *Singular.* | *Plural.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ʌ:ɪ | 'mʌchli | 'mɪchli | 'fish'. |
| ɑ:i | `dɑṛi | `diṛi | 'beards'. |
| o:u | ˏkoṛi | ˏkuṛi | 'mares'. |
| e:i | 'ceṛi | 'ciṛī | 'broad'. |
| ɪɑ:i | sɪɑni | 'sinī | 'clever'. |
| ɑi:i | dɑi | dī | 'nurses'. |
| ʊɑ:ui | dʊɑni | dʊɪni | 'two anna pieces'. |
| ɑʊ:ɪu | 'ʃɑʊni | ʃɪuni | 'autumn harvests'. |

This Schwundstufe tendency is extended also to the oblique singular, as well as to participles and the tenses. Thus in the direct case we have ['teri `mɑli] 'thy mother', but in the oblique we have [`tirɪɑ `milɪɑ ʌũ 'mɑrɑ] 'I was beaten by thy mother'. Similarly cf. [ĩ`jɑri `mɑli] 'his mother', but ['hirɪɑ `milɪɑ ʌũ 'mɑrɑ] 'I was beaten by his mother'. The tenses and participles also indicate the same tendency, cf. ['sirī ɟənɑni `gidī] 'all women go', ['sirī] and [`gɑdi] 'goes' being plurals of ['sɑri] 'all' and [`gɑdi] 'goes' respectively. Similarly cf. the fem. plural past participles [ī], [gī], [khī]—the singular forms being respectively [ɑi] 'came', [gei] 'went', [khɑi] 'ate'.

(*b*) Corresponding to OIA. non-initial [c] or [ch], Śeuṭī has [s], e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| põsəṛ | 'tail'. |
| pãs | 'five'. |
| 'ɐ̯ssnu | 'to come'. |
| 'gʌsɑ̃ | 'I may go'. |

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(*c*) Corresponding to Khaś. group [ʒ], [ʒh], Śeuṭī has [ɟ], [ˌc]. Cf.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | ɟɑṛ | 'a dense forest'. Khaś. [ʒɑṛ]. |
| | ɟe | 'if'. Khaś. [ʒe]. |
| | ˌculnu | 'to sleep'. Khaś. ['ʒhulnu]. |
| | ˌcɪppṇu | 'to crush tobacco'. Khaś. ['ʒhɪppnu]. |

(*d*) This dialect is in a curious state of flux. On the one hand it has peculiarities and innovations which it has strongly preserved. On the other hand, the influence of Ḍogrī is strongly working on it. This is particularly illustrated by the phenomenon which I may call INCIPIENT devocalization and deaspiration of voiced aspirated consonants. The dialects of the Khaś. group on the whole consistently preserve the OIA. voiced aspirated consonants [gh] and [bh]. Owing to the strong influence of Ḍogrī, however, Śeuṭī is now rapidly changing [gh] and [bh] to [ˌk] and [ˌp]. But as the change is still INCIPIENT, the transcription of words beginning with [gh] and [bh] has been a great difficulty to me. One and the same man in declining a word like ['ghoṛi] would in some cases say [ˌkoṛi], but again stumble into ['ghoṛi]. Again, there are some speakers who devocalize [gh], but not [bh], and vice versa ; and even they are not always consistent. What should be the transcription of a sound subject to incipient change? In view of the prospective change it is perhaps more desirable to transcribe it in terms of this anticipated but yet unsettled change, and so I have done it.

(*e*) Another example of this state of flux is the condition of nasality in this dialect. In monosyllables the nasality, whenever it occurs, is distinctly heard ; but in words of more than one syllable it is heard sometimes very faintly, and sometimes not. Thus in transcribing ['sirī] 'all', being the plural of ['sɑṛi], I had to waver several times in the transcription of the final sound [ī]. An apparatus in such cases would have been very helpful.

(*f*) Another case for an apparatus is the 'non-acoustic articulation' already noted on p. 3. The l's in Śeuṭ. [ˌlõpṛu] 'nettle rash', [ˌluṛnu] 'to pluck grass', ['lɑṭi] 'sickle' are heard as clear [l] sounds uncombined with any other sound, but before the [l] there is an infinitesimal silence which may

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indicate a 'stop-stage' the nature of which could be ascertained by means of a suitable apparatus.

(*g*) Grammatically, the treatment of the neuter gender in Śeuṭī is peculiar. It retains this gender only in *singular* adjectives, cf. ['bʌṛu ˌkʌr] 'a big house', but ['bʌṛe ˌkʌr] 'big houses'. While it has thus restricted the neuter gender, it has, unlike other sister-dialects, further extended it to most of the names of nouns ending in consonants. Thus the following words are all neuter in Śeuṭī :—

| | |
|---|---|
| bəlaṛ | 'cat'. |
| kukkəṛ | 'cock'. |
| tittər | 'partridge'. |
| mirg | 'leopard'. |
| rikkh | 'bear'. |

In the other sister-dialects the above words are masculine.

(*h*) The word for the demonstrative pronoun 'he' in Śeuṭ. is [se] ; in others it is [ˆtẽ] or [ˆtɛ].

(*i*) In its vocabularies, Śeuṭī does not seem to offer very rich material. The following shibboleths, however, may be of interest :—

| | |
|---|---|
| kuṭhəl | 'rice-field'. |
| ˈpuɟɟavala | 'first'. |
| ˈpʌttavala | 'second'. |
| ba | 'but'. |
| pãs | 'five'. |
| ˈdibṭi | 'glow-worm'. |

IV. The Marmatī dialect is spoken only in a very small portion, say 2 or 3 villages, of the region geographically known as Marmat. The dialects actually spoken in this region by the majority of the people are Ḍogrī, Kaśmīrī or Bhadarwāhī. Hence it is that the dialect 'Marmatī' is not known under this name to the people : they simply call it the 'language of Ṭhakkars', considering it to be only a caste-language. The fact, however, seems to be that the Ṭhakkar people, who seem to be the original inhabitants of this tract, have been gradually decaying in number and affluence, and their language is now on the verge of extinction. The number of speakers ranges between 40 and 50 only, while the number of the speakers of

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other dialects (viz. Ḍogrī, Kaśmīrī, Bhadarwāhī) is about two thousand—a fact which has obscured the very existence of this dialect. But as the dialect is allied to Khaśālī, and as tradition ascribes the original settlement of Marmat to Ṭhakkars, the speakers of this dialect, it may not inaptly be called 'Marmatī'.

Marmatī and Nālā Rudhārī are transitional dialects of the group, Marmatī passing off into Bhadarwāhī and Nālā Rudhārī into Ḍogrī. Its treatment of the neuter gender is almost identical with that of Khaśālī,—having a separate termination for neuter-plural of nouns, but not of adjectives, cf. ['bʌɾe 'ghʌrã] 'big houses'. The plural of pronouns, however, in this dialect is identical with that in Bhadarwāhī, cf. [ˈɪɳã] 'these', [ˈʊɳã] 'those', [ˈtẹɳã] 'they'. These three forms in both Marm. and Bhad. occur in all the three genders. Khaśālī, however, has these forms for neuter and fem. only, those for masc. being [ɪn], [ʊn], and [tẹn].

In spite of its appearance as a 'hybrid' dialect, it manifests peculiarities and innovations, such as follows :—

(1) It has preserved some words in which [bh] and [gh] have been divided into b+vowel+h, and g+vowel+h respectively. Cf.

| | |
|---|---|
| bɪ'hɑ | 'brother'. |
| bɪ'hũʗhu | 'gums of the teeth'. |
| bəhir | 'outside'. Khaś. [bhiṛ]. |
| gɪ'hɑṭ | 'flour-mill' (all other dialects : [ghṛaṭ]). |

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(2) It is an O dialect (cf. page 24), e.g.

| | *Marm.* | *Rudh.* | *Khaś.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'knee' | ˋʐoṇu | ˋʐɑnu | ˋʐẹnu |
| 'axe' | 'mɔkku | 'mʌkku | 'mẹkku |

(3) It has preserved some words in which we find [ẹu] corresponding to [ḍṛ] or [ll] in other dialects. Cf.

| | |
|---|---|
| bhẹuṛu | 'lamb'. Other dialects ['bhẹḍṛu]. |
| chẹuṛu | 'kid'. Other dialects ['chẹllu]. |

(4) The genitive personal pronoun in this dialect has a more original form than in Bhad. or Khaś. Cf.

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| | *Marm.* | *Khaś.* | *Bhad.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'your' | 'tuʂɐra | `tuara | 'tuʃʃo |
| 'our' | 'asra | `ara | 'ɪʃʃo |

(5) The locative postposition is [bʌl], the corresponding Khaś. and Bhad. forms being [tɪr] and [puṛ] respectively. Cf.

| | *Marm.* | *Khaś.* | *Bhad.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'on the horse' | 'ghoṛebʌl | 'ghoṛeḍɪr | 'ghoṛepuṛ |

(6) The elative postposition is [ˆmara], the corresponding Khaś. and Bhad. forms being [ˆmãga] and ['ɐrã] respectively. Cf.

| | *Marm.* | *Khaś.* | *Bhad.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'out of the house' | 'ghʌram`ara | 'ghʌram`ãga | 'ghʌrɐrã |

(7) In order to express 'I do not know how to—' Marmatī *necessarily* uses the conjunctive stem instead of the infinitive; the other dialects use it optionally. Cf.

'I do not know how to cook a meal'—

| | |
|---|---|
| Marm. | ʌũ nə 'ʐaṇã 'roṭṭi bəṇãi (conj. stem) |
| Khaś. | ʌũ 'roṭṭi bəṇãi *or* bənaṇi `nãi 'ʐanta |
| Bhad. | ʌũ 'roṭṭi `bəṇẽi *or* bəṇani nə 'ʐɛṇi |

Again:—

'I do not know how to read'—

| | |
|---|---|
| Marm. | ʌũ nə 'ʐaṇã `pʌṛi |
| Khaś. | ʌũ `pʌṛi or `pʌṛnu `nãi 'ʐanta |
| Bhad. | ʌũ `pɐṛi nə 'ʐɛṇi |

(8) The vocabularies of Marmatī are important (cf. pp. 45, ff), but few innovations have been noticed by me. The only striking word which I have noticed is [kʊ'lanʃ] or [kʊ'lanɪʃ] 'woman'. Cf. Bhad. [kʊanʃ] or [kõṇəʃ], Bhalesī [kõʃ], perhaps also related to Kaśmīrī ['kolɐi].

V. The Sunḍh̯l̥āsī or Sundhrāsī dialect is spoken in a village named Prebbal (phonetically [prɐbbəl]), the Hindu portion of which is called Sunḍh̯l̥ās or Sundhrās. The number of speakers is about 30. Now this village is situated in Marmat, and so geographically its dialect may be called Marmatī. But phonetically it seems to be more allied to Khaśālī. For

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while Marmatī is distinctly an 'O' dialect, Sunḍhl̥āsī seems to be an 'ɛ' dialect. Cf.

| | *Sun.* | *Marm.* | *Khaś.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'calf' | 'bɐ̨ɕhṛu | 'bɔɕhṛu | 'bɐ̨ɕhṛu |
| 'man' | ˋmɐ̃ṇu | mənukkh | ˋmɐ̃nu |

On the other hand, grammatically it seems to be more allied to Marmatī. Like Marmatī, it keeps the final [i] of nouns unchanged in oblique cases, cf. ['kuṛi-sɐ̨i] 'with a girl', but Khaś. ['kuṛɪɑ-sɐ̨i], Rudh. ['kuṛiɑ-sɐ̨i]. It is, strictly speaking, a frontier dialect between Marm. and Khaś., but as the village in which it is spoken is situated in Marmat, it may be conventionally called Marmatī Sunḍhl̥āsī. Some of its notable features are :—

(1) It seems to indicate a pre-Khaśālī vocalism ; thus the static participle of [ˆgɑ̃ṇu] 'to go' is [gɪurɑ], Khaś. ['gurɑ], Marm. ['girɑ] ; of ['bhoṇu] 'to be' it is ['bhuɔrɑ], Khaś. ['bhurɑ], Marm. ['bhorɑ] ; of ['kɐ̨rnu] 'to do' it is [kɪurɑ], though here Khaś. has ['kɐ̨rurɑ], Marm. [kɐ̨orɑ].

(2) The locative postposition is [bər], the [ə] being a neutralized [ɜ]. Cf.

| | *Sun.* | *Khaś.* | *Bhad.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'On the horse' | 'ghoṛebər | 'ghoṛeḍɪr | 'ghoṛepuṛ |

(3) The pre-terminational suffix [ɑ] added to consonant-ending nouns (see above, p. 9) remains, as in Khaśālī, unchanged in the genitive case. Cf.

| | *Sun.* | *Khaś.* | *Bhad.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'of songs' | 'gitɑ̃rɑ | 'gitɑ̃rɑ | 'giterɑ |

(4) The passive suffix is [o] as in Rudh. and Bhad. Cf.

| | *Sun.* | *Rudh.* | *Bhad.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'I am beaten' | mɑ'rõtɑ | 'mɑrõ,tɑ | mɑ'rotɑ̃ |

(5) As regards vocabulary, the following words may be noted :—

'gũṭhi 'finger-ring'. Khaś. ['ʌõṭhi].

'phʌmbṛi 'a kiss'. Marm. ['bubbɑ], Low Rudh. ['kokkɑ].

'kɐ̨ɲchi 'by somebody'. Khaś. ['kɐ̨ɲci], Rudh. ['kɐ̃ɐ̨i].

ˋkhɛ 'what ?' Khaś. [khjə], Śeut. [khe], Marm. [khi], Rudh. [chə], Bhad. [kuṇ].

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## The Inter-relations between the Dialects of the Khaśālī Group.

We shall now take up a detailed *comparative* study of these dialects describing them, in broad outlines, from three standpoints: I. Pronunciation, II. Grammar, III. Vocabularies.

I. As regards pronunciation, the following points are worthy of note :—

(1) Phonetically, Rudhāṛī may be called [ɑ]-dialect, Khaśālī [ɛ]-dialect, and Marmatī [o]-dialect, as the following comparisons will show :—

| | *Rudh.* | *Khaś.* | *Marm.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'knee' | ˋʐʌnu | ˋʐɛṇu | ˋʐoṇu |
| 'a tree with black fruit' | 'ʐʌmmu | 'ʐɛ̨mmu | 'ʐɔmmu |
| 'olive-tree' | ˋkʌu | ˋkɛ̨u | ˋkɔu |
| 'A shrub on which cattle are fed'. | 'ʈʌkku | 'ʈɛ̨kku | 'ʈɔkku |
| 'axe' | 'mʌkku | 'mɛ̨kku | 'mɔkku |
| 'kettle' | 'hʌɳɖu | 'hɛ̨ɳɖu | 'hʊɳɖu |
| 'calf' | 'bʌchṛu | 'bɛ̨ɕhṛu | 'bɔɕhṛu |
| 'buffalo-calf' | 'kʌʈṛu | 'kɛ̨ʈṛu | 'kɔʈṛu |

The other two dialects, viz. Śeuṭī and Sun., are not so consistent in the treatment of these vowels, though they verge more on the Khaśālī side. Of these vowels, [ʌ], as in Bhad., is much more back than Hindī or Pañjābī [ʌ], so that Khaś.-Bhad. ['ghʌṛɑ] 'pot' sounds to a Pañjābī like ['ghɑṛɑ]. The [ʌ], however, is considerably fronted before a double consonant in North. Khaś., as in the word ['mʌʈʈhu] 'boy', Bhad. ['mɑʈʈhu]. The vowel [ɛ], however, is a very fronted and close vowel, like French [ɛ], thus English 'cat' is pronounced [kɛʈ].

(2) The Khaś. dialects have no mixed vowels such as Bhad. has, as the following comparison will show :—

(*a*) 'call this good girl' :

Khaś. ɟɑ'roṛɪɑ kṛollɪɑni 'bollɑ
Bhad. ɪs'rɸṛi kuie ku'ɟɑth

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(*b*) Cf. Khaś. and Bhad. conjunctive participles :—

| | *Khaś.* | *Bhad.* |
|---|---|---|
| 'having become' | 'bhõitɑ | 'bhɸitã |
| 'having washed' | 'dhõitɑ | 'dhɸitã |
| 'having reached' | 'puʐʐitɑ | 'pyʐtã |
| 'having fought' | 'lʌṛitɑ | 'lęṛtã |

(3) As regards vowel-gradations (the products of epenthesis) the following scheme will show the comparison :—

| *Vowel* | *Rudharī* | *Khaś.* | *Marm.* | *Śeuṭī* | *Bhad.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ʌ 'fish' (pl.) | ʌ 'mʌchlia | ę 'męɕhli | ę 'męɕhli | ɪ 'mɪchli | ę 'męɕhli |
| ɑ 'beards' | ɑ `dɑṛia | eɪ `deɪṛi | ɛ `dɛṛi | i `diṛi | ɛ `dɛṛi |
| e 'with the oilman' | e teliɑsęi | eɪ teɪliɑsęi | e 'telisęi | i 'tiliɑs`ai | e 'telisęi |
| o 'with the mare' | o 'ghoṛiɑsęi | o 'ghoṛɪɑsęi | o 'ghoṛisęi | u ,kuṛɪɑs`ɑi | ɸ ghɸṛisęi |

(4) As regards intonation, the high-falling tone is significant. Even the inhabitants themselves enjoy the fun in the difference between [ʃʊ'nɑ] 'tell' and [ʃu`nɑ] 'dog'.

The significant difference between high-falling and low-rising tone may be noted in [`ʃʌddɑ] 'call!' and [,ʃʌddɑ] 'called' (South. Khaś.), [`khɑ] 'eat!', but [,khɑ] 'was eaten' (South. Khaś.).

In the following interesting (South.) Khaś. words both the tones occur consecutively :—

| | |
|---|---|
| `phɛɛ,r | 'gentle snowfall'. |
| `sęɑ,ṛ. | 'furrow'. |
| `brɛɛ,rɑ | 'an extra dowry given to the bride a year after the wedding'. |

Khaś. rhythm is strikingly quantitative and it tends to be uniform on syllables of equal length. If the syllables are not of equal length, they are sometimes equalized in connected speech. Thus in pronouncing a word ['cet'rɑm], both the syllables are uttered with equal stress, unlike Pañjābī and

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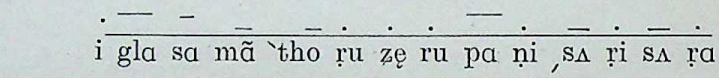


Lahnda, in which the word is pronounced ['cet rɑm] [=rʌm] and [cet 'rɑm] respectively. Examples of syllabic equalization may be noted in the names ['tɑr 'cʌnd] (instead of ['tɑrɑ cʌnd]) and ['mʌns 'rɑm] (instead of ['mʌnsɑ rɑm]).

The quantitative rhythm in Khaś. is strikingly illustrated by the fact that the stressed back vowels [ɑ], [o], and [u] are pronounced long, cf. Khaś. [pɑ:ṇi], ['go:li], and the quantity of and stress on these vowels dominates the perceptibility of other syllables in connected speech. Cf.

Khaś. i 'glɑ:sɑ-mã `thoṛu-`ʐẹru 'pɑ:ṇi ˏsʌṛi `sʌṛɑ
'put some water in this glass'.

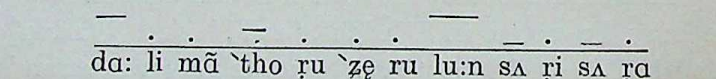
The whole rhythm of this sentence centres round the quantities of the stressed ɑ's in the sentence, so that the intonation of the whole may be graphically represented as follows :—




Similarly cf.

Khaś. 'dɑ:li mã `thoṛuʐ`ẹru lu:ṇ ˏsʌṛi 'sʌṛɑ
'put some salt in the lentils'.

Here also the whole rhythm centres round the long vowels [ɑ] of [dɑ:li] and [u:] of [lu:ṇ], the perceptibility of the other syllables being comparatively obscured. These are pronounced more or less monotonously.




Other dialects of the Khaś. group, however, do not seem to possess this quantitative peculiarity: the word ['pɑṇi], for instance, in Śeuṭī and (non-Rajput) Rudhārī is pronounced like Pañjābī ['pɑṇi]. More details regarding the comparative intonation of these dialects require further investigation.

(5) Nearly all the dialects of the Khaś. group have a lax pronunciation of a consonant in the interior of a word, and a tense pronunciation in the beginning of a word. Thus all of them pronounce intervocalic [b] as bilabial [v], cf. Khaś. group [bʌbb] 'father', but ['bɑvɑ] 'O father!' In the beginning of a word, however, even the *v* of Hindī is pronounced as *b*. Cf. (Hindī) [`bo] 'he'. On the other hand, the English

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phrase 'a big bit' was pronounced [ə bɪg vɪṭ], the 'initial' *b* of 'bit' becoming an 'interior' *b* in connected speech. Similarly the suffixal [t] and [k] of [tɪr] and [kɑ] respectively is changed to [ḍ], [d] or [ð] and [g̣], [g] or [g] respectively. Cf. ['ghoṛetɪr] 'on the horse' which is actually pronounced ['ghoṛeḍɪr], ['ghoṛedɪr] or ['ghoṛeðɪr], the first pronunciation being the most frequent. Examples on [k] have been already given (see p. 6).

This change of [t] and [k] to [d] and [g], however, does not occur in Rajput Rudhārī.

(6) The sound which has been perhaps the most difficult to transcribe is the consonant [n]. This sound is in a state of flux and may be called incipient [ṇ]. What makes the transcription particularly difficult is the inconsistency of the same speaker in pronouncing the sound—sometimes [n], sometimes [ṇ]. Moreover, the 'retroflexion' of this [ṇ] is so delicate that often it is hardly audible, the listener hearing only [n]. There are a few distinct points, however, which may be definitely laid down :—

(*a*) Rajput Rudhārī clearly pronounces intervocalic [n] as [n], as it is in Hindī. Cf. Raj. Rudh. ['pɑni] 'water', ['kɑnɑ] 'blind'—both words being pronounced as in Hindī.

(*b*) Even Rajput Rudhāri pronounces the final [n] of many monosyllabic words as [ṇ]. Cf. [bʌṇ] 'forest', [ʃʊṇ] 'hear'. Even this phenomenon indicates that the speakers are pronouncing an incipient [ṇ] ; they are learning to pronounce [ṇ].

(*c*) In Khaśālī I heard [ˆmɛ̃nu] 'man', but ['khɑ̃ṇu] 'to eat', in fact intervocalic [n] of the infinitive both in Khaś. and Bhad. is heard as [ṇ], not [n]. Perhaps [ṇ] is here unconsciously treated as an infinitive suffix.

(*d*) The dialects most influenced by Ḍogrī, viz. Śeuṭī, Low Rudhārī, and Nālā Rudhārī, pronounce intervocalic [n] as [ṇ]. Thus they say ['pɑṇi], ['kɑṇɑ].

(7) OIA. [kh] or [kṣ] in the interior of a word has become [x] in Khaś. and Rudh. Cf.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'lɪxu | 'wrote'. |
| 'lɪxnu | 'to write'. |
| 'pɛ̨xru | 'a bird'. |

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The other dialects waver between [kh] and [x].

(8) The Khaś. group shows significant doubling in the following examples :—

(*a*) ['phʌṭṇu] ‘ to break ’, but ['phʌṭṭnu] ‘ to kill ’. Cf.

'bhãḍɑ 'phʌṭɑ ‘ the vessel was broken ’.
'tẹni `mẽnu 'phʌṭṭɑ ‘ he killed the man ’.

(*b*) ['phiṭnu] ‘ to be proud ’, but ['phiṭṭnu] ‘ to be begone ’. Cf.

tẽ phiṭī gjɑ ‘ he has become proud ’,
but tẽ 'phiṭṭi gjɑ ‘ he is begone ! ’

(*c*) ['ṭoknu] ‘ to interrupt ’, but ['ṭokknu] ‘ to implant, fix in ’.

(*d*) ['ḍʊbnu] ‘ to sink ’, but ['ḍʊbbnu] ‘ to prick ’. Cf.

tẽ 'ḍʊbɑ ‘ he sank ’,
but 'kʌnṭɑ 'ḍʊbbɑ ‘ the thorn pricked ’.

(9) The tendency to Sandhi or syncopation is quite striking in these dialects. Mention has been already made (pp. 6, 16) of the disappearance of the verb ['kẹrnɑ] in Low Rudhārī ['ʊḍreti], etc. In Khaś. the following Sandhis may be noted :—

(*a*) khjɑse ‘ what is it ’ = khjə 'ʌse
(*b*) 'tẽirɑ: ‘ he came hither ’ = `tẽ `irɑ ɑ
(*c*) 'ʌirɑ ‘ come hither ’ = ʌi `irɑ

II. In grammar, the following phenomena may be noted :—

(1) The occurrence of a case which may be called the ‘ prepositional dative ’. This consists of the insertion of a postposition between the ‘ oblique-stem ’ and the dative postposition [ni] or [n]. A variety of senses are evolved out of this combination of postpositions, and one may describe these new senses as so many different cases—although the cases in the strict sense of the term are only two, viz. direct and oblique.

The following forms of the prepositional dative (‘ postpositional dative ’ would perhaps be a more accurate term, but as the postposition inserted comes BEFORE the [ni] of the dative, the term ‘ prepositional dative ’ seems to be preferable) occur among the dialects of the Khaś. group :—

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(*a*) The 'towards-near' or allative-directive dative ('kɑni). The sense of approach or nearness is expressed both in Bhad. and the Khaś. group by the postposition [kɑ], e.g. ['ghoṛekɑ] 'near the horse'. This is the 'Allative'[1] sense. Now if we add to it the Khaś. dative suffix [ni], it gives us ['ghoṛekɑni]), (actually pronounced ['ghoṛeg̣ɑni,—gɑni or g̣ɑni]), which literally means 'towards-near the horse'. So Khaś. ['ghoṛeni 'cʌlɑ] and ['ghoṛeg̣ɑni 'cʌlɑ] have a shade of difference. The former means 'he moved towards the horse', the latter: 'he moved towards-near the horse', his object being not only to direct himself to the direction of the horse, but also to approach it. In Bhad. also the same sense is indicated by the postposition ['kɑɟo], e.g. [`tɛ 'ghoṛekɑɟo 'ɕʌlɑ] 'he moved towards-near the horse'.

(*b*) The 'towards-in' or illative-directive dative (`mãni). The sense of being 'in' or 'within' is expressed by the postposition [`mã], e.g. Khaś. ['khʌḍḍɑm`ã] 'in the stream'. This is the 'illative'[2] sense. Now if the dative suffix [ni] be added to this, we get ['khʌḍḍɑ-`mãni] 'towards-in the stream'. Thus there is a shade of difference between Khaś. [`tẽ 'phaṭɑ `mɑg̣ɑ 'khʌḍḍɑ`mã 'khırkɑ] 'he fell from the hill into the stream' and [`tẽ 'phaṭɑ mãg̣ɑ 'khʌḍḍɑ`mãni 'khırkɑ] 'he fell from the hill towards-in the stream'. The 'towards-in' suggests that he had not yet reached the interior of the stream, though he was on the verge of doing so.

(*c*) The 'towards-on' or locative-directive dative (Khaś. [ˏtırini], Rudh. [ˏtırɑn], Śeuṭ. [ḍı'rɑni], Low Rudh. [bʌlıɑn], Marm. ['bʌlni]). Khaś. group [tır]], [bʌl] or ['bʌle] means 'on'. Add [ni] to it, and the meaning becomes 'towards-on'. Khaś. idiom will not allow an idiom like English

[1] Vide Eliot's *Finnish Grammar*, p. 155.
[2] Vide Eliot's *Finnish Grammar*, p. 145.

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'came upon' before the coming is finally effected. It would require 'came towards upon' [ˌtɪrini ɑ] in this sense. The following Khaś. sentences will make this difference clear :—

Khaś. 'dhɑrɑḍɪr deo ɑ
'the rain has come (lit. came) upon the mountain'.

Here the rain has actually reached the mountain, and so the ordinary locative termination [tɪr] is used. Now cf.

Khaś. 'dhɑrɑ ˌtɪrini deo 'urɑse
'The rain has come towards-upon the mountain'.

Here the rain has not yet reached the mountain, and so [ˌtɪrini] is used. The tense 'has come' is here equivalent to 'is proceeding'.

(*d*) The 'towards-behind' or relative[1]-directive dative (ˌpɑiini) has been noticed by me only in Khaśālī, and not in the other dialects of the group. [pɑi] in Khaś. means 'behind' as ['mĩ pɑi] 'behind me', [pɑiˌini] means 'towards-behind'. Cf.

Khaś. ˋtẽ mere bhrɑ pɑiˌini 'dhʌvṛɑ
'he ran behind towards my brother'.
ˋsie gʌuwɑ pɑiˌini ɟhʌpp 'dɪtti
'the leopard pounced behind towards the cow'.

The prepositional dative, then, indicates the 'aspects' of a verb, distinguishing the process from the accomplishment of an action. Its object is thus somewhat parallel to the slavonic perfective and non-perfective.

(2) The ablative in Khaś. group has the postposition [kɑ], and so has the allative. Thus ['ghʌrɑgɑ] 'from the house' (ablative) or 'near the house' (allative), and the context will determine which sense is intended.

---

[1] Using 'relative' in the literal Latin sense, viz. 'movement backwards'.

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In Bhad. only the allative has [ˋkɑ], the ablative has ['kẹrã]. Cf.

Bhad. ˋghʌrekɑ 'near the house',
but 'ghʌre 'kẹrã 'from the house'.

Of the Khaś. group Low Rudh. has [thã] in the ablative and [gɑ] in the allative. Cf.

Low Rudh. 'ghʌrɑthã 'from the house',
but 'ghʌrɑgɑ 'near the house'.

(3) The elative case in Khaś. and High Rudh. has the postposition [ˋmãgɑ], in Marm. [ˋmɑrɑ], in Śeuṭ. [ˋmãɟɑ], in Low Rudh. [ˋmʌɟɑ], in Bhad. ['ẹrã] or [ˋmʌẓẹrã].

e.g. ˋkhue mãgɑ pɑni ˋkʌḍɑ (Khaś. and High Rudh.)
'Draw water from the well'.

The other dialects have [ˋkhue ˋmɑrɑ] (Marm.), [ˋkhue ˋmãɟɑ] (Śeuṭ.) and so on.

(4) The occurrence of the 'down-from-up' or 'delative' case in Khaś. group and Bhad. is another interesting phenomenon.

In fluent speech the Khaś. and High Rudh. postposition used in this sense is [trɑ] or [ˋtɪrɑ], e.g. cf.

Khaś. tẽ 'ghoṛetrɑ (*or* ˋtɪrɑ) 'khɪrki gjɑ
'he fell from the horse'.

In slow speech the postposition used is [ˋtɪrgɑ].

The other dialects have—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Low Rudh. / Marm. | 'bʌlɑ: | 'ghoṛe 'bʌlɑ |
| Bhad. | 'puṛẹrã: | 'ghoṛẹ 'puṛẹrã |
| Bhalesī | 'puṛɑ | 'ghoṛe 'puṛɑ |

(5) The occurrence of the 'over' or 'prolative'[1] case in both the Khaś. and Bhad. groups is another interesting phenomenon. Thus Khaś. distinguishes between

'ghoṛe ˋbãmni 'mɑkhi 'ʊḍre gẹtti
'the bee is flying over the horse'
and ghoṛeḍɪr 'mɑkhi 'bɪʃʃʊri
'the bee is sitting on the horse'.

[1] Vide Eliot's *Finnish Grammar*, p. 162.

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This difference between prolative and locative is variously indicated by several dialects :—

| *Dialect.* | *Prolative* (' *over* '). | *Locative* (' *on* '). |
|---|---|---|
| Khaś. | 'ghoṛe`bãmni | 'ghoṛeḍır |
| High Rudh. } Śeuṭ. } | 'ghoṛeṭıkkre | 'ghoṛeḍır |
| Low Rudh. | 'ghoṛe-ʊpri | 'ghoṛebʌle |
| Marm. | 'ghoṛe`bãmi | 'ghoṛebʌl |
| Bhad. | 'ghoṛepuṛmẹĩ | 'ghoṛepuṛ |
| Bhalesī | 'ghoṛɑ`bẹe | 'ghoṛepuṛ |

(6) A phenomenon somewhat corresponding to the Definite Article occasionally occurs both in Khaś. and Rudh. It is formed by the addition of the adj. [`ẓẹrɑ] (Rudh.), [`ẓınɑ] (Rajput), [ɟhɑ] (Thakkars and Untouchables)) ' like what ' to a noun or adjective. Cf.

Khaś. 'bʌḍḍɑẓ`ẹrɑ 'ghʌre `nãi
' the elder brother is at home '.

`buḍḍɑẓ`ẹrɑ `kʌrɑ 'gurɑ
' where is the old man gone ? '

ˌcheṛuẓ`ẹru 'cʌli pẹũ
' the kid started '.

(7) As regards pronouns, the occurrence of gender in personal pronouns has been already mentioned (p. 8). A few more points may be noted :—

(*a*) The demonstrative pronouns are four :—

ĩ ' this ' very (near).
ẽ ' this ' (a little less near, but visible).
ũ ' that ' (distant, but visible).
`tẽ ' he ' or ' that ' (distant and invisible). Śeut. [se].

Khaśālī and Rudh. have nasality in all these forms in the nom. acc. sg., but Marm. Śeut., like Bhad., have no such nasality. The corresponding forms in Marm. are [i], [ɛ], [o], [`tɛ].

The pronominal stem in Khaś. and High Rudh. remains vocalic through, there being no [s] in it. Cf.

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Khaś. | ˋeni | 'him' | ˋɪjɑrɑ | 'his'. |
| Marm. | ˋẹsni | ,, | ɪ'serɑ | ,, |
| Bhad. | 'ẹsɟo | ,, | ɪ'sero | ,, |

Similarly cf.

| | *Khaś.* | *Bhad.* |
|---|---|---|
| 'we' | ʌs | ʌs |
| 'with us' | ˋãsẹi | 'ʌsənsẹi |
| 'with you' | ˋtʊãsẹi | 'tʊsənsẹi |

In the second pers. sg. oblique, Khaś. has the stem [tī], Rudh. and Bhad. have [tũi], though the agent case in Bhad. is [tẹī] 'by thee'.

(*b*) A feature characteristic of all the dialects in the Khaś. group but absent in Bhad. is that the words for 'his' and 'her' in the Khaś. group are the same. Cf.

| | *Khaś.* | *High Rudh.* | *Marm.* | *Low Rudh.* | *Bhad.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 'his' | tɪˋɑrɑ | tɪ'hɑrɑ | 'tẹserɑ | ten'hɑrɑ | təsero |
| 'her' | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | təsɑrɑ |

(8) In ordinal numbers the following difference between Khaś., Śeuṭ. and Bhad. may be noted :—

| | *Khaś.* | *Śeut.* | *Bhad.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'first' | ˋpɛlɑ | 'pʊɟɟɑvɑlɑ | ˋpeɪlo |
| 'second' | 'dʊkkɑ | 'pʌttɑvɑ̀lɑ | 'duijãʊ |
| 'third' | 'ʈ̪ɪkkɑ | ʈ̪ɪkkɑ | 'ʈ̪ẹijãʊ |
| 'fourth' | ɕəʊkkɑ | ɕəʊkkɑ | 'ɕɸrãʊ |
| 'fifth' | 'pʌnɕʊã | pãsʊã | 'pãɕãʊ |

(9) The verb substantive is the most effective proof of the real existence of the Khaś. group dialects. A glance at the paradigms will show that Khaś. and Rudh. have throughout preserved both the vowel (though in varied form) and the consonant of the OIA. stem *as* 'to be', while Bhad. keeps it only in the 2nd pers. sg. But the most striking form is Rudh. [ˋẹsi] 'thou art' reminding one of parallel (Homeric) Greek and Sanskrit forms. Another interesting form is Low Rudh. [ẹsən] 'they are'.

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Paradigms of the verb substantive (present indef. tense):—

| | | *Sg.* | *Pl.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Khaś. | 1. | 'ʌsɑ̃ | 'ʌsũ |
| | 2. | 'ʌsu | 'ʌsũ |
| | 3. | 'ʌse | 'ʌsũ |
| High Rudh. | 1. | 'ɐ̣sɑ̃ | 'ɐ̣su |
| | 2. | 'ɐ̣si *or* 'ɐ̣sĩ | 'ɐ̣sɑ |
| | 3. | 'ɐ̣se | 'ɐ̣su |
| Low Rudh. | 1. | ɐ̣sɑ̃ | 'ɐ̣sũ |
| | 2. | 'ɐ̣sĩ | 'ɐ̣sɑ |
| | 3. | 'ɐ̣se | ɐ̣sən |
| Śeuṭ. | 1. | hɑ̃ | hɑ̃ |
| | 2. | hɑ̃ | hɑ̃ |
| | 3. | he | hɛn̩ *or* hen |
| Sun. | 1. | ɑ̃ | `ɐ̣ũ |
| | 2. | `ɑs | `ɑ |
| | 3. | `ɑe | `ɑ̃n̩ |
| Marm. | 1. | `ɑ̃ | `ɐ̣ũ |
| | 2. | `ɐ̣ĩ | `ɑ |
| | 3. | `ɑe | `ʌũ |
| Bhad. | 1. | ɐ̣ĩ | ʌm |
| | 2. | ʌs | ʌth |
| | 3. | `ɑe | ʌn |

(10) The incipient durative present tense occurs in the Khaś. group in the sense of immediate future or incipient action. Thus there is a shade of difference between

Khaś. `tɛ̃ 'roṭṭi 'khɑ̃tɑ əse (incipient)
and `tɛ̃ 'roṭṭi khɑe 'gɐ̣ttɑ (continuous).

Both are examples of the durative, but the former means 'he has sat down to his meal, though he has hardly yet started it'; the latter means 'he is taking his meal'. Similarly cf. Khaś.

ʌũ 'kʌsri bhɑ̃otɑsɑ̃ 'I am getting ill', i.e. 'I am not yet definitely ill, though my condition is verging towards illness'.

'kuṛi 'ʐhulti əse 'the girl is napping to sleep'.

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(11) The pluperfect in the Khaś. group is a very striking phenomenon. It does not occur in Bhad.

Its formation is simple :—

(*a*) ['ʌtthi] 'had been' is used either independently, as [`tẽ `mẽnu `tẹṛi 'ʌtthi] 'that man had been there', or as an auxiliary, [tẽ 'mɑri ˌsurɑ 'ʌtthi] 'he had been killed'.

(*b*) A notable feature of this ['ʌtthi] is that it is unaffected by gender and number. Thus it remains the same whether the subject is masc., fem. or neut., sg. or pl. Cf. Khaś.

| | |
|---|---|
| `tẽ `mẽnu `tẹṛi 'ʌtthi | 'that man had been there'. |
| `tẽ zənɑn `tẹṛi 'ʌtthi | 'that woman had been there'. |
| `tẽ 'mʌṭṭhu `tẹṛi 'ʌtthi | 'that boy had been there'. |
| tẹn `tẹṛi 'ʌtthi | 'those (men) had been there'. |
| 'tẹnɑ̃ `tẹṛi 'ʌtthi | 'those (women or houses) had been there'. |

(*c*) It is used only in the 2nd and the 3rd person, never in the 1st person, in which the past indefinite [`thiɑ] 'was' is used; thus [ʌũ `tẹṛi 'ʌtthi] for English 'I had been there' would be wrong: the correct form would be [ʌũ `tẹṛi `thiɑ].

(*d*) It necessarily implies the absence of the subject at the time or place referred to by the speaker. Cf.

Śeuṭ. 'ḍerɑ `ɪṛi 'ʌtthi
'the camp had been here', implying that 'the camp now is *not* here'.

Khaś. ʌũ `tẹṛi gjɑ tə `tẽ 'ʌgri `tẹṛi 'ʌtthi
'he had been there before I had reached there'.

Khaś. ʌũ `gɑthɑ `gɑthɑ tẽ 'mɑri 'surɑthi
'he had been killed before I had reached there (lit. while I was going)'.

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(12) The formation of the future tense in Khaś. group is slightly different from that in Bhad. In Bhad. [l] occurs in all forms except in the 1st person plural ['bhome] 'we shall be'. In the Khaś. group, however, [n] is the suffix for the future in the 1st person, sg. and pl., though Śeuṭ has [l] in all the persons and numbers. The following paradigms will indicate the difference :—

Future of ['bhoṇu] 'to be'—

Khaś. group :

| | *Sg.* | *Pl.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | `bhonã (Śeut. [`bhola]) | `bhone (Śeut. [`blɨole]) |
| 2. | `bhola | `bhole |
| 3. | `bhola | `bhole |

Bhad. :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | 'bhɸilo | 'bhome |
| 2. | 'bholo | 'bhole |
| 3. | 'bholo | 'bhole |

(13) There are three kinds of the imperative in the Khaś. group as well as in Bhad., viz. (*a*) present, (*b*) future, (*c*) importunative.

(*a*) The present imperative simply keeps the stem of the verb in the 2nd pers. sg., as Khaś. [`kha] ([a] pronounced here like [ʌ]) 'eat', [bɪʃ] 'sit'.

(*b*) The future imperative, which also occurs in Pañjābī and Ḍogrī, and implies a direction to do something in the immediate or distant future, may be illustrated by the following forms in the 2nd pers. sg. :—

| | *Khaś.* | *Śeuṭ.* | *Bhad.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'eat in future' | 'khẹijã | 'khĩjã | 'khẹijã |
| 'sit in future' | 'bɪʃʃjã | 'bɪʃʃɪã | 'bɪʃa |

(*c*) The importunative imperative as a synthetic form is peculiar to Khaś., Rudh. and Bhad., though the sense occurs in Hindī phrases with the word *sahī*, as Hindī *zarā khā to sahī* 'just eat a little'. Cf.

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'just sit here a little'—

| | |
|---|---|
| dhəkek ˋiṛi 'bɪʃʃĕ | (Khaś.) |
| dhʌkˋɪṛi 'bɪʃʃẹĭ | (Bhad.) |

It implies importunity (mingled with request) on the speaker's part. He politely requires the hearer *at least* to sit. Cf. the importunative imperative 2nd pers. sg. in Khaś., Rudh. and Bhad.:—

| | *Khaś.* | *Rudh.* | *Bhad.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'just eat' | ˋkhə̃e | ˋkhẹĭ | ˋkhə̃ĭẹĭ |
| 'just sit' | 'bɪʃʃĕ | ˋbɪʃʃĭ | 'bɪʃʃẹĭ |

The importunative imperative does not occur in Marmatī and Śeuṭī.

(14) The infinitive in all Khaś. group dialects (except Rudhārī), as in Bhad., is by itself put in the neuter gender. Cf. Khaś., Bhad. [ˋpʌṛnu] 'to read', ['khɑṇu] 'to eat'; Rudh. [ˋpʌṛnɑ], ['khɑnɑ].

Mention has been already made (p. 22) of the optional use of the infinitive in Khaś. group (except in Marmatī) when the sense 'I do not know how to —' is implied.

(15) The subjunctive present is rather complicated. Mention has been already made (p. 13) of the divergent forms of the subjunctive 3rd person plural in Rudhārī. The Khaś. form is simpler, Bhad. preserving more faithfully the ancient terminations.

Cf. subjunctive present of ['bhoṇu] 'to be':—

| | | *Sg.* | *Pl.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Khaś. | 1. | bhʊ'ə̃ | ˋbhõu |
| | 2. | ˋbhõu | ˋbhõu |
| | 3. | bhoe | ˋbhõu |
| Bhad. | 1. | bhɸĭ | bhom |
| | 2. | bhos | bhoth |
| | 3. | bhoe | bhon |

(16) As regards the past conditional, a peculiarity common to Khaś. group and Bhad. is the optional use of the auxiliary [thiɑ] and [thio] respectively. Thus Hindī *agar māi yahā̃ hotā to rāzī ho jātā* 'If I had been here I would have recovered' is thus expressed in Khaś. and Bhad.:—

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Khaś. ʐe ʌũ ˋiṛi 'bhɔ̃otɑ thiɑ tə tɑ̃ 'rɑʐi bhõi ˋgɑthɑ thiɑ

*or* ʐe ʌũ ˋiṛi 'bhɔ̃otɑ tə tɑ̃ 'rɑʐi bhõi ˋgɑthɑ

Bhad. ʐe ʌũ ˋɪṛi 'bhoto thio tɑ̃ 'rɑzi bhɸi ˋgɑto thio

*or* ʐe ʌũ ˋɪṛi 'bhɸitho tɑ̃ 'rɑzi bhɸi ˋgeitho

(17) The 'contingentive mood' or the 'probable-mood' occurs in the Khaś. group, but not in Bhad. It is a type of the past conditional, in which both the protasis and the apodosis are formed from the static participle, and the apodosis indicates a stronger probability than in the case of the ordinary past conditional. It does not occur in Bhad. Cf.

Khaś. ʌũ dəwɑ pĩ 'gurɑ tɑ̃ 'rɑʐi bhoĩ 'gurɑ
'If I had taken medicine I would have (probably) recovered'.

Marm. ʌũ ˋɪṛi 'bhorɑ tɑ̃ 'rɑʐi bhoi 'girɑ
'Had I been here I would have (probably) recovered'.

Śeuṭ. 'kʌdĩ 'mʌṭṭhu 'bʌɟru ˋuṇḍun tɑ̃ 'mʌri 'guru
'If the child had fallen down it would have (probably) been killed'.

(18) 'The dubitative mood' or the 'perhaps-mood' is another variety of the subjunctive. It is used with the participle ['ʐẹ̃ni] 'perhaps', Śeuṭ. ['ɟẹ̃ni]. There are slight traces of its use in Bhad. as well.

It is formed by the addition of the auxiliary [thi] (in Khaś., High Rudh. and Śeuṭ.) or [thiɑ] (in Marm. and Low Rudh.) to the subjunctive, irrespective of gender, number or person. It is used only in the past or the present, not in the future sense. Cf.

Khaś. 'ʐẹ̃ni ˋtɛ̃ ˋmɛ̃nu 'hunnɪɑ 'rɑʐi bhoi ˋgʌɕɕhɑ̃ thi
'Perhaps the man may now recover'.

Marm. 'ʐẹ̃ni ʌũ 'hunnɑ 'rɑʐi bhoi ˋgɑ̃ thiɑ
'Perhaps I (man or woman) may recover now'.

Marm. 'ʐẹ̃ni tɛ ku'lɑɲʃ hiɟ 'rɑzi bhoi ˋgɑe thiɑ
'Perhaps the woman may have recovered yesterday'.

In Bhad. no such *indeclinable* [thi] or [thiɑ] occurs in the dubitative. Moreover, the Bhad. dubitative occurs only in the

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past. It is formed by the addition of the *declined* forms of [tho] to the subjunctive. Cf.

Bhad. 'ʐẹni ʌũ 'rɑʐi bhɸi `gẹi tho
'Perhaps I may have recovered'.
'ʐẹni ʌs 'rɑʐi bhɸi `gɑm thie
'Perhaps we may have recovered'.

(19) The passive voice in Khaś. and Bhad. groups is synthetic. It is formed by the addition of [ɛ̃], [ĩ], [õ] or [o] (Bhad.), as the following examples will show :—

Passive present : 'I am beaten' :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Khaś. | 'mɑ˴rɛ̃tɑ |
| Marm. | `me˴rɛ̃tɑ *or* 'mɛ˴rĩtɑ |
| Śeuṭ. | ˴mẹrĩdɑ |
| High Rudh. | 'mɑ˴rõtɑ |
| Low and Nālā Rudh. | 'mɑ˴rõdɑ |
| Sun. | mɑ'rõtɑ |
| Bhad. | 'mɛrotã |

It is also optionally formed by the addition of the participles from [`gʌɕɕhnu] or [`gɑṇu] 'to go', but even then it remains essentially synthetic, for the participle from [`gʌɕɕhnu] or [`gɑṇu] is added to a synthetic participle. Thus the above examples can also optionally occur as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Khaś. | `merẹĩ `gɑthɑ |
| Marm. | `me˴rei `gɑthɑ |
| Śeuṭ. | ˴mẹri `gɑdɑ |
| High Rudh. | 'mɑ˴roĩ `gɑtɑ |
| Low and Nālā Rudh. | 'mɑ˴roĩ `gɑdɑ |
| Sun. | mɑ'roĩ `gɑtɑ |
| Bhad. | 'mɛroi `gɑtã |

The synthetic form can be declined in all the tenses and moods, as the following examples will show :—

| | *Khaś.* | *Rudh.* | *Bhad.* | *Śeuṭ.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 'I am eaten' | ˴khẹijɛ̃tɑ | 'khão˴õtɑ | khẹi'jotã | khə˴ṇĩdɑ |
| 'I may be eaten' | ˴khẹijɑ̃ | 'khʌũ˴wã | khẹi'joĩ | khə˴ṇĩɑ |
| 'I was eaten' | ˴khẹijɑ | `khʌuwɑ | 'khẹiijo | khə˴ṇiɑ |
| 'I shall be eaten' | `khẹijɛnɑ | `khãuwonɑ | `khẹijɸilo | khə`ṇilɑ |

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As regards the use of this passive, it should be carefully borne in mind that in Khaś. group and Bhad. the English sentence 'I am beaten by him' cannot be translated in the passive form. The Khaś. translation will be [ˋtɛ̃ mĩ 'mɑrtɑ], and Bhad. [ˋtɛ mĩ 'mɑrte], both having a meaning in the active, not passive, sense: 'he beats me'. What, then, is the meaning of ['mɑ˛rɛ̃tɑ] 'I am beaten' in these dialects? Suppose a man is being beaten, and he cries: ['hɛrɑ ʌũ 'mɑ˛rɛ̃tɑ] (Khaś.) 'Look here! I am beaten'! The fact of being beaten is described without any reference to an agent. ['tẹ̣ni ʌ̃u 'mɑ˛rɛ̃tɑ] 'I am beaten by *him*' will be wrong in these dialects.

The passive in these dialects may be called 'absolute passive', because both the agent and the subject of the action are felt as passive, having absolutely no control over the action. This is further confirmed by an occurrence which is even more frequent. In this occurrence the agent of the action is put in the ablative case, and his utter helplessness in the action is emphasized. Thus although the English sentence 'I am beaten by him' cannot be translated in the Khaś.-Bhad. passive voice, the following sentence can be translated:—

'Can I be beaten by him?'—

| | |
|---|---|
| Khaś. | ˋteɪgɑ ʌũ 'mɑ˛rɛ̃tɑ? |
| Bhad. | 'tẹ̣skẹ̣rɑ̃ ʌũ 'mɛrotɑ̃? |
| Lit. | 'Am I beaten *from* him?' |

This difference should not be taken as a mere difference of idiom. Its psychology is deeper. It indicates that the so-called 'agent' (put in the ablative case) in the action is no agent at all; at the most he may be a medium—a *nimittamātra*—'from' or 'through' which the action may *independently* proceed.

A further confirmation of the central idea of this 'absolute passive' is the fact that it is often used in the involuntary sense. Cf.

| | |
|---|---|
| Khaś. | mĩgɑ ʃərɑp 'pi˛ɛ̃tu |
| Rudh. | mĩgɑ ʃərɑb 'pɪõ˛õtɑ |

'Wine is (involuntarily) drunk by (lit. from) me'.

Such a sentence is always in the involuntary sense, which is also expressed by the past absolute passive participle, e.g. 'I slept involuntarily' is thus expressed in these dialects:—

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| | |
|---|---|
| Khaś., Marm. | mĩgɑ ˌʑhulljẹ̃ũ |
| Śeuṭ. | mĩgɑ ɟhulˌlıũ |
| High Rudh. | mĩgɑ 'ʑhullɯɑ |
| Low Rudh. | mĩthɑ sʌõˌɯɑ |
| Bhad. | mĩkẹrã ʑhul'lũ |
| Bhalesī. | 'mɛrɑ ʑhulljoũ |

But the most interesting feature of the absolute passive is that even the verb 'to be' ['bhoṇu] (Khaś., Bhad.) or ['bhonɑ] (Rudh.) has, as in Sanskrit, passive forms :—

'Can I be a thief on your telling ?'—

| | |
|---|---|
| Khaś. | 'tere 'bonnesi ʌũ ɕor bhoiˌjẽtɑ |
| Bhad. | 'tere 'ʑoṇe-sẹĩ ʌũ ɕor bhɸi'jotɑ |
| Lit. | 'Can I be become thief with your telling ?' |

Here the 'becoming' is involuntary, the 'telling' is put in the instrumental, not the agent case, and thus could serve only as a *medium*, not an agent. An even more striking example is

| | |
|---|---|
| Rudh. | tẽ 'ɑppu 'rɑɟi `bhouˌurɑ |
| | 'He was cured spontaneously' |

without any medium or physician ; lit. 'he was become healed spontaneously'. Here [`bhouˌurɑ] 'was become' is the static absolute passive participle of Low Rudh. ['bhonɑ] 'to be'.

There is a seeming exception to the rule. It is the fact that the agent case is sometimes used with the absolute passive, when the weakness or incapacity of the agent is intended to be expressed. Cf.

| | |
|---|---|
| Khaś. | hiɟ mĩ 'duijo 'roṭṭi khẹiˌjei |
| | 'Yesterday I could eat only two *chupaties*', lit. 'only two *chupaties* could be eaten by me yesterday'. |

Here also the incapacity of the agent [mĩ] 'by me' is obvious, and so the absolute passive sense is fully maintained.

Side by side with the absolute passive, we find the past 'quasi-passive' participle, cf. ['tẹni ʌũ 'mɑrɑ] 'I was beaten by him'. It should be borne in mind that the speaker of this sentence does not feel it as an instance of the passive, for the sentence is the *only* translation of the active-voice sentence 'he beat me'. It is the Khaś.-Bhad. *absolute* passive which is an

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evolution of the Sanskrit passive. For in the Sanskrit passive we find the germs of this idiom. Cf. *bhidjate kāṣṭham svayam eva* 'the piece of wood is broken spontaneously' (*vide* Pāṇini, III. 1. 87).

(20) The impersonal, which is so closely allied to the passive, is another phenomenon, the evolution of which is peculiar to the Khaś. and Bhad. groups. It can be studied under the following heads: (*a*) absolute passive impersonal, (*b*) non-objective impersonal, (*c*) non-subjective impersonal, (*d*) categorical imperative impersonal.

(*a*) The absolute passive impersonal is in form a past participle formed from intransitive verbs. It is absolute passive in form and has always the neuter gender (except in Rudhārī). Cf.

'I laughed involuntarily'—

| | |
|---|---|
| Khaś. | 'mīgɑ hẹss⁄jẹũ |
| Bhad. | 'mīkẹrɑ̃ hẹs'sũ |
| Rudh. | 'mīgɑ 'hʌssuɑ |
| Lit. | 'It was laughed from me'. |

Cf. also the examples on p. 41: 'I slept involuntarily'.

(*b*) The non-objective impersonal, when used in the past tense, is a 'quasi-passive' participle, has no reference to any particular object, and is put in the neuter gender (except in Rudhārī). Thus in Bhad., Khaś. [mī `pʌṛu] 'I read', [mī 'ɕʌkhu] 'I tasted'; it is immaterial whether the thing read or tasted has the masc., fem. or neut. gender, sg. or pl. number. [mī `pʌṛu] 'I read' refers simply to the act of reading, and may be translated 'I did reading'.

(*c*) The non-subjective impersonal corresponds to English 'it rains', 'it thunders'. Cf.

'it thunders'—

| | |
|---|---|
| Khaś. | 'gʊṛkne 'luɾɑ |
| Bhad. | 'gʊṛne 'loru |

'it snows'—

| | |
|---|---|
| Khaś. | 'ʃɪɟɟne 'luɾɑ |
| Bhad. | 'ʃɪɟɟne 'loru |

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(*d*) The 'categorical' imperative impersonal corresponds to Hindī *cāhiye*, and is translated as 'ought to'. It is formed from a participle of the root [loṛ-] 'to require'. Cf.

'we ought to go there'—

| | |
|---|---|
| Khaś. | ˋɑ̃ ˋtẹṛi 'guru 'loṛtu |
| Marm. | 'ʌsẽ ˋtẹṛi 'giru loṛtu |
| Bhad. | 'ʌsẹ̃ ˋtẹṛi 'ɟɸru 'lɸṛi *or* 'loṛte |

Again cf.

'I ought to be clever'—

| | |
|---|---|
| Bhad. | ʌũ lɑɪk bhu'oro 'lɸṛi |
| Bhalesī. | ʌũ lɑɪk bho'ɔu 'lɸṛi |

Literally, the above construction means 'I become clever—(it) needs'.

(21) The causatives are formed by the addition of [ɑ], with the necessary vocalic changes.

Thus cf. Khaś., Bhad. ['mɑrnu] 'to beat' but [mɑ'rɑṇu] 'to get beaten'.

Khaś. [khɑ'rɑṇu] 'to feed', causative of ['khɑṇu] 'to eat', is a unique instance. Śeuṭ. has [khulu'ɑṇu], Rudh. [khuɑnɑ], Bhad. [khʉ'wɑṇu].

In Khaś. group the past participle of caus. verbs ending in the base [ɑ], owing to Sandhi changes, gives interesting doublets. Cf. Khaś. group :—

| | |
|---|---|
| mĩ tẽ 'mɑrɑ | 'I beat him'. |
| mĩ tẽ mɑ'rɑ | 'I got him beaten'. ([mɑ'rɑ] is past part. of [mɑ'rɑṇu] 'to get beaten'.) |
| bʌkkrɑ 'cʌlɑ | 'the goat started'. |
| mĩ 'bʌkkrɑ 'ghʌreni cəlɑ | 'I set the goat in motion for home'. |

Here [cəlɑ] is past part. of [cəlɑṇu] 'to set going'.

(22) Denominatives, non-causative and causative, are another interesting feature of Khaś. and Bhad. groups. The suffix [ɛ] has a non-causative significance in Khaś., in Bhad. it has a causative significance. Cf.

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| | *Khaś.* | *Bhad.* |
|---|---|---|
| 'to be tall' | lʌm⁄mɛṇu | lęm'moṇu |
| 'to make tall' | lʌm'mernu | lʌm'mɛṇu |
| 'to be black' | kɑ⁄lɛṇu | kɛ'loṇu |
| 'to blacken' | kɑ'lernu | kɑ'lɛṇu |

(23) The past participle (quasi-passive) indicates in Khaś. group a vocalic system considerably different to that in Bhad. Cf.

| | *Sg.* | | | *Pl.* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Masc.* | *Fem.* | *Neut.* | *Masc.* | *Fem.* | *Neut.* |
| 'came'— | ɑ | ɑi | ʌũ | ɑe | ei | ɑe |
| Khaś. | | | | | (Śeuṭ. ĩ) | |
| Bhad. | ɑu | ɑi | ęũ | ɑe *or* ee | ɛi | ã |
| 'went'— | | | | | | |
| Khaś. | gjɑ | gei | gęũ | gee | gei | gee |
| | (Rudh. gɑ) | | | (Śeuṭ. gĩ) | | |
| Bhad. | ɟʌu | ɟei | ɟęũ | ɟee | ɟei | ɟeã |

(24) The conjunctive participle indicates even better the difference between Khaś. and Bhad. vowel system. For examples, see p. 25, section (2) (*b*).

(25) The static participle similarly shows an interesting variation of vowel-gradations in Khaś. group and Bhad., as the following examples will show :—

Static participle of ['bhoṇu] 'to be' :—

| | *Rudh.* | *Khaś.* | *Marm.* | *Bhad.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| '(has) become' | 'bhʌorɑ | 'bhurɑ | 'bhorɑ | bhu'oro |
| '(has) gone' | 'gʌorɑ | 'gurɑ | 'girɑ | 'ɟɸro |
| '(has) come' | 'ʌorɑ | 'urɑ | 'orɑ | 'ɸro |

(26) For the future passive participle the infinitive of the absolute passive is used. Cf.

| | *Khaś.* | *Rudh.* | *Bhad.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'to be become' | bhoi⁄jɛṇu | 'bhão⁄onɑ | bhɸi'joṇu |
| 'to be eaten' | khɛi⁄jɛṇu | 'khão⁄onɑ | khęi'joṇu |
| 'to be drunk' | pi⁄ɛṇu | 'pɪõ⁄onɑ | 'pi'oṇu |
| 'to be made to eat' | ⁄kharęiɛṇu | khuão⁄onɑ | khuęi'oṇu |
| 'to be made to drink' | pjęĩ⁄ɛṇu | pjão onɑ | pjęi'oṇu |

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(27) The syntax of several grammatical categories has been discussed above. But in concord there is an important point in which the Khaś.-Bhad. groups differ from Hindī, Pañjābī and the allied dialects.

If we take an English sentence like 'he sent me', 'he beat me', Hindī has *us ne mujhe bheja, us ne mujhe mārā*, where *mujhe* corresponds to the English 'me', being the objective, or more accurately, dative case. But in Khaś.-Bhad. the corresponding word for English 'me' is put in the nominative case, the whole construction of the sentence having a quasi-passive form. Thus cf.

'he sent me'—

| | |
|---|---|
| Khaś. | 'tę̣ni ʌũ 'bhɛʐɑ |
| Śeuṭ. | 'tę̣ni ʌũ 'bheɟɑ |
| Bhad. | 'tę̣ni ʌũ 'bhɛʐɑ |

The sense is active, though the construction is quasi-passive. The Hindī-Pañjābī idiom in this respect, it should be noted, is midway between English on the one hand, and Khaś.-Bhad. on the other. For Hindī-Pañjābī also, like Khaś.-Bhad. groups, use the agent case in such construction, though they have discarded the subject in favour of the object.

III. The vocabularies of the Khaś. group may be studied under the following heads :—

(1) Words having a bearing on the history of Sanskrit.
(2) Words having a bearing on general Linguistics.
(3) Words relating to Semasiology.
(4) Words with an onomatopœic origin.
(5) Words with a bearing on folklore.
(6) Words indicating the inter-relations between the dialects of the Khaś. group.

(1) The following words, spoken by the illiterate masses in the majority of the Khaś. group dialects (unless divergences in individual dialects are noted) may interest the Sanskritist :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| sʌndè | .. | .. difficulty ; a knotty problem. |
| ʊ'ʐɪrn | .. | .. indigestion. |
| nəkhin | .. | .. emaciated. Marm. [nəchin]. |
| bhuṛdʊɑɟi | | .. the Gotra Bhāradvāja. Rudh. [bhuṛdu'ɑri]. |

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kɑsəb .. .. the Kāśyapa Gotra.

'bʌttmargu (Rudh.) .. a traveller (lit. way-seeker). Khaś. [bʌttmergu].

pərmaṇ .. .. exact, neither more nor less. ['dɑli mɑ̃ luṇ pərmaṇ əse] 'the salt in the lentils is exactly as much as is required'.

'sʌmɑ .. .. year. [tr̥i͡ɑ 'sʌme bhue] 'three years ago'.

'ʊrnu .. .. a lamb (male).

'ʊrni .. .. the female lamb.

'pʌʃʃnu .. .. to stand the sight of. Cf. [ʌũ mɑs `nâi 'pʌʃʃtɑ] 'I cannot stand the sight of meat'.

`ʃəlo .. .. locust. Marm. [`ʃʌlõ], Rudh. [`sʌlɪɑ̃].

poṇ'hɑ (Khaś.) .. the first day of ploughing the field, accompanied by a religious function. Rudh. [poṇ'hɑo], Marm. [puṇ`ɑ], Skr. *puṇyāha-*.

'dhʌmṇu .. (occurring in fem. pl. only) to blow the bellows. Khaś. [`khʌllɑ̃ 'dhɛ̨mṇi], Rudh. [`khʌllɑ 'dhʌmṇiɑ].

`niɟɑvalɑ .. .. foresighted.

`niɟ 'dɛṇi .. .. to peep. Bhad. [nɪɟ'ɟhoṇu], Skr. *nidhyā-*.

'krurɑ .. .. hard times.

kruṭṭh .. .. sullen and cheerless.

'ʃɛbɑl .. .. moss.

nər'ʃekhi .. .. quite empty, spoken of a vessel which has been thoroughly emptied, nothing remaining behind. Also [nɪʃkəl] in the same sense.

`ḍi͡lɛṛɑ .. .. obstinate; refusing to listen to others. Skr. *dṛḍha-*.

mʌnth (Khaś.) .. churning-stick. High Rudh. ['mʌndhɑṇi].

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 'dhʌbṛnu (Khaś. only) | | to run. |
| dhʌuṛ (Khaś. only) | .. | a race. |
| rɪṇ .. | .. | debt. |
| rɪṇoi .. | .. | debtor. |
| bẹri'hɑṇi .. | .. | New Year's Day, the 1st of Chet. |
| ʃun`ɑ (Khaś., High Rudh.). | | dog. |
| ɟuth .. | .. | a crowd of persons. |
| ɑ̃s .. | .. | the *amāvasyā* night. |
| ʊḍ͡lɛṇ .. | .. | the 1st of Magh. High Rudh. [ʊṭ͡ɭɛṇ] (Uttarāyaṇā). |
| mʊkkər .. | .. | taciturn. |
| ɟʌʃ .. | .. | curative influence. |

(2) The student of general Linguistics will be interested in the following words. It will be an interesting study to inquire whether single words for the meanings given below occur in other languages :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ʐəṛɪɑṭi .. | .. | a deaf woman whose mother is also deaf. But a deaf woman whose mother is not deaf is called ['kʌnneʐʌṛi]. |
| 'pʌtkhʊri | .. | walking backwards, with the front of the body on the other side. Marm. ['pɪʃkhʊri]. |
| khəṛtokk<br>khəṛ'tokkɑ<br>khəṛ'dʊmbɑ | } | a person who goes about and keeps standing in places where he has no business. |
| kʊ'bhɛ̃stɑ<br>kʊ'bhestɑ (Rudh.) | { | one who, by obscene language, panders to the lewd tastes of other people. |
| ghokkəṛ .. | .. | a man with a big head but short size. |
| 'ʂʊri .. | .. | a man of few words but of attentive and retentive mind. |
| 'chʊggru .. | .. | a thing borrowed from a person who has borrowed it from another person. |
| 'ghrɪṭṭmʊslu | .. | a short-sized person who deliberately stretches himself |

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while walking, in order to appear to be taller than he really is. [ghrɪṭṭ] 'span', [musəl] 'pestle'.

bə'ṭuŋgɾɑ (Khaś.) } a short-sized but fat person.
bə'ṭuŋglɑ (Marm.) }

khɾɪ'hʌttɑ (Rudh.) } standing posture with hand resting on each side of the waist.
krɪ'hʌttɑ (Khaś.) }
kəɾ'hʌttɑ (Marm.) }

koŋk-bəkoŋku, adv. in a posture in which the arms entwine each other, the right hand being on the left shoulder, the left hand on the right shoulder.

ʐu'ʐholnu (Khaś.) } to awaken a man by shaking his arms.
ʐu'ʐhornɑ (Rudh.) }

sʌnɕərnu .. like the camel of the story, to secure a little footing, then gradually extend one's possession, until full possession or the best position is finally secured.

(3) The following words may interest the student of Semasiology :—

'phɑrʃi 'melni .. to talk obscurely. Cf. Eng. 'it is Greek to me'.

ku'lʌkkɾi .. pig-headed, lit. 'bad-wooded'. Marm. [lʌkkəɾ].

'bɪʐkuli } a very swift bullock—'lightning-like'.
'bɪʐli (Rudh.) }

khəɾs͡ɑn (Khaś.) } an obstinate person (lit. a standing bull).
khəɾʃ̃ɑ̃ḍ (Marm.) }
khəɾdɑ̃t (Rudh.) }

phəturɑ (Khaś.) } one who relates interesting new stories and gives very fresh information. Literally, both words have a bad origin, the former meaning a wily, scheming person, the second
υ'cʌkkɑ (Rudh.) }

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meaning a 'Thug'. But in these dialects the words have acquired a good significance.

(4) The speakers of these dialects have a genius for sound-painting. They have not only names for every sound, they have also a fondness for describing the phenomena of life in terms of sounds. So we find among them a rich variety of words of onomatopœic origin, which may be described under three heads: (*a*) single names of sounds, (*b*) iteratives, (*c*) adverbial interjections.

(*a*) As single names of sounds, the following specimens may be noted:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| gəṛukɑ | .. | a sharp, loud sound, as of a gun or drum. |
| chɛṛ ɕhɛṛ (Rudh.) | } | the sound of running water. |
| ʊ'ḍɑkɑ | .. | the sound from the throat, as when vomiting. |
| thəɕɑkɑ | .. | the sound of a slap on the face. |
| bəṛ/ɑkɑ | .. | the sound of a blow on the back. |
| ḍ͡hl̥ə/ṛɑkɑ | .. | the sound (or the stroke) from a stick. |
| ʃəṇɑkɑ | .. | any metallic sound. |
| ɕəṛɑkɑ | .. | the sound of anything trodden under foot. |
| ɟhəlɑkɑ | .. | the sound of water into which red-hot iron is put. |
| ṭəṇɑkɑ | .. | the sound of a log of wood running down-hill. |

(*b*) Under iteratives, the following may be of interest:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ɕʌrk ɕʌrk | .. | the sound of walking slowly. |
| gʌṛk gʌṛk | .. | the sound of walking quickly when the shoes have iron heels. |
| dʌbb dʌbb | | the sound of walking quickly when the shoes have no iron heels. |
| ʑʌrk ʑʌrk | .. | the sound of stepping noisily. |
| ṭʊpp ṭʊpp | | the sound of walking in quick, light steps. |

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sʌr sʌr .. the quick movement of a serpent. [sʌpp sʌr sʌr 'cʌltɑ] 'the snake goes rapidly'.

huṇ huṇ (Khaś.) / ghuṇ ghuṇ (Marm.) — the sound of humming a note.

puṛ puṛ .. the sound of talking inaudibly though louder than a whisper.

pɪṛ pɪṛ .. the sound of a cock.

pʌṛ pʌṛ .. nonsensical talk.

cɪlpəl cɪlpəl the sound of the sparrow. (This word does not occur in Marm.)

krund krund grumbling in a suppressed voice.

phɪs phɪs .. bursting into tears.

kur bur .. love-talks.

ɕhul ɕhul (Khaś. & others) / ɕhʌl ɕhʌppəl — the sound of washing the feet.

khʌrṛ khʌrṛ the sound of scratching in eczema or in itching sensation.

bhʌr bhʌr the crackling sound of fire.

phor phor .. crisp but easy to break (spoken of bread).

guɲɟ guɲɟ, adv. — hesitatingly, slowly.

thʌṇ thʌṇ, adv. — quickly.

(c) By adverbial interjections is meant a number of words similar to Hindī *dham !*, as in Hindī *dham gir paṛā* 'he fell down all of a sudden with a thud'. But it should be borne in mind that such words may not directly denote a sound. They may, in sound-pictures, describe soundless phenomena of suddenness, quickness, etc. In Khaś. ['muʃɑ ghrɳepp 'phʌssi gjɑ] 'the rat was suddenly caught in the trap', the word [ghrɳepp] probably indicates

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suddenness rather than any particular sound. Several words illustrate this category :—

bhʌkk (Khaś.), bhokk (Rudh.) } indicating the sound of giving a blow (fisticuff). [bhʌkk 'gẹtti 'sʌṛi] 'he just gave a blow'.

ɟʌṭṭh (Khaś.), ḍ͡hl̥ʌṭṭ (Marm.) } indicating the sound of a slap on the face.

ḍ͡lʌḍḍ .. indicating the thud with which a man falls (corresponding to Hindī *dham.* [ḍ͡lʌḍḍ 'khırkɑ] 'he fell down with a thud'.

ʃotth .. indicating the fall of a killed bird. ['pʌkhru ʃotth 'ʐhʌṛu] 'the bird fell at once'.

gṛʌll .. indicating the sound of a gun. [mĩ gṛʌll 'dıtti] 'I produced at once the sound of the gun'.

(5) Words with a bearing on folklore offer a vast and rich material for linguistic and anthropological investigation, as nearly each village in the area has its own deities and festivals connected therewith. Only a few specimens could be noted here :—

`beri .. .. name of a witch [ʐogən] who attacks people, dressed in red clothes. Such people, if attacked by her, are said to suffer from a facial paralysis.

`ghoggṛɑ (Khaś.), ghõkɑ (Marm.) } bugbear (to frighten children).

'pɛrõ 'dɛvtɑ .. the shepherd's deity. He affects cattle with insects.

'cʌ̃oḍɑ .. .. the Goddess Cāmuṇḍā. She is the goddess of oracles. Before her the oracular priest ['celɑ *or* dıɑlɑ] dances, and then, in an ecstasy, prophesies.

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 'guŋgi bir | .. | a dumb deity, said to have no tongue. He produces a kind of paralysis among cattle. |
| 'kelu-bir<br>'kɛɪlɑ-bir (Marm.) | } | the guardian angel of cattle. |
| khol ʐogən | .. | name of a witch living on the summit of a lofty mountain named Khol. A waterfall gushes out once a week in this mountain. The witch is said to bathe in this water, and the waterfall is said to proceed from her bath. |
| bhəṛduɑr | .. | the deity of the rainy season. His festival is celebrated in Bhadon. Images of serpents coil round his figure. He is said to be a son of [bɑsk] or Vāsukī. |
| `mʌll .. | .. | the goddess of the harvest. The first fruits are offered to her before they are taken. |

(6) Words indicating the inter-relations between the dialects of the Khaś. group will be studied under two heads: (*a*) Substantives, (*b*) Verbs.

(*a*) Under substantives, the following comparisons may be noted:—

'brother'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| bhrɑ | (Khaś., Rudh.) |
| bɪ'hɑ | (Marm.) |
| ˌpr͡ɑ | (Śeuṭ.) |
| ḍ͡hl̥ɑ | (Bhad.) |

'husband's younger brother'—

| | |
|---|---|
| ḍ͡lebu | (Khaś., Bhad.) |
| der | (Rudh.) |

'mother-in-law'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| `ʃɐxu | (Khaś.) |
| 'ʃʌʃʃu | (Rudh.) |
| ʃʌʃ | (Śeuṭ.) |
| ʃɪkh | (Bhad.) |

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'nostril'—:

'nʌʃkuli (Khaś., Śeuṭ.)
'nʌkʃuli (Marm.)
'nęgʃoi (Bhad.)

'dirt from ears'—:

mɪgg (Khaś.)
mel (Rudh.)
mɛl (Marm., Śeuṭ.)
kənʃɛi (Bhad.)

'cheek'—:

gəlhoṛi (Khaś., Marm., Śeuṭ.)
'khɑkhuṛi (High Rudh.)
gəlhoṛɑ (Low Rudh.)
'khɑkhoṛi (Bhad.)

'eye-brows'—:

'bhʌruɑ̃ (Khaś.)
'bhrʌmmu (High Rudh.)
`bʌruɑ̃ (Low Rudh.)
ḍ͡ʰl̥ʌuɑ̃ (Bhad.)

'frown' (of the forehead)—:

'muṛɑ̃ (Khaś., Bhad.)
'muṛi (Marm.)
`ʈ͡l̥ɪuṛ (High Rudh. and Śeut.)
`trɪuṛ (Low Rudh.)

'eye-lashes'—:

'puṛu (Khaś.)
`puṛu (Śeuṭ.)
puṛ (Rudh.)
'puṛu (Marm.)
'puṇṭhɑ̃ (Bhad.)

'leech'—:

'ɟɛlu (Khaś.)
'ɟɑlu (High Rudh., Śeuṭ.)
ɟuɑli (Low Rudh.)

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'nettle-rash'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| ḍ͡ɦl̥õpṛu | (Khaś.) |
| ḍ͡ɦl̥õpṛe | (High Rudh.) |
| ˊlõpṛu | (Śeuṭ.) |
| ˋdrʌmṭ | (Low Rudh.) |

'gums of the teeth'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'bhrẽʦu | (Khaś.) |
| 'bhrãʦu | (High Rudh.) |
| 'bhrãchu | (Low Rudh.) |
| ˊprãchu | (Nālā Rudh.) |
| bɪ'hũʦhu | (Marm.) |
| 'bhrãsu | (Śeuṭ.) |
| ḍ͡ɦl̥ẽsu | (Bhad.) |

'mouth'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| khɑkhəṛɑ | (North. Khaś.). (Low Rudh. uses it for 'gaped mouth' only.) |
| ˋmũ | (South Khaś., Marm., Śeuṭ.) |
| ɟɑt | (Nālā Rudh.) |
| 'ɑʃi | (Bhad.) |

'stye' (of the eye)—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'tɪɳṭlu | (Rudh.) |
| ˋbhəɳḍɑru | (Śeuṭ.) |
| ˋɑrnoli | (Marm.) |
| ˋɑrnu | (Bhad.) |

'boil due to a burn'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| phəphoɭɑ | (Khaś.) |
| phʊll | (Marm.) |
| 'phʌmphlɑ | (Low Rudh.) |
| 'phoṛɑ | (High Rudh. and Śeuṭ.) |

'sheep-pox and cattle-pox'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| kʊ'ṭhɑrɑ | (Khaś.) |
| pʊ'ṭhʊɑrɑ | (Rudh., Śeuṭ., Marm.) |

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'udder of goat and sheep'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| pɪuṛu | (Khaś. and High Rudh.) |
| prɪuṛu | (Śeuṭ.) |
| prʌuṛu | (Low Rudh.) |
| `olṛi | (Marm.) |

'udder of cattle'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'pʌlla | (Khaś., Low Rudh.) |
| 'wala | (High Rudh.) |

'throat disease among cattle'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'pẽʐwal | (Khaś.) |
| 'põʐal | (Marm.) |
| 'puṇʐwal | (High Rudh.) |
| 'puṇɟwal | (Low Rudh.) |
| 'puŋɟwal | (Śeuṭ.) |
| 'kãkẹi | (Bhad.) |

'a big lump of dung'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| dʌdr/al | (Khaś.) |
| thopp | (High Rudh., Śeut.) |
| lẹṇḍ | (Marm.) |
| lɪṇḍ | (Low Rudh. (man's only); animal's—[thopp].) |

'a bad cold'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'ʐhãgṛa | (Khaś., Marm., Rudh.) |
| /cãgṛa | (Śeuṭ.) |
| bao | (Bhad.) |

'female breast' (human)—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'ghuṭṭi | (Khaś., Marm., Śeuṭ.) |
| 'mʌmmu | (Rudh.) |
| 'ɕɪɕɕu | (Bhad.) |

'deaf'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'kʌnne-ʐʌṛa | (Khaś., High Rudh.) |
| 'bola | (Śeuṭ., Low Rudh.) |
| ṭʌoṇa | (Marm.) |
| 'ṭʌuṇo | (Bhad.) |

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'nails' (of fingers)—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'nɑkhur | (Khaś.) |
| nekhər | (High Rudh.) |
| `nɛ | (Low Rudh.) |
| `negər | (Śeuṭ.) |
| `nɑ | (Marm., Bhad.) |

'thumb'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| nuṭṭh | (Khaś., Bhad.) |
| ɔ̃guṭh | (Low Rudh.) |
| gũṭh | (Śeuṭ.) |

'back of the neck'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'mʌnthi | (North Khaś.) |
| mənɑṭi | (Marm.) |
| kɪɑṛi | (South Khaś., Rudh.) |
| 'mɪṭṭu | (Bhad.) |

'egg'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| `ɛli | (Khaś., Śeuṭ.) |
| `ɑli | (High Rudh.) |
| ṭhul | (Low Rudh., High Rudh.) |
| 'ɛ̃ṭɑ | (Marm.) |
| 'bʌṭṭi | (Bhad.) |

'flea'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| `pɪũ | (Khaś.) |
| `pɪu | (Marm., Śeuṭ., High Rudh.) |
| `prɪu | (Low Rudh.) |
| `t̪̊ɪũ | (Bhad.) |

'tail of goat, sheep, or of wild beast'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| `lẹmṇi | (Khaś.) |
| `lɪmuṇi | (Marm.) |
| `lɪmṇi | (Śeuṭ.) |
| `lɪŋuṇi | (High Rudh., but of sheep or goat only.) |
| ṭɔ̃or | (High Rudh., but of wild beast or dog only.) |
| põsəṛ | (High Rudh., but of cattle only.) |
| cumb | (Low Rudh., but of cattle only. In Low Rudh. [põsəṛ] is considered to be vulgar.) |

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'kidney'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'bʊglu | (Khaś.) |
| 'bʊklu | (High Rudh., Bhad.) |
| bʊ'krolu | (Low Rudh.) |

'a kind of cobra'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| gõ`ɖɑ | (Khaś., High Rudh.) |
| gʊṇ`ɖɑ | (Low Rudh.) |
| gʊ`ṇɑ | (Śeuṭ.) |
| gʊṇs | (Mɑrm.) |

'large wasp; hornet'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| ʈ͡ɭəṛɑl | (Khaś., Śeuṭ., Marm.) |
| ʌṇ'gɑl | (High Rudh.) |
| rəŋghɑl | (Low Rudh.) |

'hip'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'ɖęllɑ | (Khaś.) |
| 'cʌuṛɑ | (Mɑrm.) |
| `ʈ͡ɭęod | (Śeuṭ.) |
| `ʈ͡ɭɪud | (High Rudh.) |
| `trɪodd | (Low Rudh.) |
| ʈ͡ɭɪg | (Bhad.) |

'skeleton'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| kẽkər | (Khaś., Mərm.) |
| kʊ'ręŋgəl | (Śeuṭ.) |
| həḍkẽkər | (High Rudh., Bhad.) |
| həḍkęŋkər | (Low Rudh.) |

'thigh of quadruped'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'phękku | (Khaś., Mɑrm.) |
| 'cʌuṛɑ | (Śeuṭ., Low Rudh.) |
| 'thʌssi | (Bhad.) |

'hump of cattle'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| mʌṭṭ | (Khaś., High Rudh.) |
| gʊmṭ | (Śeuṭ., Low Rudh.) |
| 'cɑṛo | (Bhad.) |

'rope round the neck of cattle'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| gəṭhɑṇ | (Khaś., High Rudh.) |
| glɑ̃ | (Śeuṭ., Low Rudh.) |
| 'gʌldʌõ | (Bhad.) |

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'tear from the eye'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'ɛ̃khu | (Khaś.) |
| 'ɑ̃khu | (High Rudh.) |
| 'ɑ̃thru | (Low Rudh.) |
| 'ʌnthru | (Nālā Rudh.) |
| 'õkhu | (Marm.) |
| `ʌnthru | (Śeuṭ.) |
| 'ɛ̃khõ | (Bhad.) pl. 'ɛ̃khu. |

'a whistle'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'ʃʊrkṇi | (Khaś., Bhad.) |
| `sīḍ | (Marm., Śeuṭ., Low Rudh.) |

'orphan'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| nəmaṇa | (Khaś.) |
| nəmʌoṛa | (Low Rudh.) 'motherless'. |
| dhəmana | (High Rudh.) |
| tə/maṇa | (Śeuṭ.) |

'firebrand'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| muɕɕ | (Khaś.) |
| moɕɕh | (Marm., High Rudh.) |
| mocch | (Śeuṭ.) |
| muaṭh | (Low Rudh.) |

'cylindrical basket for carrying luggage etc. on the back'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| ɕɑ̃ʊ | (Khaś.) |
| cɑ̃o | (Śeuṭ.) |
| cɑ̃u | (Low Rudh.) |
| kiṛ | (Bhad.) |

'slough of a serpent'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| səpkoɕ | (Khaś.) |
| səpcoc | (Śeuṭ.) |
| səploɕ | (High Rudh.) |
| səpgʌɲɟ | (Low Rudh.) |
| səpkos | (Marm.) |

'snail'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| bɪ'ʃloṛ | (Khaś., Marm., High Rudh.) |
| 'ghṛeṇṭuli | (Low Rudh.) |
| ləṛɑ̃wɑ̃ | (Śeuṭ.) |
| 'ɟɪʃloṛ | (Marm., Bhad.) |

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'brown bear'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'bhrębbu | (Khaś., Śeuṭ.) |
| bhrʌbbu | (Rudh.) |
| 'd̥h͡l̥ębbu | (Bhad.) |

'ant'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| bɪ`uli | (Khaś., High Rudh.) |
| prɪ`ʊlli | (Low Rudh.) |
| prɪ`uli | (Marm., Śeut.) |
| 'bɪdli | (Bhad.) |

'frog'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'mɛ̃d̥u | (Khaś.) |
| 'mɑ̃d̥u | (Rudh., Marm.) |
| 'minku | (Low Rudh.) |

'sparrow'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'grɑ̃uḍi | (Khaś.) |
| 'greṛi | (Rudh.) |
| 'gɑguṛi | (Marm., Bhad.) |

'grain or corn'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'grolɑ | (Khaś.) |
| gəlolɑ | (Rudh.) |
| glou | (Marm.) |

'gourd'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| gəṇ'ṭholi | (Khaś.) |
| guṇ'ṭholi | (Śeuṭ.) |
| gəṇ'd̥oli | (High Rudh.) |
| gəṇoli | (Low Rudh.) |
| ghəṇ'ṭoli | (Marm.) |
| 'ɛ̃lu | (Bhad.) |

'a comb-like fern'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| kɪ'xẹi or kəxẹi | (Khaś.) |
| 'kɑgʃi | (Low Rudh.) |
| 'kɑgʃi | (Marm.) |
| 'kɑʃki | (Śeuṭ.) |
| 'kɑbʃi | (Rudh.) |
| 'kɑ̃kẹi or 'kɑ̃kẹi | (Bhad.) |

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'early night'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| bɪˋalʐ | (Khaś.) |
| bɪˋalɟ | (Śeuṭ.) |
| bɪal | (Rudh.) |
| d̠l̂ʌˋoʐ | (Bhad.) |

'early dawn'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| ʐhʌd̠z | (Khaś., High Rudh.) |
| ʐhʌʐʐ | (Marm.) |
| ɟhʌd̠ɟ | (Śeuṭ., Low Rudh.) |
| ʐhẹʐʐ | (Bhad.) |

'day before yesterday'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| ẹt̠̂u | (Khaś.) |
| 'ʌt̠̂u | (High Rudh.) |
| 'ʌtru | (Low Rudh.) |
| 't̠̂eɪdi | (Marm.) |
| prɛʐ | (Bhad.) |

'ice' (solidification of water in winter)—:

| | |
|---|---|
| t̠on | (Khaś.) |
| sor | (Rudh.) |
| 'kʌkru | (Low Rudh.) |
| 't̠ʌoṇ | (Śeuṭ.) |
| d̠ʌŋg | (Bhad.) |

'sleet' (rain and snow falling together)—:

| | |
|---|---|
| ʌdheɟɟən | (Khaś., Bhad.) |
| əthorʃɑ | (High Rudh.) |
| əd̠horchɑ | (Low Rudh.) |
| əd̠horʃɑ | (Marm.) |
| əd̠horcɑ | (Śeuṭ.) |

'roof'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| ʃẹnn | (Khaś.) |
| ʃʌnn | (Low Rudh.) |
| ˌtʌrt | (Śeuṭ.) |
| lɑ̃u | (Marm., Bhad.) |

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'sand'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'bɑli | (Khaś.) |
| lɛtər | (Śeuṭ.) |
| letər | (Rudh.) |
| rɛt | (Marm., Bhad.) |

(*b*) Under verbs, the following comparisons may be noted :—

'to whisper'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'puṛknu | (Khaś., Śeuṭ.) |
| 'bhuṛknu | (Marm., Bhad.) |

'to growl—(on the part of the female bear)—:

| | |
|---|---|
| kuklɪ'ɑṇu | (Khaś.) |
| kuŋglɪ'ɑṇu | (Marm., Śeuṭ.) |
| koŋklɪ'ɑṇɑ | (Rudh.) |

'to neigh'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'khɪṇknu | (Khaś.) |
| 'kɪlknu | (Marm., Śeuṭ.) |
| 'hɪṇknɑ | (Low Rudh.) |

'to bellow' (said of an ox)—:

| | |
|---|---|
| hokrɪ'ɑṛnu | (Khaś.) |
| hu'krɑṛnu | (Śeuṭ.) |
| 'ghʌkknɑ | (Low Rudh.) |

'to eat quickly in large quantities'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'bhʌkknu | (Khaś. group except Marm. and Rudh.) |
| 'bhʌkkhnu | (Marm.) |
| 'bhʌkknɑ | (Rudh.) |

'to crush with hand and mix up, before eating (as bread)'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| mo͡ɟɲnu | (Khaś.) |
| 'mornu | (Śeuṭ.) |
| d̪͡hl̪ɛnɔnu | (Bhad.) |

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'to eąt with hand any pasty thing'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'ʃʌpphnu | (Khaś.) |
| 'ʃʌppnu | (Marm.) |
| d̪h͡l̥ʌppn̪ɑ | (Rudh.) |
| ˌlʌppn̪u | (Śeuṭ.) |
| ʃʌpəṛnu | (Bhad.) |

'to quaff at a rapid rate and in large quantity'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| bhokəṛnu | (Khaś.) |
| ˌkropṛnu | (Śeuṭ.) |

'to slip'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| `ʈ͡l̥ɛʈhnu | (Khaś.) |
| `ʈ͡l̥ɛʈnu | (Śeuṭ.) |
| 'treʈhnɑ | (Rudh.) |

'to scratch with the finger'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| khʊ'ʃoṛnu | (Khaś.) |
| khəroṛnu | (Śeuṭ., Bhad.) |

'to writhe with spasms'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| kəloˌkɛn̪u | (Khaś.) |
| pəloˌkɛn̪u | (Marm.) |
| pəloˌken̪ɑ | (Low Rudh.) |
| pəlˌʈiṇu | (Śeuṭ.) |
| pleˌʈonɑ | (High Rudh.) |
| pə'lɸkoṇu | (Bhad.) |

'to cry in pain'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'krę̨ssnu | (Khaś.) |
| 'kę̨ssnu | (Marm.) |
| `kɪlnɑ | (Low Rudh.) |
| 'ʈ͡l̥ę̨ssnu *or* 'ʈ͡l̥ʌssnu | (Bhad.) |

'to squeeze (with hand) the juice out of something'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'prę̨ɕɕnu | (Khaś.) |
| 'prę̨ccnu | (Śeuṭ.) |

'to be out of season'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'oʈhnu | (Khaś.) |
| `oʈnu | (Marm.) |
| `ornɑ | (Low Rudh.) |
| `oṛnu | (Bhad.) |

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'to be of stunted development'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| srò/ṛenu | (Khaś.) |
| sur/ṛinu | (Śeuṭ.) |
| sur/ṛonɑ | (Rudh.) |

'to snatch away everything from somebody'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'ṭhuṭholnu | (Khaś.) |
| u'ṭholnu | (Śeuṭ.) |

'to manage'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'ʐʌṇṭnu | (Khaś., Bhad.) |
| 'ʐhęṇṭnu | (Marm.) |
| `sʌṇḍnɑ | (Low Rudh.) |

'to clean by throwing (as the '*cilam* of a *huqqah*)'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| `ṭhuṭknu | (Khaś.) |
| 'ṭhuḍknu | (Marm.) |
| 'ṭhuṛknu | (Bhad.) |

'to tread under foot'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'ghręnɛnu | (Khaś.) |
| 'ghęnɛnu | (Marm.) |
| /kręnɛnu | (Śeuṭ.) |

'to crush tobacco stalks'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'ʐıpphṇu *or* 'ʐhıppṇu | (Khaś.) |
| 'ʐhipphṇu | (Marm.) |
| /cıppṇu | (Śeuṭ.) |
| 'ʐhussnu | (Bhad.) |

'to sharpen'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'plɑṇu | (Khaś.) |
| plıɑṇu | (Śeuṭ.) |
| 'plɛṇu | (Bhad.) |

'to trim a lamp'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'mõsnu | (Khaś., Bhad.) |
| `mochnu | (Śeuṭ.) |

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'to mince'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'ɟhɐ̨kknu | (Khaś.) |
| 'ɟhʌkknu | (Marm.) |
| 'chɐ̨kknɑ | (Rudh.) |
| kəcoṭṭnu | (Bhad.) |

'to shut up cattle in the cowshed'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| əɕɑɲnu | (Khaś.) |
| 'ṭhʌppṇu | (Marm.) |
| 'ḍhʌppnɑ | (Rudh.) |
| ˌṭʌppṇu | (Śeuṭ.) |

'to comb'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| bəˌsoṛnu | (Khaś.) |
| bəkhornu | (Śeuṭ.—'to dishevel hair'.) |
| bəɕhoṛnu | (Bhad.—'to dishevel hair'.) |

'to sprinkle'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| t͡ɬʌũkṇu | (Khaś.) |
| 'sĩẓnɑ | (Rudh.) |
| ḍ͡lʌũknu | (Bhad.) |

'to churn'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'dɑṛni (i.e. `ɕhɑ 'whey', fem.) | (Khaś.) |
| 'cholni | (Śeuṭ. and Rudh.) |
| 'ɕhʌlnɪ | (Bhad.) |

'to crush and clean rice' (final stage)—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'chɪmpnu | (Khaś.) |
| 'kuṭṭnu | (Marm.) |
| 'ɔɕɕhnu | (Bhad.) |

'to coax or cajole'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| pəlõẓnu | (Khaś.) |
| pəlɑ̃ɟnu | (Śeuṭ.) |

'to be afraid'—:

'pɪcknu (Marm., Śeuṭ.)

Khaś. has it only in the impersonal sense: [`te'mʌṛdɑ 'pɪckti] 'that man is afraid', lit. 'it fears for that man'.

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'to be fed up with a thing'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| t̪͡l̪ɪ/ṭɛṇu | (Khaś.) |
| t̪͡l̪ɪ/ṭiṇu | (Śeuṭ.) |
| t̪͡l̪ʌṭ/oɳɑ | (High Rudh.) |
| 'trʌṭna | (Low Rudh.) |
| t̪͡l̪e̪t/ṭɛṇu | (Marm.) |

'to be shy'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| bɪl/khɛṇu | (Khaś.) |
| bɪl/khiṇu | (Śeuṭ.) |
| bɪl'khoṇu | (Bhad.) |

'to annoy' (as a piece of straw in the eye)—:

| | |
|---|---|
| ḍɪ'ŋɑṇu | (Khaś.) |
| 'ḍʌŋna | (Rudh.) |
| khʊ'rɑṇu | (Bhad.) |

'to be proud'—:

| | |
|---|---|
| 'bɛkhnu | (Khaś.) |
| `bɛkhṇu | (Śeuṭ.) |
| `bɛkṇu | (Marm.) |
| `bekhnɑ | (Rudh.) |

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# Bibliography of Ancient Indian Terracotta Figurines.

By CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.

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## Preface.

An attempt has been made here to summarize briefly all articles, hitherto published, on ancient Indian terracotta figurines. So far as my knowledge goes, no such bibliography has been previously published.

I am greatly indebted to the authorities of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the Archæological Departments of Mysore and Hyderabad for favouring me with necessary information. I also thank the authorities of the Imperial Library and of the libraries of the Calcutta University, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum and the Bañgīya Sāhitya Parishad for the great facilities which they have given me for the preparation of this work.

I am greatly indebted to Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., Bar-at-Law, as he is mainly instrumental in awarding me a research-scholarship at the University without which I could not have carried out this work. I am further indebted to Prof. Sahid Suhrawardy, B.A. (Oxon), Bageswari Professor of Indian Fine Arts in the University of Calcutta, and the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar, M.A., F.R.A.S.B., Superintendent of the Eastern Circle of the Archæological Survey of India, who have taken a great deal of interest in this work. Last but not the least this work owes greatly to the inspiration which I have received from my father the late Prof. H. C. Das Gupta's paper entitled 'Bibliography of Prehistoric Indian Antiquities' (Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal, N.S., Vol. XXVII, pp. 1–96, 1931) after which it has been modelled. I have tried to make it as complete as possible, but, from the very nature of such a work, it is likely that there might be some errors of omission. I shall be thankful if anybody would enlighten me on this point.

Charu Chandra Das Gupta.



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## Abbreviations.

ABIA—Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology. Kern Institute, Leyden.
AIG—Age of the Imperial Guptas. By R. D. Banerji.
AMK—Ancient monuments of Kashmir. By R. C. Kak.
APTMN—An account of the primitive tribes and monuments of the Nilagiris. By J. W. Breeks.
ARVRS—Annual Report of the Varendra Research Society.
ASIAR—Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report.
ASINIS—Archæological Survey of India, New Imperial Series.
BMFAB—Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
BSPP—Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad Patrikā.
CAMM—Catalogue of the Archæological Museum at Mathura. By J. Ph. Vogel.
CASIR—Cunningham's Archæological Survey of India, Reports.
CHACIM—Catalogue and hand-book of the Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum. By J. Anderson.
CICMFAB—Catalogue of the Indian collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, pts. I and II. By A. K. Coomaraswamy.
CMAS—Catalogue of the Museum of Archæology at Sarnath. By D. R. Sahni.
CMASBS—Catalogue of the Museum of Archæology at Sanchi, Bhopal State. By M. Hamid, R. C. Kak, R. P. Chanda and J. H. Marshall.
CPAGMM—Catalogue of the prehistoric antiquities, Government Museum, Madras. By R. B. Foote.
CR—Calcutta Review.
CS—Current Science.
EIS—Early Indian Sculpture. By L. Bachhofer.
FCIPPA—The Foote Collection of Indian prehistoric and protohistoric antiquities. Notes on their ages and distribution. By R. B. Foote.
GT—A guide to Taxila. By J. H. Marshall.
HANSSPSMS—Handbook of the archæological and numismatic sections of the Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar. By R. C. Kak.
HIIA—History of Indian and Indonesian Art. By A. K. Coomaraswamy.
HK—Handbüch der Kunstgeschichte. Edited by Springer, A.
HSCMAM—Handbook of the sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archæology, Muttra. By V. S. Agrawala.
HSMBSP—Handbook to the sculptures in the Museum of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad. By M. Ganguly.
IA—Indian Antiquary.
IAL—Indian Arts and Letters.
IBBSDM—Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum. By N. K. Bhattasali.
IC—Indian Culture.
IHQ—Indian Historical Quarterly.
ILN—The Illustrated London News.
IPEK—Jahrbuch für Prahistorische und Ethnographische Kunst.
IS—Indian Sculpture. By S. Kramrisch.
JASB—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JBHS—Journal of the Bombay Historical Society.
JBORS—Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JDLCU—Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.



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JISOA—Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.
JRAI—Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
JRSA—Journal of the Royal Society of Arts.
JUPHS—Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.
KBPCV—K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume, Poona.
M—Man.
MAE—The most ancient East. By V. G. Childe.
MASI—Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India.
MI—Man in India.
MIC—Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization. Edited by J. H. Marshall.
MJLS—Madras Journal of Literature and Science.
MR—Modern Review.
OZ—Ostasiatische Zeitschrift.
PI—Prehistoric India. By P. Mitra.
PRASIWC—Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle.
PTAIOC—Proceedings and Transactions of all-India Oriental Conference.
RAA—Revue des Arts Asiatiques.
TIC—The Indus Civilization. By E. Mackay.

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## Bibliography.

1 · **Ahmed, R.** BSPP, XXXV, pp 110–14 ; pl figs 1, 2 ; 1335 BS

Gitagrama.

The author describes and illustrates two terracotta figurines found in a mound at Gitagrama in Murshidabad district in Bengal. These specimens represent horseman (fig. 1) and female figurine (fig. 2). These are ascribed to the Maurya age.

2 **Anderson, J.** CHACIM, pt II, pp 60, 95, 101, 112, 248–51, 283–87, 295–98, 310 ; 1883

The author has described some terracotta figurines found at Bodh Gaya, Jamui, Bhuila, Mahasthan, Paharpur, Kosambi, Bhitargaon, Newal and Pehoa and kept in the Indian Museum. He has also referred to the striking similarity between some of the terracotta Buddha figurines found at Bodh Gaya and some specimens found in the ruins of an old temple in Pagan, Upper Burma (p. 60, n. 1).

3 **Anonymous.** ABIA for 1928, pp 16–19 ; figs 6, 7 ; 1930

The wooden walls of Pataliputra.

The author describes and illustrates two terracotta female figurines (figs. 6, 7) unearthed at Bulandi Bagh in Patna district in Bihar.

4 **Anonymous.** ABIA for 1928, pp 20–23 ; fig 9 pl VIII. b ; 1930

The brick temple of Paharpur.

The author refers to the carved terracotta plaques set in the recessed panels on the wall of the temple at Paharpur in Rajshahi district in Bengal. The illustrated specimens represent male figurine (fig. 9) and panel (pl. VIII. b).

5 **Bachhofer, L.** EIS, pp xiv, xliv, 12, 95 ; pls 13—the top figs, 153—the left fig ; 1929

The author briefly refers to early Indian terracotta figurines. Regarding the importance of these figurines he has remarked, ' Long before the Maurya dynasty there had already existed in India an art of woodcarving or clay sculpture which definitely shaped and modelled the well-known figures of the Yakṣas and Yakṣīs. The fact that a century later the artists of Barhut operated with firmly outlined types of gods points in this direction.' (p. 12). He has illustrated two terracotta human heads (pl. 13—the top figs.) found at Basarh and belonging to the Maurya age and one terracotta Buddha (pl. 153—the left fig.) from Sahri-Bahlol in Taxila belonging to the fourth century A.D.



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6 **Banerji**, R. D. ASIAR for 1913-14, pp 262–64; pl LXX. c, f, g; 1917

(1) Some sculptures from Kosam.

A number of terracotta figurines are found in Kosam, identical with the ancient city of Kauśāmbī, in Allahabad district in the United Provinces. Among these one is a plaque, the images on which have been identified as Śiva-Pārvatī (pl. LXX. c) on account of their affinity with those on the Kosam stone-slab inscribed in Gupta era 139. Other two specimens are female heads (ibid., f, g). According to the author 'the heads belong to the Gupta period and are not later than the sixth century A.D.' (p. 264).

7 ——— ASIAR for 1925-26, pp 40-41; pl LIV. h; 1928

(2) Sabhar.

Mention has been made of the find of a number of terracotta plaques 'similar to those found in the Paharpur Excavations' (p. 41) and discovered in Sabhar in Dacca district in Bengal. Some of them have been illustrated (pl. LIV. h).

8 ——— ASIAR for 1925-26, pp 108, 112-13; pls LII, LIV. a–d; 1928

(3) Paharpur.

In course of excavating the mound at Paharpur in Rajshahi district in Bengal the author has discovered a large number of terracotta plaques on which figurines are represented. These plaques were originally placed on the basement of the main temple. The illustrated specimens represent human figurines, animals, composite animals and mythical beings.

9 ——— ASIAR for 1925-26, pp 115-16; pl LIV. f; 1928

(4) Dah Purbatiya.

In this report mention has been made of the discovery of a number of terracotta plaques from the site of the ruined temple at Dah Purbatiya in Darrang district in Assam. These specimens 'portray a very close connection between the Mediæval art of Bengal and Assam,' (p. 116) and 'are of the same type as those discovered . . . . . at Birat in the Rangpur district and at Paharpur in the Rajshahi district' (ibid.). These plaques 'cannot be later in date than the sixth century A.D.' (ibid.). The illustrated specimen is a male figurine (pl. LIV. f).

10 ——— AIG, pp 207-08; 1933

(5) Plastic art.

In this chapter the author refers to the terracotta plaques found at Dah Purbatiya in Darrang district in Assam and belonging to the Gupta age.

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11 **Banerji-Sastri**, A. JBHS, III, pp 187–91 ; 9 pls ; 1930

(1) Remains of a prehistoric civilization in the Gangetic Valley.

Here the author relates the discovery of a number of terracotta figurines at Buxar in Shahbad district in Bihar. According to him these belong to the chalcolithic age. He has called these specimens as prehistoric and has divided them into two groups, viz., (*a*) highly developed and (*b*) crude. The illustrated specimens belonging to the highly developed group are human head (Series A. nos. 1–18) and unidentifiable specimen (ibid., nos. 19, 20). The illustrated specimens belonging to the crude group are female figurine (Series B. nos. 1, 4–7) and human head (ibid., nos. 2, 3).

12 ——— JBORS, XVIII, pp 1–3 ; pl ; 1932

(2) Vedic *opasa* and *kaparda*.

The author remarks that the terms *opasa* and *kaparda* are found in Vedic literature and are interpreted as types of head-dress especially for females. He further notes that the peculiar head-dresses of the terracotta figurines discovered at Buxar in Shahbad district in Bihar remind one of these two Vedic terms.

13 ——— IHQ, IX, pp 154–56 ; pl ; 1933

(3) The Naṭī of Pataliputra.

The author states that a terracotta female figurine (pl.) discovered at the Maurya level in Patna College area is to be taken as the representation of a *naṭī* (dancing girl) of whom we find many references in Indian literature.

14 ——— KBPCV, pp 248–61 ; 14 pls ; 1934

(4) Remains of a prehistoric civilization in the Gangetic Valley.

An account has been given here of the terracotta figurines discovered in the mound at Buxar in Shahbad district in Bihar. This mound is about a quarter of a mile in length and rises about 30 feet from the present level of the town and 52 feet from the bed of the Ganges. The author has classified the Indian terracotta figurines under two broad divisions, viz., I. Prehistoric : Buxar, Mohenjo-daro, Harappa and Mathura ; II. Pre-Maurya : Taxila, Sankisa, Bhita, Basarh, Besnagar, Nagari, Kosam and Pataliputra. He has divided the Buxar terracotta figurines as (*a*) developed and (*b*) crude and has pointed out the stylistic characteristics of these two groups of figurines. In an appendix forty-eight Buxar terracotta figurines have been catalogued. The illustrated specimens are human figurines, animals and conventional animals.

15 **Bhandarkar**, D. R. ASIAR for 1913-14, pp 209, 215-16 ; pl LIX. 1–19, 23–42 ; 1917

(1) Excavations at Besnagar.

While excavating at Besnagar or Bes, as it is popularly known, two miles north-west of Bhilsa, the head-quarters of the

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district of the same name in Gwalior State and situated between the converging rivers Betwa and Bes the author discovers a number of terracotta figurines in Kham Baba and Ganeshpura. The illustrated specimens represent fragmentary human figurine (pl. LIX. 1, 2), male figurine (ibid., 3, 4), human head (ibid., 12, 13, 18, 19), female figurine (ibid., 14–17), elephant (ibid., 27–29, 42), unidentifiable animal (ibid., 32), bullock (ibid., 33, 34, 39), ram (ibid., 38), tiger (ibid., 40), horse (ibid., 41), duck (ibid., 25), parrot (ibid., 26), tortoise (ibid., 23). 'Most of them belong to the later Gupta period' (p. 209).

16 ——— ASIAR for 1914-15, pp 71, 72, 84 ; pl LIII. a–c, 1–3, 8 ; 1920

(2) Excavations at Besnagar.

In the course of excavation at Besnagar or Bes, as it is popularly known, two miles north-west of Bhilsa, the headquarters of the district of the same name in Gwalior State and situated between the converging rivers Betwa and Bes the author has found a number of terracotta figurines of which illustrated specimens represent human head (pl. LIII. 8), male torso (ibid., a), female torso (ibid., b), lion (ibid., c), bullock (ibid., 2), lamb (ibid., 3), swan (ibid., 1). The human head (ibid., 8) belongs to the Kushaṇa age (p. 84).

17 ——— MASI, no. 4, pp 135, 142–44, 145-46 ; pls XXI. b, c, XXII. a, XXIV. 17, 21, 22, 24–26, 40, 63, 66, 70, 71 ; 1920

(3) The archæological remains and excavations at Nagari.

In this memoir on the antiquities found at Nagari, 8 miles north of Chitorgarh in the Udaipur State, Rajputana, the author has enlisted a number of terracotta figurines found here and illustrated some of them. They are found mainly at Mahadeva temple mound and Hathi-bada. The illustrated specimens are human head (pl. XXI. b, c), female figurine (pl. XXIV. 17), male figurine (ibid., 21), monkey (ibid., 22, 63), elephant (ibid., 24, 66), bull (ibid., 25, 26, 70), horse with horns (ibid., 40), dog (ibid., 71) and bird (pl. XXII. a).

18 **Bhattasali, N. K.** IBBSDM, pp xxii, 3, 4, 31, 32, 33, 34, 68 ; pls IX. a, X. a, b ; 1929

In this catalogue mention has been made of terracotta plaques having the representation of Buddha and Buddha with Bodhisattva and three of them have been illustrated. One of these illustrated specimens is found at Raghurampur in Dacca district in Bengal and the other two in the ruins of a place called Rajasan at Sabhar in Dacca district in Bengal. The illustrated specimens represent Buddha (pls. IX. a, X. a) and Buddha with Bodhisattva (pl. X. b).

19 **Bloch, T.** ASIAR for 1903-04, pp 97-98 ; pls XXXVIII. 20, XXXIX. 1, 3, 5–17 ; 1906

(1) Excavations at Basarh.

In the course of excavation at Basarh in Muzaffarpur district in Bihar, the probable site of the ancient city of

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*Vaiśālī* the author has discovered a number of terracotta figurines. The illustrated examples are human arm (pl. XXXVIII. 20), human figurine (pl. XXXIX. 3, 15), human foot (ibid., 10), human head (ibid., 8), male head (ibid., 6, 17), female figurine (ibid., 16), female head (ibid., 12), elephant (ibid., 1), ram (ibid., 5, 9), unidentifiable animal (ibid., 11), dog (ibid., 13), cobra (ibid., 14) and bird (ibid., 7). It has been remarked that Gandhāra influence is to be found in ibid., 17 (p. 97).

20 ——— ASIAR for 1906-07, pp 26–28 ; pl VIII. with the exception of no. 7 ; 1909

(2) Conservation in Assam.

In this report on conservation-work in Assam the author gives an account of sculptured tiles found at the site of the old city of Kundilnagar and illustrates some of them. The illustrated specimens represent male figurine (pl. VIII. 1, 2, 3, 9), peacock (ibid., 4), falcon (ibid., 8), lion or tiger (ibid., 5), horse (ibid., 6). The style of these sculptures is of 'the semi-barbarian kind, as in the carvings at Dimapur and other places in Assam' (p. 27).

21 **Breeks, J. W.** APTMN, pp 73, 77, 78, 90 ; pls XXXVI, XXXVII. a–i, k-l, XXXVIII, XXXIX ; 1873

The author describes and illustrates some terracotta figurines placed usually on the vase-lids and discovered from the Nilgiri cairns and barrows. That this part of this work is, to some extent, defective is understood from the following remarks of Foote, 'Unfortunately the work did not, because of the author's premature death, receive a final revision at his hand, which accounts doubtless for a rather important oversight in the archæological section, namely, the omission to number the several objects figured in Plates XXXVI, XXXVIII, XXXIX, XLI and XLII. The absence of the numbers makes it impossible in many cases to identify the figures in the plates with specimens in the collection, or with unfigured objects enumerated in the descriptive letter-press.' (CPAGMM, p. v). Plate XXXVII where this mistake is not committed contains human figurine (no. k), male figurine (no. e), female figurine (no. b), sambar (no. a), leopard (no. c), dog (nos. d, f), bullock (no. l), buffalo (no. g), tree (no. h). Other plates represent male figurine, female figurine, animal and bird.

22 **Carlleyle, A. C. L.** CASIR, XII, pp 48–51 ; 1879

(1) Indor or Indrapura.

While giving a report of archæological tour in the Central Doab and Gorakhpur the author speaks of the ancient mounds called Indor Khera at Indor or Indrapura ; and in this connection terracotta figurines collected here have been referred to. Among these specimens special mention has been made of a figurine which he identifies as that of Māyādevī, of two female busts in which the Indo-Scythian element is prominent, of a flat shaped human face in which Buddhist element is found and of an animal on whose shoulders are stamped two symbols very similar to one symbol found on the reverse side

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of the punch-marked coins found in Taxila and on an antiquity from Mathura. He has remarked, 'From the fact of my having found numerous fragments of ornamentally moulded bricks, as well as a terracotta figure of Māyādevī (the mother of Buddha), I think it is very probable that there may have been some kind of Buddhist shrine or small stūpa, at Indor, built of brick, and ornamented with figures and bas-reliefs in terracotta' (p. 50).

23 ——— CASIR, XII, pp 162-63 ; 1879

(2) Identification of various sites.

In this report of the antiquities found at Bhuiladih which has been identified with the 'palace' of Kapilāvastu the author has discovered a number of terracotta figurines representing Buddha, male figurine and female figurine.

24 ——— CASIR, XVIII, p 100 ; 1883

(3) Colossal Nirvāṇa statue.

Here mention has been made of terracotta statuette of Buddha found at Kasia in Gorakhpur district in the United Provinces.

25 **Chanda**, R. P. ASIAR for 1927-28, p 97 ; pl XXXVII. 7 ; 1931

Excavations at Sarnath.

While excavating at Sarnath in Benares district in the United Provinces the author has discovered a terracotta female head (pl. XXXVII. 7) 'below the base of the northern boundary wall 6″ above the Asokan level' (p. 97). 'The fine features and the graceful pose of the neck with the head slightly inclined towards the right show that it must have been modelled at a time when Mauryan art was at its zenith' (ibid.).

26 **Chandra**, G. C. PRASIWC for 1921, pp 112–16 : pls XXXIV, XXXV. a ; 1922

C. Rajputana. I. Bikaner State.

Here the author describes and illustrates some terracotta figurines found in Bikaner in Rajputana. The illustrated specimens represent female figurine (pl. XXXIV) and man and woman (pl. XXXV. a).

27 **Childe**, V. G. MAE, pp 209, 210, 211 ; pl XXIV—the lowermost photo ; 1929

The Indus Civilization.

The author illustrates some terracotta figurines (pl. XXIV —the lowermost photo) belonging to the Indus Valley age.

28 **Codrington**, K. de B. M, XXIX, pp 136-37 ; 1929

(1) A note on the pottery of Bhita, United Provinces, India.

The author opines that those terracotta figurines of Bhita which have been called 'primitive' by Marshall should not be placed earlier than the second century B.C.

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29 ———— IA, LX, pp 141–45 ; pl ; 1931

(2) Some Indian terracotta figurines.

In course of describing certain terracotta figurines the author doubts the age of certain terracotta specimens found at Taxila and Bhita and labelled as pre-Maurya and primitive. According to him these specimens are much later in date. He ascribes the terracotta figurines under discussion to the late second-first century B.C. on the consideration of technique and of the details of hair-dressing and jewelry. The illustrated specimens are all female figurine (plate). He also criticises certain views of Coomaraswamy, Salmony and Marshall regarding the ascription of date to certain terracotta figurines.

30 ———— M, XXXV, pp 65-66 ; pl E, figs 1, 2 ; 1935

(3) Iconography : Classical and Indian.

The author opines that one terracotta figurine, 'in the form of a toad, cast from a double mould and stick, finished with impressed dots and incisions, the under side of which displays a squatting goddess' (p. 65), found in Mathura and belonging to the early second century A.D., i.e., the Kushaṇa age, 'seems to be of the Baubo descent, rather than of indigenous inspiration' (ibid.). Consequently he believes that this specimen is 'possibly the only, directly borrowed classical icon known to Indian archæology' (p. 66).

31 **Congrave, H.** MJLS, XIV, pp 89-90 ; pl facing p 89, pl VI ; 1847

The antiquities of the Neilgherry Hills, including an enquiry into the descent of the Thautavvars or Todars.

Mention has been made of some terracotta figurines discovered in the region of the Nilgiri hills and some have been illustrated.

32 **Coomaraswamy, A. K.** CICMFAB, pp 80-81 ; pl XXXIX. 10. 13 and 21. 1669 ; 1923

(1) In this catalogue the author describes and illustrates two terracotta plaques. One (pl. XXXIX. no. 10. 13) which is found in Northern India and ascribed to c. twelfth century A.D. represents a seated Buddha with an inscription below and the other (ibid., no. 21. 1669) which is found in Nalanda in Bihar and ascribed to c. 9th-10th century A.D. depicts a seated Buddha.

33 ———— BMFAB, XXV, pp 90–96 ; figs 1–19 ; 1927

(2) Early Indian terracottas.

The author has divided certain early Indian terracotta figurines preserved in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts into four groups, viz., I. the Indo-Sumerian, II. the period from 1000–300 B.C., III. the Śuṅga or early Andhra, IV. the Scytho-Parthian, Kushaṇa, Gupta and later. According to the

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author ' with the exception of those in the first group, all the examples in the collection are said to have come from the neighbourhood of Mathura' (p. 90). The main stylistic characteristic of the figurines of the first group is that they are modelled and that there is use of moulds. One female figurine (fig. 1) is illustrative of this group. The figurines of the second group have moulded face and modelled body without any part of the body being separately made and affixed. The illustrated specimens of this group are female figurine (figs. 2–5), male head (fig. 8), human head (fig. 16) and demonish head (fig. 9). The figurines of the third group are moulded. The illustrated examples of this group are *Śrī* (fig. 7), female figurine (figs. 6, 10), horseman (fig. 13) and bull (fig. 11). Fig. 6 bears the *Brāhmī* inscription *sudhaṭa*. Nudism is one of the most important characteristics of the female figurines of these three groups. But the figurines of the fourth group are practically clothed. The illustrated specimens are male head (figs. 14, 15) and female head (figs. 18, 19). In the concluding section it has been shown that the type of nude goddess found on some of these terracotta figurines connects India with ancient Europe, Ægean and Mesopotamia by the bond of common religious idea and that stylistically they not only connect the Indo-Sumerian sculpture with the earliest Indian stone-sculpture but also early Indian art with the arts of Mesopotamia, Elam and the Ægean.

34 ——— HIIA, pp 3, 4, 10, 12, 19, 20, 21, 22, 28, 36, 43, 46, 48, 64, 69, 73, 80, 87, 141, 169, 172, 173, 196 ; figs 16, 22, 23, 57, 60 ; 1927

(3) In this work the author, from the chronological standpoint, remarks that in the Indus Valley ' no anthropomorphic images, other than the terracottas, have been found ' (p. 3), that terracotta figurines of undoubted pre-Maurya age have been found in the Bhir mound at Taxila and of probable pre-Maurya age at Nagari, Bhita, Basarh and Pataliputra, that terracottas of the Maurya and Śuṅga ages have been found at Basarh, Taxila, Bhita, Nagari, Mathura, Pataliputra, Kosam and Sankisa. The most common figure of the Maurya and Śuṅga ages is a female nude type. He refers the terracotta figurines found at Bikaner to the later Kushaṇa or early Gupta age. Some terracotta figurines found at Bhitargaon, Saheṭ-Maheth, Kasia, Mirpur Khas, Basarh, Bhita, Kurukshetra, Bikaner and Bilsar have been referred to the Gupta age. He also refers to terracotta figurines found at Ushkar near Baramula in Kashmir. Terracotta figurines closely related to the Gupta tradition have been found at Tagaung, Prome, Thaton and other places in Burma. The illustrated specimens are female figurine (figs. 16, 23, 57, 60) and human head (fig. 22).

35 ——— IPEK, pp 64–76 ; figs 1–51 ; 1928

(4) Archaic Indian terracottas.

This is an amplified version of the article no. 33 noticed before. The classification of the terracotta figurines and the suggestions regarding them as have been made in article no. 33 have been generally maintained here also. The illustrated specimens belonging to Group I are female figurine

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(figs. 1, 2, 11, 13) and male figurine (figs. 3, 4). The specimens illustrative of Group II are female figurine (figs. 5, 6, 18, 51), female head (figs. 17, 19, 20, 23), male head (figs. 16, 21, 33, 40), human head (figs. 14, 15, 22, 39), demonish head (figs. 9, 10) and donkey-head (fig. 12). The specimens illustrative of Group III are *S'rī* (fig. 30), female figurine (figs. 24, 26, 34, 41, 43), male figurine (fig. 44), *mithuna* (figs. 27, 32, 35, 45) and demon figurine (figs. 42, 46). The find-spots of these terracotta figurines are Mathura, Peshawar, Taxila, Kanauj, Basarh, Kosam and Pataliputra. It seems that figs. 7, 8, 28, 29, 31 are not described in the text.

36 **Corbiau, S.** M, XXXV, p 144 ; 1935

Indian and Babylonian figurines.

The author shows the similarity between the terracotta figurine found at Sari Dheri (fig. 2) and two other terracotta figurines—one (fig. 1) found at Tell Ahmar in Mesopotamia dated c. 3000 B.C. and the other (fig. 3) belonging to the Tripolje civilization of eneolithic Ukraine. She opines, 'The Sari Dheri site may be of special interest to the Indus civilization, since the stratification seems to extend from the protohistoric to our era' (p. 144).

37 **Cousens, H.** ASIAR for 1909-10, pp 80–92 ; pls XXXV. a—the middle row and the left figurine in the lower row, XXXVI. b, XXXVIII ; 1914

Buddhist stupa at Mirpur-Khas, Sind.

While excavating at the site of Mirpur-Khas in the district of Thar and Parker in Sind the author has discovered a number of terracotta figurines. The illustrated specimens represent *Kubera* (pl. XXXV. a—the middle row), *Buddha* (pls. XXXVI. b, XXXVIII. a, c), male figurine (pl. XXXVIII. b), lion (pl. XXXVI. b) and grotesque face (pl. XXXV—the left figurine in the lower row).

38 **Cunningham, A.** CASIR, XI, pp 28, 29 ; pl. IX. 4 ; 1880

(1) Sankisa.

The author describes and illustrates one terracotta female figurine found in Sankisa (pl. IX. 4). Regarding its age he observes, 'From the beaded zone round her loins I conclude that the figure is an old one' (p. 28). He also finds here other terracotta female figurines with large ear-rings, elaborate head-dresses and beaded zones.

39 ——— CASIR, XI, pp 40–46 ; pls XVI, XVII—the upper panel ; 1880

(2) Bhitargaon.

In course of describing the brick temple at Bhitargaon, in Cawnpore district in the United Provinces, which has been ascribed to c. 7th or 8th century A.D. the author describes and illustrates a few terracotta panels in *alto-relievo* which were probably on the outer portion of the temple. The illustrated

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specimens represent two cocks fighting (pl. XVI—the left-hand compartment), dragon, man and woman (ibid., the right-hand compartment) and *Vishṇu anantaśāyī* (pl. XVII—the upper panel).

40 ——— CASIR, XI, pp 47–53 ; pl XVIII. 2–4 ; 1880

(3) Newal or Navadevakula.

While describing the mounds of Newal situated about two miles to the north of Bangar-mau on the bank of the Pachnai Nala and on the high bank of the old course of the Ganges which is now called the *Kalyāṇī Nadī* the author describes and illustrates three terracotta specimens all of which might have belonged to the great Brahmanical temple seen by Hieun Tsang in 636 A.D. The first specimen (pl. XVIII. 2) is the head and trunk of a male figurine with floriated limbs and tails instead of arms and legs, the second one (ibid., 3) is a cart drawn by bullocks with a man seated above and the third one (ibid., 4) is the head of a male figurine. According to the author the date of this temple cannot be placed later than 600 A.D.

41 ——— CASIR, XIV, pp 14–16 ; pl IX. 1–3 ; 1882

(4) Shah-dheri or Taxila.

In course of archæological report on Shah-dheri or Taxila the author describes and illustrates a number of terracotta figurines, a fair number of which was found here. The illustrated specimens represent female figurine (pl. IX. 1, 2) and mother with child (ibid., 3).

42 ——— CASIR, XIV, pp 98, 102 ; pl XXVII ; 1882

(5) Kurukshetra.

While giving an account of the traditional Kurukshetra the author describes and illustrates two terracotta specimens—one found in a mound at Asthipura and Vata Tirath (pl. XXVII —the left figurine) and the other at *Pṛthudaka* or Pehoa (ibid., the right figurine). The former represents two wrestlers while the latter the figurine of a seated king. Both these are in the same style.

43 ——— CASIR, XV, pp 108-09 ; pl XXXI ; 1882

(6) Mahasthan.

While describing the ancient mounds at Mahasthan in Bogra district in Bengal the author illustrates two terracotta panels representing male and animal figurine (pl. XXXI) found here.

44 ——— CASIR, XV, p 119 ; pl XXXII ; 1882

(7) Paharpur.

While describing the great mound at Paharpur in Rajshahi district in Bengal the author describes some terracotta panels found here and illustrates also one specimen which represents a male figurine (pl. XXXII). He also remarks, 'All of these must have belonged to the long lines of friezes with which all the finer Hindu temples are decorated' (p. 119).

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45 **Das Gupta**, C. C. M, XXXV, p 95; 1935

(1) Female fertility figures.

It has been shown that one terracotta female figurine found at Bhita though modelled in the Baubo-Phryne attitude should be taken as belonging to the Divine Woman or Ishtar type for stylistic consideration.

46 ——— M, XXXVI, pp 183-84; figs 1, 2; 1936

(2) Female fertility figures.

The author has opined that a terracotta figurine (fig. 1) found in the Nilagiri hills should be considered as female and belonging to the Personified Yoni or Baubo type. The author has observed, 'According to Foote this specimen belongs to the Iron age (pp. iii–xix). Thus it is one of the earliest examples of this type found in India' (p. 184). The other illustrated specimen represents a male figurine (fig. 2).

47 ——— JDLCU, XXIX, pp 1–6; figs 1–9; 1936

(3) Early Indian terracotta statuettes.

This is the English translation of the French article by Salmony summarized in no. 132.

48 ——— IC, III, pp 186-87; 1936

(4) On the affinity between one Mohenjo-daro and one Kish terracotta figurine.

In this note the affinity between one Mohenjo-daro and one Kish terracotta figurine has been pointed out.

49 ——— IHQ, XII, pp 138–41; 1936

(5) The problem of ancient Indian terracottas.

In this paper where a criticism has been offered to the theory of Gordon published in M, vol. XXXV, pp. 117-18, 1935 it has been opined that certain terracotta figurines unearthed from certain ancient sites may be possibly ascribed to the post-Indus Valley pre-Maurya age on the consideration of archæological stratification and style.

50 ——— BSPP, XLII, pp 210-13; pl; 1936

(6) Some terracotta figurines preserved in the Museum of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad.

In this paper the author has described three terracotta female figurines found at Gitagrama in Murshidabad district in Bengal. On the stylistic consideration the first specimen (no. 496) is ascribed to the Śuṅga age, the second (no. 497) to the Gupta age and the third to the later Gupta or Pāla age (no. 498).

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51 **Dikshit, K. N.** ASIAR for 1921-22, p 84; pl XXIX. b; 1924

(1) Bangarh.

The author illustrates a terracotta male head (pl. XXIX. b) discovered in the ruins of Bangarh in Dinajpur district in Bengal and assigns it to an age not later than the early Pāla age (8th-9th century A.D.).

52 ——— ASIAR for 1924-25, pp 64, 73; pl XXII. c, d; 1927

(2) Mohenjo-daro.

In course of excavation at Mohenjo-daro in Larkana district in Sind the author has discovered a large number of terracotta figurines. The illustrated specimens represent male figurine, female figurine, animal and bird (pl. XXII. d) and a prism in which some animals are represented (pl. XXII, c).

53 ——— ASIAR for 1926-27, p 149: pls XXXIII. d, e, XXXIV. b, c; 1930

(3) Excavations at Paharpur.

In course of excavation at Paharpur in Rajshahi district in Bengal the author has discovered a large number of loose terracotta plaques recovered from fallen debris and which were originally on the walls of the temple. 'The value of this material to the student of the early plastic art of Bengal can hardly be exaggerated' (p. 149). Among illustrated specimens there are male figurine (pl. XXXIV. b) and Bodhisattva (ibid., c). According to the author 'the subjects depicted on the plaques not noticed in this resume include a wide range of Hindu and Buddhist mythological figures, men, women, and children in various attitudes, groups and acts, domestic and wild animals, birds and snakes, fruits, flowers, trees and other products of the vegetable kingdom' (p. 149).

54 ——— ASIAR for 1927-28, pp 107–11; pl XLVII; 1931

(4) Excavations at Paharpur.

In this report of the excavations at Paharpur in Rajshahi district in Bengal the author has given an account of the terracotta plaques which were originally on the walls of the main temple. According to the author 'the terracotta art of Paharpur has its counterparts in the Mirpur Khas stūpa, the tiles of Hanumangarh in Rajputana, the decorated bricks and tiles of the Bhitargaon temple and the Saheth Maheth stūpa, the Nalanda stūpas and the Lakshmana temple at Sirpur in C.P. There is a striking similarity noticeable between the terracotta plaques of Śrāvastī and Paharpur. In Bengal itself, plaques of exactly similar types have been found at Sabhar in the Dacca district, the similarity being so close as to make it uncertain whether any particular specimen comes from one site or the other' (p. 108). He has further remarked, 'The use of terracotta plaques as a material for the embellishment of the exterior of temples had established itself in Bengal by the late Gupta period' (ibid.). The popular nature of the

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terracotta art of Paharpur consists in the delineation of stories current in folk-lore. The illustrated specimens are lion (pl. XLVII. a), monkey (ibid., b, c), elephant and mice (ibid., d), mongoose and cobra (ibid., e) and *Vidyādhara* on rhinoceros (ibid., f). Some of these represent stories found in *Pañchatantra*.

55 ——— ASIAR for 1927-28, p 111 ; pl XLIX. b ; 1931

(5) Napukur, Sabhar, Dhanuka and Sibsagar.

The author describes a terracotta plaque with the impression of an image of *Vishnu* and having an inscription in North Indian script of the 7th to 8th century A.D. It was discovered near the northern of the four mounds on the Rajasan site at Sabhar in Dacca district in Bengal (pl. XLIX. b).

56 ——— ASIAR for 1928-29, pp 88, 96 ; pls XLII. a, b, d ; 1933

(6) Mahasthan.

While excavating at Mahasthan or Mahasthangarh in Bogra district in Bengal the author has discovered a number of terracotta figurines. One fragmentary potsherd bearing in low relief a scene (pl. XLII. b) has been ascribed 'to the early centuries of the Christian era' (p. 96). The tiger's head (pl. XLII. a) and the crude representations (pl. XLII. b) are 'associated with the late Gupta period' (ibid.). The *Yaksha* figurine (pl. XLII. d) is 'similar in execution to the Paharpur examples' (ibid.). 'The fragment of the figure of a mother and child in terracotta, tiny rattles in the shape of a tortoise and a bird . . . are other finds worth mention' (ibid.).

57 ——— ASIAR for 1928-29, pp 98–100 ; pls XLIV. b, d, f ; 1933

(7) Murshidabad district.

In course of excavation at Rangamati in Murshidabad district in Bengal the author has discovered a number of terracotta figurines. 'The repose and finish of all terracotta heads (pl. XLIV, b) leave no doubt that they must be attributed to the late Gupta period' (p. 100). 'A distinctively Mahayanist find is the fragment of a crown of a Bodhisattva in which the figure of a Dhyānī-Buddha Amitābha can be made out (pl. XLIV, f)' (ibid.). A number of toys are also interesting (pl. XLIV. d).

58 **Foote, R.B.** CPAGMM, pp iii–xix ; pls II. 217, 218, 236, 273, 294, 310, III, IV. 553, 571, V. 300, 303, 307, VI. 392, 412, XV. 362 ; 1901

(1) The author describes the terracotta figurines preserved in the Government Museum of Madras and discovered mainly out of cairns by Breeks in Nilagiri hills, Ebgodu, Tirichigiri near Kotagiri, Kunhakkilabetta Tuneri, Hokupoliam Todanad and illustrates some of them. These belong to the

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Iron age. In the preface the importance of these figurines has been discussed. The illustrated specimens are human fragment (pl. II. 217, 218, 236, 273), male figurine (pls. II. 294, III. 537, 538, 539, 540, V. 300), female figurine (pls. II. 310, III. 542, V. 303, 307), unidentifiable animal (pl. VI. 392), leopard (pl. III. 557), dog (ibid., 566), buffalo (pl. IV. 553), sheep (pl. XV. 362), peacock (pl. III. 560), cock (ibid , 562), bustard (ibid., 561), man with dog's head (ibid., 570), bird with deer's head (pl. IV. 571) and fabulous animal (pl. VI. 412).

59 ——— FCIPPA, pp 209, 215, 216, 225 ; pls 21, 22, 37, no. 834, 38, no. 3246-1, 60, no. 2633-1 ; 1916

(2) The author describes and illustrates some terracotta figurines found at Shevaroy hills in Salem district, Kupgal in Bellary district, Mahuri in Baroda, Bellamur Rayan Gudda in Hyderabad State. These illustrated specimens are female figurine (pls. 21, 22), unidentifiable animal (pl. 37, no. 834) and bull (pls. 38, no. 3246—1, 60, no. 2633—1).

60 **Ganguly, M.** HSMBSP, pp 95–133 ; pls XXI. first and third rows, XXII. $\frac{N(d)2}{156}$, XXIII. first row—left and middle figurines, third row—middle figurine ; 1922

Here the author describes terracotta figurines found in Rājagṛha and Bodh Gaya in Bihar, Gauda, Pandua, Saptagrama, Josohara, Bhusana, Dinajpur, Rajshahi, Murshidabad and Hooghly in Bengal and kept in the Museum of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad. He has also illustrated some of them. The illustrated specimens represent *Buddha* (pl. XXI—first row), *Balarāma* (ibid., $\frac{N(k)1}{62}$, XXIII. $\frac{N(f)2}{60}$), *Rāvaṇa* (pl. XXI. $\frac{N(j)8}{392}$), male figurine (ibid., $\frac{N(g)4}{237}$, XXII. $\frac{N(d)2}{156}$, XXIII. $\frac{N(g)1}{112}$) and *Kṛshṇa* (ibid., $\frac{N(f)1}{59}$).

61 **Garde, M. B.** ASIAR for 1924-25, p 165 : pl XLIII. b ; 1927

Excavations at Pawaya.

In course of excavation at Pawaya situated at the confluence of the Sindh and the Pārvatī rivers and about 40 miles south-west of Gwalior the author has discovered a number of terracotta specimens. The illustrated specimens represent mainly human head (pl. XLIII. b).

62 **Ghosh, M. R.** PTAIOC, 7th, pp 707–17 ; 1935

A study of the early Indian terracotta figurines.

The author has mainly studied some terracotta figurines unearthed at Kumrahar, Bulandi Bagh and Patna University area. He has pointed out that the age of terracotta figurines

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may be determined with the help of archæological stratification and associated inscribed objects. He has come to the conclusion that the stratum below 13 ft. at Kumrahar and Bulandi Bagh and the stratum between 34 ft. and 56 ft. at Buxar are probably pre-Maurya. Therefore the terracotta figurines found at these strata at these three places are probably pre-Maurya. He has remarked that there is a similarity between the head-dresses worn by these above-mentioned figurines and different kinds of head-dresses mentioned in Vedic literature. He finds the same kind of head-dress worn by some of the terracotta figurines of Mathura. He has also shown that the terracotta figurines of the Maurya age have been found at Bulandi Bagh and Patna University area and of the Śuṅga age at Taxila and Basarh.

63 **Gordon, D. H.** JRAI, LXII, pp 163–71 ; pls XIII, XIV ; 1932

(1) Some terracottas from Sari-Dheri, N.-W.F. Province.

The author discusses some terracotta figurines found at Sari-Dheri, about four and a half miles from Charsada in North-West Frontier Province not ' by systematic excavation, but in the course of digging manure-earth to be spread on sugar-cane fields ' (p. 163). He has divided these specimens into three groups, viz., human, animal and miscellaneous. The human figurines have again been divided into male and female. He has tentatively ascribed these male figurines to the 1st century B.C., 1st century A.D., 2nd century A.D. and 3rd century A.D. The female figurines are of two types, viz., primitive and classic. He has ascribed the primitive type to the period 100 B.C.–100 A.D. and the classic type to the period 150 B.C.–50 B.C. Animals have been ascribed to 2nd century B.C., 1st century B.C. and 1st century A.D. The illustrated specimens are male figurine (pls. XIII. fig. 1, nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, fig. 2, no. 9 (text-fig. 1. a), 29, 34, XIV. fig. 1, no. 15 (text-fig. 1. b) ), female figurine (pls. XIII, fig. 2, nos. 12 (text-fig. 1. c), 24, 27, 32, 33, XIV. fig. 1, nos. 25, 26, 28, text-figs. 1. c, 2. a, 2. b, 2. c, 3. a, 3. b, 4), horse or unicorn (pl. XIII), deer (pl. XIII), ram (text-figs. 5. a, 5. b) and horse (text-fig. 5).

64 ——— M, XXXIV, pp 55–58 ; 1934

(2) Notes on early frontier terracottas.

In this communication which is supplementary to the article noticed in no. 63 the author describes and illustrates some terracotta figurines obtained at Sari-Dheri in the Charsada sub-division of the Peshawar district, Khan Mahi, four miles from Sari-Dheri and Akra in Bannu district. The illustrated specimens represent human head (fig. 1, no. 1, fig. 2—lower two figurines), male figurine (fig. 1, no. 4), female figurine (ibid., nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, fig. 2—upper figurine) and elephant (fig. 5). The age of these specimens has been indicated and the stylistic difference between specimens illustrated in fig. 1 and those in fig. 2 has also been noticed.

65 ——— M, XXXV, pp 117-18 ; 1935

(3) The problem of early Indian terracottas.

Here the author wishes to state that the gap between the Indus Valley and the Maurya ages cannot be bridged by the

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evidence of certain early Indian terracottas and that some of the terracottas ascribed to an age between the Indus Valley and the Maurya ages by Marshall and Coomaraswamy is to be relegated to a later age on the consideration of archæological stratification and style.

66 ——— M, XXXV, p 144; 1935

(4) Indian and Babylonian figurines.

It is a reply to Corbiau's note summarized in no. 36.

67 **Growse, F. S.** JASB, LII, pt I, pp 270–88; pl XXII. fig 1; 1883

The town of Bulandshahr.

One terracotta female figurine found in the old ruins at Bulandshahr has been described and illustrated.

68 **Hamid, M. M., Kak, R. C., Chanda, R. P.** and **Marshall, J. H.** CMASBS, pp 57–59; pls XVIII. c. 768-69, XIX. c. 751, c. 744; 1922

Terracottas : Terracotta plaques.

In this catalogue mention has been made of a number of terracotta figurines of which a few have been illustrated. The illustrated specimens are *Buddha* (pl. XVIII. c. 768-69), human torso (pl. XIX. c. 744) and conventional animal (ibid., c. 751). Regarding the age of the *Buddha* image found here it has been remarked, 'The palæographical characteristics of the letters and the discovery of the plaques themselves under the pavement of Temple 18 fix their date between the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian era' (p. 58).

69 **Hargreaves, H.** ASIAR for 1910-11, pp 27, 31; pls XV. a. 8, 10, 11, 12, XV. b. 1, 6, XVI. c. 3; 1914

(1) Excavations at Shah-ji-ki-Dheri.

While excavating at Shah-ji-ki-Dheri in North-West Frontier Provinces the author discovers a number of terracotta figurines. The illustrated specimens represent *Buddha* head (pl. XV. a. 10, 12; XVI. c. 3), human figurine (pl. XV. a. 8, 11) and horse (ibid., b. 1, 6).

70 ——— ASIAR for 1914-15, pp 102–04, 118; 1920

(2) Excavations at Sarnath.

While excavating at Sarnath in Benares district in the United Provinces the author has discovered a number of terracotta figurines from east and west of Main Shrine. These mainly represent *Buddha*, Buddhist deities, human figurines, animals, birds and mythical birds.

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71 ——— MASI, 35, pp 8–12, 33, 38, 42-43 ; pls XIX. 5, XXI. 9–12, 19 ; 1929

(3) Excavations in Baluchistan 1925; Sampur Mound, Mastung and Sohr Damb, Nal.

In this memoir on the archæological excavations at Sampur Mound, Mastung and Sohr Damb, Nal in Baluchistan the author describes terracotta figurines found at these two sites and illustrates some of those antiquities found at Nal. The illustrated specimens represent male figurine (pl. XXI. 19), ram (ibid.. 9), bull (ibid., 10–12) and dog (pl. XIX. 5). He has remarked, 'There is, of course, no certainty that the Nal and the Indus Valley cultures were synchronous. All that can be definitely asserted at present is that copper implements, painted pottery and a somewhat complex pottery design and a striking form of weight are common to both' (p. 38).

72 Hoey, W. JASB, LXI, pt I. extra. no, pp 1–64 ; pls I–XXX ; 1892

Set-Mahet.

In this communication the author describes and illustrates some terracotta figurines found at Set-Mahet.

73 Jayaswal, K. P. MR, LII, pp 148–50 ; pl ; 1932

(1) A note on terracotta Rāmāyaṇa panel of Gupta period, and on śikhara temples.

Notice has been taken of a terracotta panel in *alto-relievo*, representing a scene of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, found in Chausa in Shahbad district in Bihar. The author opines that this panel is similar in style to those found on the Bhitargaon temple, in Sankisa, Newal and Deogarh. It has been ascribed to the Gupta age.

74 ——— JISOA, III, pp 125-26 ; pls XXX–XXXII ; 1935

(2) Terracottas dug out at Patna.

The author describes and illustrates some terracotta figurines unearthed at Kadamkuan, Bakarganj, Bhiknapahari, Mussallapur and Golakhpur near Patna in Bihar. In Kadamkuan a *Brāhmī* inscription of the Aśokan age (pl. XXX. 3) has been found at a depth of 14 feet. Regarding the question of the Maurya level at ancient sites near Patna the author observes, 'The general Mauryan level from earlier coin-finds (Golakhpur 15 feet) and other experiences of mine extending over twenty-one years at Patna is 14 to 12 feet' (p. 126). Among illustrated specimens some (pls. XXX. 1, XXXII. 1) have been ascribed to the pre-Maurya age and some other (pls. XXX. 2, XXXI, XXXII. 2, 3) to the Maurya age. The remaining specimen is ascribed to c. 100 A.D. The illustrated specimens represent female head (pl. XXX. 1), sun-plaque (ibid., 2), female torso (pl. XXXI), male figurine, probably *Śiva* (pl. XXXII. 1), water cyphon (ibid., 2-3) and monk (pl. XXX. 4).

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75 **Kak**, R. C. HANSSPSMS, pp 11–26 ; illustrations. Bc. 1–4, Bc. 10-11, Bc. 15–17, Bc. 18, Bc. 19, Bc. 35, Bc. 34, Bc. 63, Bc. 52, Bc. 66, Bc. 68, Bc. 91-92, Bc. 64 ; 1923

(1) In this catalogue the author describes and illustrates some terracotta figurines found at the modern village of Ushkar near Baramula. They 'were all found within a few feet of each other outside the north enclosure wall' (p. 11). These are the earliest examples of Kashmir sculpture in the round, hitherto discovered. These illustrated specimens represent *Buddha* (Bc. 1–3), *Bodhisattva* (Bc. 10-11), male figurine (Bc. 4, 9, 15, 16, 17, 19, 34), female figurine (Bc. 18, 35) and human fragment (Bc. 52, 63, 64, 66, 68, 91, 92). They bear a striking resemblance to later Gandhāra art.

76 ——— AMK, pp 107–11, 152–54 ; pls XXII-XXVII, XXVIII. 14, 17, 18, XXIX, XXX, XXXI. 25, XXXII, XXXIII. 28, XXXIV. 31, XXXIX, XLI. 45, LVIII ; 1933

(2) Here the author describes and illustrates terracotta tiles with figurines discovered at Harwan which is 2 miles below the Shalimar garden in Kashmir. They are ascribed to c. 300 A.D. All these tiles bear the numerals in *Kharoshṭhī* script. These 'supply a life-like representation of the features of those mysterious people, the Kushans' (p. 111). These tiles illustrate male figurine, female figurine, animal, bird, etc. At Ushkar situated half a mile away from Baramula dak bungalow the author has found several terracotta heads some of which have been illustrated. They are *Bodhisattva* (pl. LVIII. a), male head (ibid., b, d) and female head (ibid., c).

77 **Kramrisch**, S. IS, pp 11, 73, 148, 205, 215 ; pl III. 12, 13 ; 1933

Here the author briefly deals with the terracotta figurines and illustrates two specimens. One is a male head (pl. III. 12) and the other a female head (ibid., 13). They belong to the Maurya age.

78 **Mackay**, E. ASIAR for 1927-28, pp 73, 76 ; pl XXV. 6, 7 ; 1931

(1) Excavations at Mohenjo-daro.

The terracotta figurines—one representing male figurine (pl. XXV. 6) and the other human figurine (ibid., 7)—found at Mohenjo-daro in Larkana district in Sind and belonging to the Indus Valley age have been described.

79 ——— MIC, I, pp 338–55 ; III, pls XCIV. 1–5, 9–14, XCV, XCVI. 1–6, 8–11, 13, 16, 18–25, XCVII. 4, 7–26 ; 1931

(2) Figurines and model animals.

In this article some of the terracotta figurines unearthed at Mohenjo-daro in Larkana district in Sind have been discussed under two classes, viz., human figurines and animal

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figurines. In course of dealing with the human figurines the author has shown that the eyes are generally represented by pellets of clay, that the mouth is, to some extent, naturalistically treated, that the ears are made in case of only one figurine and that the nose is made by a pinching up of a portion of the clay. Regarding the absence of ears in case of all these figurines except one the author believes that 'they must have been concealed beneath the appendages of the head-dress' (p. 340). It has been shown that these figurines put on jewelry, head-dress, etc. The author further believes that many of these female figurines are sacred images and most probably represent mother goddess. It is worth noting that male figurines are comparatively rare. The illustrated specimens represent human figurine (pl. XCV. 10, 14, 18, 24, 29), human head (pls. XCIV. 1, XCV. 6–8, 23), human mask (pl. XCV. 1–3), male figurine (pls. XCIV. 2–4, XCV. 4, 5, 9, 15–17, 19, 22, 25), female figurine (pls. XCIV. 5, 9–14, XCV. 11–13, 20, 21, 26–28, 30). It is important to note that the author has ascribed pl. XCV. 23 to a date later than the Indus Valley age on the consideration of modelling (p. 343). Secondly, it has been shown that the Indus Valley men modelled dove (pl. XCVI. 1), parrot (ibid., 2), dog's head with bird's tail (ibid., 3), peacock (ibid., 4), panther (ibid., 5, 6), squirrel or mongoose (ibid., 8), hare (ibid., 9), elephant (ibid., 10), monkey (ibid., 11, 13), dog (ibid., 16, 18–20, XCVII. 20, 21), pig (pl. XCVI. 21, 22), unicorn (ibid., 23), ram (ibid., 24, XCVII. 7), bull (pls. XCVI. 25, XCVII. 12–14, 16, 18, 19, 22–26), sheep (ibid., 4), rhinoceros (ibid., 8–11), sow (ibid., 15) and bison (ibid., 17). It is important to note that no figurine of cow has been found at Mohenjo-daro (p. 335).

80 ———— ASIAR for 1928-29, p 74 ; pl XXVIII. c ; 1933

(3) Excavations at Mohenjo-daro.

While excavating at Mohenjo-daro in Larkana district in Sind the author has unearthed a terracotta animal strongly resembling horse (pl. XXVIII. c) in Dk area. It is 'hand-modelled' and 'belongs to the Late II period'. 'This animal has also been identified in the script on the very early tablets of Jemdet Nasr in Mesopotamia.'

81 ———— JRSA, LXXXII, p 218 ; fig G ; 1934

(4) Further excavations at Mohenjo-daro.

In this lecture the author describes and illustrates one terracotta female figurine (fig. G) representing mother goddess and belonging to the Indus Valley age.

82 ———— ASIAR for 1929-30, p 109 ; pl XXIII. 17 ; 1935

(5) Excavations at Mohenjo-daro.

In this report on excavation at Mohenjo-daro in Larkana district in Sind the author has described and illustrated a conventional human mask (pl. XXIII. 17). It is to be ascribed to Intermediate II period of the Indus Valley age. The similarity between this specimen and one similar copper specimen found at Ur has been noticed.

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83 ——— TIC, pp 66–68, 72, 84, 100–06, 167; pls I, J, no. 1, K, no. 8; 1935

(6) In this work the author briefly deals with the various aspects of the terracotta figurines found in Mohenjo-daro in Larkana district in Sind and Harappa in Montgomery district in the Punjab. The illustrated specimens are mother goddess (pl. I, no. 1), male figurine (ibid., no. 2), horned deity (pl. J, no. 1) and toy (pl. K, no. 8).

84 **Majumdar, N. G.** ARVRS for 1926-27, p 1; 1927

(1) Museum notes.

The author mentions two terracotta human heads and two similar fragmentary specimens found at Buxar in Shahbad district in Bihar at a depth of 25 to 30 ft. below the surface. The style of these specimens is typical of the Śuṅga age.

85 ——— ASIAR for 1927-28, pp 76–83; pls XXVIII. 6, 12, 13, XXX. 4; 1931

(2) Excavations at Jhukar.

While excavating the mound at Jhukar, which is sixteen miles north of Mohenjo-daro in Larkana district in Sind and where clear traces of three different strata representing three periods of occupation, i.e., the latest, that is, stratum I belonging to the Gupta age (not earlier than the fifth century A.D.) and the earliest, that is, strata II and III belonging to the Indus Valley age have been found, the author has discovered a number of terracotta figurines. The illustrated specimens represent pig (pl. XXVIII. 6), goat (ibid., 12) and bull (ibid., 13). All these have been found in Mound A at stratum III. The other illustrated specimen is the seated *Buddha* (pl. XXX. 4) which belongs to the Gupta age.

86 ——— MASI, 48, pp 11, 12, 14, 17, 33, 41, 42, 54, 58, 73, 75, 77, 102, 108; pls XIII. 1, XV. 18, XVI. 14, XXI. 1–5, 7–14, XXII. 38, 47, 51, 52, 53, XXXIV. 6, 7, 10; 1934

(3) Explorations in Sind.

In this memoir on archæological exploration in Sind the author reports that terracotta figurines have been found at Jhukar, Chanhu-daro, Lohumjo-daro, Lakhiyo, Amri, Mashak, Lohri, Ghazi Shah and Ali Murad. He is of opinion that as a class they belong to the Indus Valley age exemplified at first by Mohenjo-daro and Harappa figurines, with the exception of only one (pl. XIII. 1) which belongs to the Indo-Sassanian age. The illustrated specimens are human figurine (pl. XV. 18), male figurine (pl. XIII. 1), mother goddess (pls. XXI. 1, XXXIV. 6, 7), female figurine (pl. XXII. 38), unidentifiable bird (pls. XVI. 14, XXI. 2), monkey (pl. XXI. 3), unicorn (ibid., 4), buffalo (ibid., 5, XXXIV. 10), bull (pls. XXI. 7, 10–12, 14, XXII. 47, 51, 52, 53), goat (pl. XXI. 13) and unidentifiable animal (ibid., 8, 9).

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87 ——— ASIAR for 1929-30, pp 110–21 ; 1935

(4) Explorations in Sind.

In this report on exploration in Sind mention has been made of terracotta figurines discovered in Amri, Chanhu-daro, etc. These belong to the Indus Valley age. No specimen has been illustrated.

88 Marshall, J. H. ASIAR for 1910-11, pp 20-21 ; pls X. 1–6, XII. a, 2 with the exception of nos. 8 and 9 ; 1914

(1) Excavations at Saheth-Maheth.

In course of excavation at Saheth-Maheth in the Gonda and Bahraich districts in the United Provinces the author has unearthed a number of terracotta figurines. 'Among the terracottas unearthed at Saheth, the most interesting are some figurines of the Gupta period, which supply useful information regarding the costume of that age' (p. 20). The illustrated specimens belong to the Gupta and mediæval ages. The illustrated specimens represent *Buddha* head (pl. X. 2), human head (ibid., 3, pl. XII. a, 2, nos. 2, 4, 5), male head (ibid., no. 3), female head (pl. X. 1), man and woman (pl. XII. a, 2, no. 1), elephant (pls. X. 4, XII. a, 2, no. 6), boar (pl. X. 5), bitch (ibid., 6), horse (pl. XII. a, 2, no. 10), unidentifiable animal (ibid., no. 11) and bird with human head (ibid., no. 7).

89 ——— ASIAR for 1911-12, pp 35-36, 71–80 ; pls XXII. 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 13–18, XXIII. 17–31, 33–44, XXIV, XXV. 46, 47, 49, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII. 103–124 ; 1915

(2) Excavations at Bhita.

While excavating at Bhita in Allahabad district in the United Provinces the author has unearthed a number of terracotta figurines. On the consideration of archæological stratification he has chronologically classified them into five groups, viz., (1) Primitive, (2) Maurya, (3) Śuṅga and Andhra, (4) Kushaṇa, and (5) Gupta and later. Figurines illustrative of the first group represent human figurine (7), elephant (1, 4) and horse (3). Figurines illustrative of the second group are female figurine (9, 10), pig (13), ram (14) and elephant (16). Figurines illustrative of the third group are a scene identified by Vogel (pp. 35-36) as that of the meeting of *Dushyanta* and *Śakuntalā* (17), male figurine (19, 22), female figurine (18), horse (20), elephant (29) and camel (31). In the fourth group we find probably *Śiva* (42), *Pṛthivī* (40), human head (33, 43, 44) and female figurine (34, 35). In the fifth group we find *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* (49), unidentifiable goddess (47), human figurine (91), human head (46, 54, 56–61, 63–68, 81–84, 99–101, 105–110), human bust (75–80, 92–98), male figurine (70, 72, 73, 85–87), female figurine (53, 71, 74, 89, 90), man and woman (69), mother and child (102–104), *nāga*-head (111), horse (113, 114), lion (115), ram (116), monkey (117-118, 122), bull (123), pig (124), tortoise (119) and parrot (120).

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90 ——— ASIAR for 1912-13, pt I, p 13; pl XII. b; 1915

(3) The Chir tope.

The author reports the discovery of a large number of terracotta figurines at the Chir tope in Taxila. These specimens probably belong to the latter half of the 3rd century A.D. or the early period of the 4th century A.D. He has illustrated a few *Buddha* and *Bodhisattva* heads (pl. XII. b).

91 ——— ASIAR for 1912-13, pp 14, 20, 40–42; pls V. a, d, VI. a, XXXIX. e; 1916

(4) Excavations at Taxila.

While excavating at Taxila in North-West Frontier Province the author has unearthed a number of terracotta figurines. The illustrated specimens represent male head (pls. V. a, d, VI. a), human figurine (pl. XXXIX. e, 2), bull (ibid., e, 1), ram (ibid., e, 3), elephant (ibid., e, 4) and horse (ibid., e, 5). All these belong to the Maurya age, c. 1st century A.D., c. 3rd-4th century A.D. There is a definite Hellenistic influence in male heads.

92 ——— ASIAR for 1915-16, pt I, p 11; pl V. a; 1917

(5) Taxila.

In this report one terracotta figurine of *Buddha* found at Mora Moradu in Taxila and which has been illustrated in ASIAR for 1915-16, pl. XXIV. e is illustrated.

93 ——— ASIAR for 1915-16, pp 9-10, 29, 30; pls III. b, d, e, V. a, XXIII. d, g, XXIV. b, e; 1918

(6) Excavations at Taxila.

In course of excavation at Taxila in North-West Frontier Province the author has discovered a number of terracotta figurines at the Dharmarājika stūpa and Mora Moradu monastery. The illustrated specimens represent bearded head (pl. III. b), mask (ibid, d), *Bodhisattva* (ibid, e), female figurine (pl. V. a), *Buddha* head (pls. XXIII. d, XXIV. b), *Buddha* seated in *yogāsana* (pl. XXIV. e) and male head (pl. XXIII. g). All these specimens belong to Gandhāra art.

94 ——— ASIAR for 1914-15, pp 7, 15, 18, 20; pl VII. a; 1920

(7) Excavations at Taxila.

While excavating at Taxila in North-West Frontier Province the author has discovered a number of terracotta figurines. The illustrated specimen (pl. VII. a) discovered in Chapel R at the Dharmarājika stūpa represents a human head and is an example of Gandhāra art.

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95 ——— ASIAR for 1917-18, pt I, p 8 ; pl IV. e ; 1920

(8) Taxila.

Some terracotta human head (pl. IV. e) found at Jaulian in Taxila have been illustrated.

96 ——— GT, p 44 ; pl VI. b ; 1921

(9) Here the author describes and illustrates one terracotta male head (pl. VI. b) found in the Dharmarājika stūpa at Taxila.

97 ——— ASIAR for 1918-19, pt I, p 21 ; pl XI ; 1921

(10) Kashmir.

Here the author refers to the discovery of terracotta tiles with figurines at Harwan in Kashmir. The illustrated specimens represent bird (pl. XI, upper tile) and human figurine (ibid., lower tile).

98 ——— ASIAR for 1918-19, pt I, p 23 ; pl XIV. a ; 1921

(11) Bikaner.

The author gives an account of the report of archæological excavation carried on in Bikaner by Tessitori who has discovered at the Pir Sultan mound in Dotheri a female torso in terracotta (pl. XIV. a) supposed to belong 'to the best period of the Gandhāra school' (p. 23).

99 ——— ASIAR for 1919-20, p 24 ; pl XI. 9, 14, 15 ; 1922

(12) Taxila.

In course of excavation at the Bhir mound in Taxila the author has unearthed a number of terracotta figurines. The illustrated specimens are human figurines (pl. XI. 9), male figurine (ibid., 14) and toy (ibid., 15). According to the author 'figs. 9 and 14 are characteristic specimens of the primitive terracotta work of this period, and fig. 15 is a typical example of children's toys.'

100 ——— ASIAR for 1919-20, pp 28-29 ; pl XXI. c ; 1922

(13) Eastern Circle.

In this report a terracotta tablet representing *Buddha* with *Bodhisattva* found at Nalanda in Bihar has been illustrated.

101 ——— ASIAR for 1920-21, p 20 ; pl XVI. 3–17 ; 1923

(14) Taxila.

In course of excavation at Bhir mound in Taxila the author has discovered a number of terracotta figurines and

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moulds. The illustrated specimens are mould (pl. XVI. 3, 4), human figurine (ibid., 17), man and woman (ibid., 8), male torso (ibid., 6, 7), female figurine (ibid., 9–15), unidentifiable figurine (ibid., 5) and cock (ibid., 16). According to the author 'the terracottas illustrated in Plate XVI are all in the characteristic early Indian style recalling to mind the primitive terracottas from early strata at Bhita and other sites in Hindustan.'

102 ——— ILN, September 20, 1924, pp 528–32, 548 ; pls on pp 530, 532 ; 1924

(15) First light on a long-forgotten civilization ; New discoveries of an unknown prehistoric past in India.

In this article the author gives an account of the prehistoric discoveries at Mohenjo-daro in Larkana district in Sind and Harappa in Montgomery district in the Punjab. In the course of this account he describes and illustrates some terracotta female figurines found at Harappa (pl. on p. 530) and some terracotta animals and birds found at Mohenjo-daro (pl. on p. 532).

103 ——— ILN, February 27, 1926, pp 343, 346–49 ; fig 14 ; 1926

(16) Unveiling the prehistoric civilization of India. Discoveries in Sind, the Punjab and Baluchistan—cities older than Abraham.

Reference has been made to the discoveries in Mohenjo-daro in Larkana district in Sind, Nal in Jhalwan district in Baluchistan and Harappa in Montgomery district in the Punjab. These specimens belong to the Indo-Sumerian age. A terracotta prism (fig. 14) found at Mohenjo-daro has been illustrated.

104 ——— ILN, March 6, 1926, pp 398–400 ; 1926

(17) Unveiling the prehistoric civilization of India. Discoveries in Sind, the Punjab and Baluchistan—cities older than Abraham.

Reference has been made to the discoveries of the Indo-Sumerian age in Mohenjo-daro in Larkana district in Sind, Harappa in Montgomery district in the Punjab and Nal in Jhalwan district in Baluchistan.

105 ——— ASIAR for 1923-24, p 66 ; pl XXVII. 4, 5 ; 1926

(18) Taxila.

Two terracotta figurines found at Sirkap at Taxila, viz., human head (pl. XXVII. 4) and female figurine (ibid., 5) have been illustrated. The former is 'very similar to certain heads, also garlanded, from the mound of Akra near Bannu' (p. 66).

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106 ———— ILN, January 29, 1927, pp 160-61 ; figs on p 161 ; 1927

(19) Bengal art before the Musalman Conquest : Remarkable discoveries at Paharpur.

The author relates the excavation of the temple at Paharpur in Rajshahi district in Bengal. Here a large number of terracotta plaques have been discovered. These were originally placed on the basement of the temple. Some of them have been illustrated.

107 ———— ASIAR for 1925-26, pp 72–98 ; pls XXX. a–g, XXXVI. a, b, XXXVII. b–d, XXXVIII. a, XLIII. b, XLIV. a ; 1928

(20) Mohenjo-daro.

In course of excavation at Mohenjo-daro in Larkana district in Sind the author in collaboration with others has discovered a number of terracotta figurines belonging to the Indus Valley age. The illustrated specimens represent human figurine (pls. XXXVI. a, XXXVII. b, c), female figurine (pls. XXX. a–g, XLIII. b), bull (pl. XXXVIII. a, XLIV. a) and dog (pl. XXXVI. b). It seems that the specimens illustrated in pl. XXXVII. d are not described in the text.

108 ———— ILN, March 24, 1928, p 477 ; 2 pls ; 1928

(21) The storied past of India : I. Chandragupta's palisaded capital.

The author has referred to terracotta figurines discovered at Pataliputra near the modern city of Patna in Bihar. He has illustrated two female figurines.

109 ———— ILN, March 31, 1928, pp 522-23 ; pl on p 522 ; 1928

(22) The storied past of India : II. Taxila and its buried treasure.

Here one terracotta human head has been illustrated (pl. on p. 522). It has been unearthed from the Scytho-Parthian city of Taxila and there is a strong Hellenistic influence in it.

110 ———— ILN, April 21, 1928, pp 685, 718 ; 1928

(23) The storied past of India : IV. A ' Unique ' monument discovered.

Here reference has been made to the terracotta plaques found at Paharpur in the Rajshahi district in Bengal. It includes a variety of human and divine figurines as well as many grotesque and mythical creatures. According to the opinion of the author these cannot be far removed from the best period of Gupta art.

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111 ——— ABIA for 1927, pp 1–6 ; figs 1, 2, pl II. c ; 1929

(24) The prehistoric civilization of the Indus.

In this article on the archæological finds at Mohenjo-daro in Larkana district in Sind the author has described and illustrated some terracotta figurines excavated here and belonging to the Indus Valley age. They are female figurine (fig. 2), unidentifiable animal (fig. 1) and bull (pl. II. c).

112 ——— ASIAR for 1926-27, pp 112-13, 117 ; pls XXVI. 1, XXVIII. 2 ; 1930

(25) Taxila.

While excavating at Taxila in North-West Frontier Province the author has discovered a number of terracotta figurines in Sirkap. Among these figurines one female head (pl. XXVI. 1) has been ascribed to an age earlier than the Scytho-Parthian age as ' its modelling is more distinctly Hellenistic ' (p. 113). The other illustrated figurine (pl. XXVIII. 2) probably represents *Kubera* and is very similar ' to the figures in Māra's army on the North Gateway at Sanchi ' (p. 117). It is the ' work of the Early Indian School ' (ibid).

113 ——— MIC, I, pp 49–52 ; pls XII. 1–11, XIII. 15, 16, XIV. 1 ; 1931

(26) Religion.

While dealing with religion prevalent in the Indus Valley age the author takes a number of terracotta figurines for proving some of his points. He believes that many of these female figurines in terracotta represent the great mother goddess and has tried to prove this point by specimens unearthed in Baluchistan besides the Indus Valley specimens. The illustrated specimens are female figurine (pl. XII. 1–10, XIV. 1), male figurine (pl. XIII. 16) and human figurine (pls. XII. 11, XIII. 15).

114 ——— ASIAR for 1929-30, pp 68, 91, 92, 95 ; pl XIV. 1, 3, 5, 7, 8 ; 1935

(27) Excavations at Taxila.

In this report on archæological excavation the author mentions the discovery of a number of terracotta figurines at Sirkap in Taxila. He has described and illustrated some of them which were unearthed from the 6th, 5th and 4th strata. The illustrated specimens are male figurine (pl. XIV. 1, 3, 8), female head (ibid., 5) and a scene in relief (ibid., 7). They belong either to the Greek or the Scytho-Parthian age.

115 **Marshall**, J. H. and **Konow**, S. ASIAR for 1906-07, p 95 ; pl XXVI. 1 ; 1909

(1) Sarnath.

The authors describe and illustrate one terracotta human figurine (pl. XXVI. 1) found at Sarnath in Benares district in the United Provinces.

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116 ——— ASIAR for 1907-08, pp 48, 50, 53, 55, 56, 61, 72 ; figs 6, 8 ; 1911

(2) Excavation at Sarnath, 1908.

In course of excavation at Sarnath in Benares district in the United Provinces the authors have discovered a number of terracotta figurines mainly in Monastery I, Monastery II and in Area, north on Main Shrine. The illustrated specimens represent Atlant, supporting bracket, with arms above head (fig. 6) and a helmeted head, 'markedly Perso-Hellenic' in character (fig. 8) which is to be dated 'hardly later and possibly somewhat earlier than the 1st century B.C.' (p. 55).

117 **Marshall**, J. H. and **Vogel**, J. Ph. ASIAR for 1902-03, pp 150, 152, 158, 160, 173 ; fig 11 ; 1904

Excavations at Charsada in the Frontier Province.

In course of excavation in the neighbourhood of Charsada in North-West Frontier Province the authors have discovered a number of terracotta figurines in Bala Hisar, Mir Ziyarat, Palatu Dheri and Ghaz Dheri. Only one specimen found in the lowest deposit at Mir Ziyarat has been reproduced (fig. 11). 'Probably it represents a *Nāga*, but the projections around the head may form part of a head-dress only' (p. 158).

118 **Mitra**, P. JDLCU, III, pp 205–07 ; 1920

(1) Prehistoric arts and crafts of India.

Here an account has been given of the terracotta figurines found in the Nilagiris by Breeks, in Salem by Foote and in Bhita by Marshall from the standpoint of cultural contact.

119 ——— PI, pp 413–16 ; 1927

(2) The information contained in this book regarding terracotta figurines is the same as summarized in no. 118.

120 **Mukherji**, P. C. ASINS, XXVI, pt I, pl XXVI, fig 2 ; 1901

A report on a tour of exploration of the antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal, the region of Kapilāvastu.

In course of archæological exploration in the region of Kapilāvastu in the Nepalese Tarai the author discovers a terracotta *Buddha* figure (pl. XXVI, fig. 2).

121 **Munn**, L. MI, XV, p 250 ; fig 26 ; 1935

Prehistoric and protohistoric finds of the Raichur and Shorapur districts of H.E.H. the Nizam's State.

The author discovers and illustrates clay figurines (fig. 26) discovered at Maski and Koratgi. According to the author these probably belong to the Maurya age.

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122 **Oertel, F. C.** ASIAR for 1904-05, p 102 ; 1908

Excavations at Sarnath.

In course of excavation at Sarnath in Benares district in the United Provinces the author has discovered a number of terracotta figurines of which the seated *Buddha* type is worth mentioning.

123 **Page, J. A.** ASIAR for 1926-27, pp 139-40 ; pl XXXI. d, k ; 1930

Bulandi Bagh, near Patna.

In course of excavation at Bulandi Bagh situated four miles east of Patna in Bihar the author has unearthed a number of terracotta figurines among which two have been illustrated. The first one is the head of a serpent-goddess with elaborate coils and decorated with honey-suckle patterns and probably belongs to the Maurya age (pl. XXXI. d). The other is a female figurine (ibid., k) and probably to be ascribed to the pre-Maurya age. Regarding these specimens the following remarks have been made : ' The terracotta figurines, of which some five or six varieties were found, quite different in style from those found by the late Dr. Spooner, exhibit a much earlier development of art than that which characterises those of the Maurya period. The ornaments and dress of these newly recovered figurines are peculiar to themselves and reveal a state of culture quite distinct from that of the Mauryas' (p. 140).

124 **Rea, A.** ASIAR for 1905-06, p 130 ; fig 4, nos A, B ; 1909

(1) Ancient village site at Peddamudiyam.

In course of excavation at Peddamudiyam, a village on the north bank of the Kunderu river and about twelve miles north of Jamalamadugu in the Cuddapah district the author has discovered a number of terracotta figurines of which one parrot (fig. 4, no. A) and one bull (ibid., no B) have been illustrated.

125 ——— ASIAR for 1907-08, p 170 ; pls LVII. 34–37, LIX. 21 ; 1911

(2) A Buddhist monastery on the Sankaram Hills, Vizagapatam district.

In the small village of Sankaram situated about a mile to the east of the taluk-town of Anakapalle in Madras a number of terracotta figurines have been discovered. The illustrated specimens are ram pl. (LVII. 34), goat (ibid., 35), bull (ibid., 36), female torso (ibid., 37) and female bust (pl. LIX. 21). According to the author all these seem to be toys except the bull which might have been an object of worship.

126 **Sahni, D. R.** ASIAR for 1907-08, p 186 ; figs 1, 2 ; 1911

(1) Excavations at Rampurva.

While excavating at Rampurva, a tiny village in Champaran district in Bihar the author has discovered a number of

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terracotta figurines. The illustrated figurines represent a rabbit possibly (fig. 1) and a horse (fig. 2).

127 ———— CMAS, pp 281–86 ; 1914

(2) F. Terracottas.

In this section of the catalogue the author has described a number of terracotta figurines found at Sarnath in Benares district in the United Provinces. He has tried to show that on the consideration of archæological stratification these specimens should be ascribed to the Kushaṇa, early Gupta, late Gupta, mediæval and later mediæval ages. These specimens represent *Buddha, Vṛshabhanātha, Gaṇeśa*, unidentifiable male deity, *Yaksha*, human figurines, male figurine, female figurine, human fragment, horse, bull, elephant, mouse, crocodile, tortoise and bird.

128 ———— ASIAR for 1913-14, pp 58-59 ; pl XXX. d, 20–25 ; 1917

(3) Excavations at Avantīpura.

In course of excavation at the ancient city of Avantīpura identified with the modern village of Vantipor situated on the right bank of the Vitastā (vulgo Yyath) river and eighteen miles above Srinagar in Kashmir a number of terracotta figurines represented in relief or in round and on plaques or on vessels, and of terracotta figurine-moulds have been unearthed. The illustrated figurines are a pair of *garuḍas* (pl. XXX. d, 20), female figurine (ibid., 21), female votary (ibid., 22, 24), *Gaṇeśa* (ibid., 23, 25). On the consideration of archæological stratification and literary evidence regarding the date of the Avantīsvāmī temple near which these have been found, these may be approximately placed either in the 14th or 15th century A.D. (pl. XXX. d, 22, 24, 25) or near about (ibid., 20, 21, 23).

129 ———— ASIAR for 1923-24, pp 52–54 ; pl XXI. e ; 1926

(4) Harappa.

The terracotta female figurines (pl. XXI. e) found at Harappa in Montgomery district in the Punjab and belonging to the Indus Valley age have been illustrated.

130 ———— ASIAR for 1924-25, pp 74, 76 ; pl XXVII. b–d, f, g ; 1927

(5) Harappa.

In course of excavation at Harappa in Montgomery district in the Punjab the author has discovered a number of terracotta figurines belonging to the Indus Valley age. The illustrated specimens are female figurine (pl. XXVII. b–d, g) and lion (ibid., f).

131 ———— IAL, VIII, p 122 ; fig 10 ; 1934

(6) Archæological exploration in India, 1932-33.

The author refers to one terracotta cart (fig. 10) found at Kosam in Allahabad district in the United Provinces. It is now

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preserved in the Allahabad Municipal Museum and is ascribed to 3rd century A.D. In it we find the representation of some scene which might have been taken from the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* of *Śūdraka*. He also refers to terracotta figurines preserved in the said museum.

132 **Salmony, A.** RAA, tome V, pp 98–101 ; pls XXX–XXXI ; 1928-29

Statuettes indiennes en terrecuite de haute epoque.

The author states that the early Indian terracotta figurines are the most valuable evidence in favour of the theory of the original development of Hindu plastic art and also lead us from the prehistoric plastic art to the plastic art of the historic age. He believes that the age of these specimens may be determined according to colour of clay. On the stylistic consideration he has ascribed fig. 1 (human figurine) to c. 1000 B.C., fig. 2 (male head) to the middle of the last millennium, figs. 3 (female head), 4 (female head), 5 (female head), 6 (male head) to c. 300 B.C., and figs. 7 (male figurine), 8 (human figurine), 9 (male head) to the Gupta age. The female terracotta figurines generally represent mother goddess and goddess of fertility.

133 **Sanyal, N. B.** ARVRS for 1928-29, p 20 ; 1929

(1) A note on the additions to the Society's Museum during the year 1928-29.

Reference has been made of one terracotta plaque collected from Ghoraghat in Dinajpur district in Bengal and dated in the 16th or 17th century A.D. It represents *Veṇugopāla*.

134 ——— ARVRS for 1929-30, pp 4, 12 ; 1930

(2) Additions to the V.R.S. Museum, 1929-30.

Mention has been made of two terracotta plaques found probably at Mahasthan in Bogra district in Bengal. In one (no. 948) we find *Gaṇeśa* and in the other (no. 949) a female figurine. Mention has also been made of another terracotta panel (no. 951) found from the Jor-Bangla temple in Pabna district in Bengal which presents a scene not yet identified.

135 ——— ARVRS for 1931-32, p 12 ; 1933

(3) Additions to the V.R.S. Museum, 1931-32.

Reference has been made of two terracotta plaques found from some old temples of Puthia in Bengal (nos. 1374, 1375) in which there are some carvings.

136 ——— ARVRS for 1932-33, p 20 ; pl IV, fig 8 ; 1934

(4) Additions to the V.R.S. Museum, 1932-33.

The author describes and illustrates a terracotta mother with child figurine found in Pataliputra and probably of the Maurya or pre-Maurya age. He also mentions a mediæval terracotta plaque found at Betna in Dinajpur district in Bengal in which one scene is enacted.

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137 **Sarkar, K. C.** CR, 3rd Series, XXVII, pp 235 ; illustration V ; 1928

A pilgrimage to the excavation site at Paharpur.

In course of dealing with the ancient ruins of Paharpur in Rajshahi district in Bengal the author gives a short account of some terracotta figurines found here and illustrates one male figurine (illustration V).

138 **Sastri, H.** ASIAR for 1911-12, p 137 ; pls LXIV. 1, 2, LXVI. 8, 9 ; 1915

(1) Excavations at Kasia.

In course of excavation at Kasia in the Gorakhpur district in the United Provinces the author has discovered a number of terracotta figurines. Of these special mention has been made of a female deity (pl. LXIV. 2). ' It was lying, evidently not *in situ*, near the western corner of (A) opposite the two small cells which stood by the walls noticed above ' (p. 137).

139 ——— JUPHS, III, pt III, pp 97–118 ; pls III, IV, fig III, pl V ; 1927

(2) Excavations at Sankisa.

In this article on excavation at Sankisa in Farrukabad or Fatehgarh district in the United Provinces the author gives an account of some terracotta figurines unearthed by him here. In this connection he illustrates some terracotta elephants (pl. III) which are ascribed to the Gupta age (p. 109) on the consideration of archæological stratification and which are votive. He also describes and illustrates one terracotta human head of the Kushaṇa age (pl. IV, fig. III) (p. 113). In Blocks B and D he has found fragmentary terracotta figurines of the Kushaṇa and the Gupta ages (p. 115). Besides these there are illustrations of human heads and plaques (pl. V) some of which appear to be terracotta but which the author has not referred to in the article.

140 **Spooner, D. B.** ASIAR for 1908-09, p 55 ; fig 3 ; 1912

(1) Excavations at Shah-ji-ki-Dheri.

In course of excavation at Shah-ji-ki-Dheri in North-West Frontier Province the author has discovered a number of terracotta figurines of which some have been illustrated (fig. 3). As regards their identification he has remarked that ' whether these are very late forms of Bodhisattvas it is impossible to say ' (p. 55).

141 ——— ASIAR for 1913-14, pp 99, 100, 104-05, 107, 109-10, 115-17, 123, 154–85 ; pls XLIII–XLV ; 1917

(2) Excavations at Basarh.

In course of excavation at Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district in Bihar, the probable site of the ancient city of *Vaiśālī* the author has discovered a number of terracotta

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figurines. The illustrated specimens are human head (pls. XLIII. g, h, XLIV. b, h, XLV. b), unidentifiable human figurine (pl. XLIII. a), female figurine (ibid., b–e, XLIV. a, c, e, g, i, XLV. a, e, f–h), nude male figurine (pl. XLV. c, d), *mithuna* (pl. XLIII. f), animal (pl. XLIV. d) and aquatic animal (ibid., f). No definite statement has been made regarding the age of these specimens.

142 ——— ASIAR for 1916-17, pt I, pp 12-13; pl VI. a–c; 1918

(3) Kashmir.

The author reports that Sahni has discovered a number of terracotta figurines at Ushkar near Baramula in Kashmir. The illustrated specimens represent human head (pl. VI. b, c) and male head (ibid., a). All these belong to the Kushaṇa and early Gupta ages. According to the author these terracotta specimens show that the semi-classical influence permeated from Taxila to Kashmir.

143 ——— ASIAR for 1917-18, pt I, pp 22-23; pls XII. 6, 7, XIII; 1920

(4) Bikaner.

In course of excavations at Suratgadh, a town 113 miles NE of Bikaner, at Rang Mahal, a village about 2 miles NE of Suratgadh and at Barapal, a village 7 miles NE of Rang Mahal a number of terracotta panels representing sculptures have been found. The illustrated specimens are composite figurine (pl. XII. b), elephant (ibid., 7), *Kṛshṇa govardhana-dhārī* (pl. XIII. 1), *Śiva-Pārvatī* (ibid., 2), man and woman (ibid., 3), male bust (ibid., 4, 5) and female bust (ibid., 6, 7). It has been remarked, 'A general and very characteristic feature of all these reliefs is the classical treatment of the drapery and of the hair which at once betrays the influence of the Gandhāra school' (pp. 22-23). 'The most striking classical feature of these reliefs is perhaps the bodice worn by the women represented in plate XIII, fig. 7, which, with its short sleeves and armour-like decorations, has a very marked Roman appearance' (p. 23).

144 ——— ASIAR for 1917-18, pt I, p 27; pl XVI; 1920

(5) Pataliputra.

Here a brief account is given of some terracotta figurines found at Bulandi Bagh near Patna in Bihar. It has been remarked that they have been 'found in the dark blue soil enveloping the ancient wooden rampart, and their extreme antiquity is manifest, even apart from the evidence of find-spot' (p. 27). The illustrated specimens are human head (pl. XVI. 1, 2) and female figurine (ibid., 3, 4).

145 **Springer, A.** HK, VI; fig 246

Here one terracotta female figurine which has been found at Bulandi Bagh in Patna district in Bihar is illustrated.

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146 **Stein, A.** MASI, 37, pp 10, 13, 37, 38, 42, 45, 60, 62, 63, 75, 83; pls II. Ch.D. 1, III. A.Kh. 4, VII, P.SW. c. 6, P.W. 6, P.W. 7, VIII. P.C. 1, IX. P.C. 17, P.W. 9, P. 262, X. M.M.E. 57–59, XII. K. 14, M.M.E. 61, XVI. D.N. vi. 5, D.W. i. 1, D.N. d. 9, S.J. 68, D.N. vi. 2, D.N. vi. 3, D.N. vi. 1, S.J. ii. 80, XXI. S.K. 1, S.J. 69; 1929

(1) An archæological tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan.

In this memoir the author describes and illustrates a number of terracotta figurines found at Chichadherai mound near Draband, Aba-Khel mound near Tank, Periano-ghundai mound four miles west of Fort Sandeman cantonment, Moghul-ghundai mound nine miles south-west of Fort Sandeman cantonment, Kaudani mound five miles south-west of Fort Sandeman cantonment, Dabar-Kot mound near Thal, Sur-jangal mound near Sanjawai, Sara-kala mound near Pishin. The illustrated specimens represent human figurine (pls. IX. P.W. 5, XVI. D.N. vi. 5, D.W. i. 1, S.J. 68, D.N. vi. 2, D.N. vi. 3), female figurine (pls. IX. P.W. 9, P. 262, XII. K. 14, M.M.E. 61, XVI. D. N. d. 9, D.N. vi. 1), bull (pls. II. Ch.D. 1, VII. P.SW. c. 6, VIII. P.C. 1, X. M.M.E. 57–59, XVI. S.J. ii. 80, XXI. S.K. 7, S.J. 69), horse (pl. VII. P.W. 6), monkey (ibid., P.W. 7), parrot (pl. III. A.Kh. 4) and unidentifiable figurine (pl. IX. P.C. 17). So far as the age of these terracotta figurines are concerned. the remarks of the author regarding the age of the find-spots of these figurines are highly interesting. Regarding the Chichadherai mound he has not made any remark. Regarding the Aba-Khel mound he observes, 'Another mound . . . proved undoubtedly old' (p. 13). Regarding the Periano-ghundai mound he observes, 'It is impossible at present to express any opinion as to the race or origin of the people who occupied the site . . . But the resemblance of the motifs used in the painted pottery to that from culture strata ascribed to pre-Sueraian times at Mesopotamian sites and hence approximately datable is very striking indeed' (p. 41). Regarding the Moghul-ghundai mound he observes, 'My first inspection had shown that the broken pottery plentifully to be picked up on the top of the mound and among the large stones from decayed walls which cover the slopes, was of the same prehistoric type as found at Periano-ghundai and the desert sites of Sistan' (p. 43). Regarding the age of the Kaudani mound he observes, 'Taking the evidence as a whole there seems to me little doubt that the period when the Kaudani site was occupied and its mound formed is later than that of Periano-ghundai' (ibid.). Regarding the age of the Dabar-Kot mound he has remarked, 'The accumulation of "culture strata" which raised the mound to its present height was the result of continuous and very prolonged occupation during the chalcolithic period . . . . But our trial excavations have shown that the great mound thus created was chosen as a site for habitations, probably intermittently, also in later times after iron had come into use and down to the early centuries of our era' (pp. 63-64). Regarding the age of the Sur-jangal mound he has remarked, 'The chronological evidence here afforded is of interest as, in conjunction with what the finds in the cairns near Moghul-ghundai show, it suggests that burial customs practised during the chalcolithic

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period in this region had continued into historical times' (p. 77). He has not made any definite statement regarding the age of the Sara-Kala mound.

147 ——— MASI, 43, pp. 30, 34, 37, 44, 70, 91f, 96, 120, 123, 125f, 135, 136, 141, 151, 153, 155f, 158, 160, 161f, 166; pls I. Z.W. 5, VI. N.K. 4. a, P.Ch. 3, XIV. Sh.T. ii. 10, Sh.T. ii. 13, Sh.T. ii. 18, Sh.T. ii. 14, Sh.T. i. 15, Sh.T. ii. 16, Sh.T. ii. 12, Sh.T. ii. 17, Sh.T. ii. 11, Sh.T. ii. 19, XX. Bal. 4, XXI. Zik. 11, XXII. Kul. 15, Kul. 14, Kul. V. i, 4. a, Kul. V. vii. 3, Kul. V. i. 2, XXIII. Kul. V. i. 1, Kul. V. ii. 2, Kul. V. iii. 3, Kul. I. ix. 9, Kul. V. iii. 4, XXVI. Spet. J. 10, Spet. J. 11, XXVII. Men. 3, Shah. 1, Maz. 2, Men. 4, Men. 2, XXVIII. Mehi. I. 9. 6, XXXI, all illustrations with the exception of Mehi. III. 34. a, Mehi. III. 6. 18. a, Mehi. I. 8. 2, Mehi. III. 4. 11, Mehi. III. 6. 18; 1931

(2) An archæological tour in Gedrosia.

In this memoir the author describes and illustrates terra-cotta figurines found at the mound of Zayak, the Kalatuk-damb, the Chiri-damb, the mound of Shahi-Tump, Balor, the mound of Zik, the mound of Kulli, the Spet-damb, the Men-damb, the mound of Nokjo Shahdinzai, the Mazena-damb, the mound of Mehi. The illustrated specimens are mother goddess (pls. VI. P.Ch. 3, XXII. Kul. 15, Kul. V. i. 4. a, Kul. V. vii. 3, Kul. V. i. 2, XXVII. Shah. 1, Men. 4, XXXI. Mehi. III. 11. 4, Mehi. III. 1. 7, Mehi. III. 11, Mehi. I. 4. 5, Mehi. III. 7. i, Mehi. III. 5. 1, Mehi. III. 3. 3, Mehi. III. 8. 3, Mehi. III. 6. 16, Mehi. III. 12, Mehi. III. 1. 9, Mehi. III. 2. 2, Mehi. III. 4. 2, Mehi. III. 5. 3, Mehi. III. 6. 17, Mehi. III. 4. 10, Mehi. I. 3. 4. a, Mehi. II. 10. 2. a, Mehi. I. 9. 7. a, Mehi. I. 2. 17, Mehi. II. 16, Mehi. I. 13), bull (pls. XIV. Sh.T. ii. 10, Sh.T. ii. 14, Sh.T. ii. 15, Sh.T. ii. 16, Sh.T. ii. 17, Sh.T. ii. 11, Sh.T. ii. 19, XXI. Zik. 11, XXII. Kul. 15, Kul. 14, XXIII. Kul. V. i. 1, Kul. V. ii. 2, Kul. I. ix. 9, Kul. V. iii. 4, XXVII, Men. 3, Maz. 2, Men. 2, XXXI. Mehi. III. 7. 2, Mehi. II. 3. 1. a, Mehi. I. 1. 34, Mehi. III. 4, 8, Mehi. I. 2. 16), cow (pl. XIV. Sh.T. ii. 13), unidentifiable animal (pl. XIV. Sh.T. ii. 18, Sh.T. ii. 12, XXVI. Spet. J. 10, XXXI. Mehi. III. 6. 15), ram (pls. XX. Bal. 4, XXVI. Spet. J. 11, XXVIII. Mehi. I. 9. 6, XXXI. Mehi. III. 8. 2), dog (pl. XXXI. Mehi. II. 2. 7. a), horse (pl. I. Z.W. 5) and bird (pl. VI. N.K. 4. a). He has referred all these specimens to the chalcolithic age.

148 Vats, M. S. ASIAR for 1926-27, p 108; pl XXIII. c; 1930

(1) Harappa.

While excavating at Harappa in Montgomery district in the Punjab the author has unearthed a number of terracotta figurines representing human figurines, animals and birds belonging to the Indus Valley age. The illustrated specimen (pl. XXIII. c) represents a female figurine kneading bread.

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149 ———— ASIAR for 1927-28, pp 85, 88 ; pl XXXV. d, e ; 1931

(2) Excavations at Harappa.

In course of excavation at Harappa in Montgomery district in the Punjab the author has unearthed a number of terracotta figurines belonging to the Indus Valley age. The illustrated specimens represent human figurine (pl. XXXV. d) and animal (ibid., e).

150 ———— ASIAR for 1928-29, pp 83–85 ; pl XXXIII. i. 1–5 ; 1933

(3) Excavations at Dallin.

In course of excavation at Dallin in Montgomery district in the Punjab the author has unearthed a number of terracotta human heads from the Pakpatan canal. From Structure A he has discovered one male (pl. XXXIII. i. 2) and two female (ibid., 3, 5) figurines and from Structure B two male heads (ibid., i. 1, 4). All these 'may be ascribed to about the 7th century A.D.' (p. 84).

151 ———— ASIAR for 1929-30, pp 122, 131 ; pl XXVIII. d ; 1935

(4) Excavations at Harappa.

In course of excavation at Harappa in Montgomery district in the Punjab the author has unearthed a number of terracotta figurines. He has described and illustrated some of them. The illustrated specimens represent crocodile (pl. XXVIII. d. 1) and bull-head (ibid., 2, 3). They are to be ascribed to the Indus Valley age.

152 Vogel, J. Ph. ASIAR for 1904-05, pp 47, 54 ; fig 2, pl XIV ; 1908

(1) Notes on excavations at Kasia.

While excavating at Kasia in Gorakhpur district in the United Provinces the author has discovered an inscribed *Buddha* image in terracotta (fig. 2) from the site of the Nirvāṇa temple. This inscription shows that the image belongs to c. 5th century A.D. Besides this two broken images of seated *Buddha* (pl. XIV) have been illustrated.

153 ———— ASIAR for 1905-06, pp 69, 77–79 ; fig 2 ; 1909

(2) Excavations at Kasia.

While excavating at Kasia in Gorakhpur district in the United Provinces the author has discovered a large number of terracotta figurines. One illustrated specimen represents a row of four standing *garuḍas* (fig. 2). Among these discovered terracotta figurines he has particularly mentioned fragments of *Buddha* head and of pot-shaped female figurines and *garuḍas*.

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154 ———— ASIAR for 1906-07, p 56 ; 1909

(3) Excavations at Kasia.

While excavating at Kasia in Gorakhpur district in the United Provinces the author has discovered a number of terracotta figurines. Among these special mention has been made of a well-preserved *Buddha* head. Regarding its age he has remarked, 'If contemporaneous with the inscribed fragment found in the same room, the Buddha image would have to be assigned to the early Kushana period' (p. 56).

155 ———— CAMM, pp 198-99 ; 1910

(4) T. Terracottas and miscellaneous antiquities.

In this section of the catalogue the author has described some terracotta figurines. These represent male and female figurines.

156 ———— ASIAR for 1907-08, pp 95–107, 128; pl XXVII—the lower plate ; 1911

(5) Excavations at Saheth-Maheth.

In course of excavations at Saheth-Maheth in Gonda and Bahraich district in the United Provinces the author has discovered 356 terracotta figurines in Kachchi Kuti in Maheth and has catalogued them (pp. 98–107). He has arranged these figurines in the order in which they are found; thus their relative depth can be inferred from their place in this catalogue. It should be further remarked that a number of terracotta figurines have been found in the so-called northern and southern rooms which were partly excavated by Hoey. Among the illustrated specimens one represents the meeting of *Lakshmaṇa* and *Śūrpaṇakhā* (pl. XXVII—the left upper photo in the lower plate) and another, the fight of *Hanumān* with a *Rākshasa* (ibid.—the right lower photo in the lower plate), both reminding one of *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is interesting to note 'that some of these terracotta panels are marked with numerical figures, evidently indicating the position which they were to occupy in the frieze ... The figures exhibit the type found in the inscriptions of the Gupta period, and we may infer that this is the time to which these terracottas belong' (p. 96). In Sahet also a number of terracotta figurines have been found.

157 ———— ASIAR for 1908-09, pp 10, 11, 16; fig 2 ; 1912

(6) The temple of Bhitargaon.

While working on the brick-temple of Bhitargaon in Cawnpore district in the United Provinces the author has discovered a number of terracotta panels. Among these special mention has been made of a terracotta panel in which *Gaṇeśa* is represented as being chased by another male figurine (fig. 2). He has remarked that the terracotta sculptures of the Bhitargaon temple 'remind one of the terracotta fragments found in such abundance around the main temple of the ancient city of Śrāvastī (the so-called Kachchi Kuti) in the course of my

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excavation in the winter of 1907-08. The Bhitargaon terracottas show, however, superior workmanship and may, on that account, be assigned to a somewhat earlier period' (pp. 10-11).

158 **Woodburn, A. and Campbell, J. M.** JBBRAS, XIX, pp 44–46 ; 2 pls ; 1897

Note on brick figures found in a Buddhist tower in Kuhu near Mirpur Khas, Sindh.

In this article two terracotta figurines—one representing Śikhi, the second *Buddha* and the other Gautama Buddha—which have been dug up in an old tower in the town called Kuhu near Mirpur Khas and about 50 miles east of Hyderabad in Sind are believed not to be older than the sixth century A.D.

## I. Addenda.

159 **Agrawala, V. S.** HSCMAM, pp 16–18 ; figs 12–20 ; 1933

In this catalogue the author describes and illustrates some terracotta figurines preserved in the Curzon Museum of Archæology at Mathura. He has ascribed them to the pre-Maurya, Maurya and Śuṅga ages. The illustrated specimens represent male figurine (figs. 12, 19, 20) and female figurine (figs. 13–18).

160 **Gadd, C. J. and Smith, Sydney.** ILN, October 4, 1924, pp 614–16 ; figs 7, 11 ; 1924

The new links between Indian and Babylonian civilization.

The authors have pointed out the similarity between the head-dress of a terracotta female figurine found at Harappa in Montgomery district in the Punjab and belonging to the Indus Valley age (fig. 7) and the symbol of a Babylonian goddess, between a terracotta cock found at Mohenjo-daro in Larkana district in Sind and belonging to the Indus Valley age (fig. 11) and the representation of a hen on a Babylonian boundary stone. According to the authors these prove the link between Indian and Babylonian civilizations.

161 **Marshall, J. H.** ILN, January 7, 1928, pp 12–15 ; fig on p 12 ; 1928

(1) A new chapter in archæology : The prehistoric civilization of the Indus.

One terracotta bull (fig. on p. 12) belonging to the Indus Valley age has been illustrated.

162 ——— ILN, January 14, 1928, pp 42, 43, 78, 80 ; fig 3 on p 44, fig 3 on p 45 ; 1928

(2) A new chapter in archæology : The prehistoric civilization of the Indus.

Here the author has described and illustrated two terracotta figurines found at Mohenjo-daro in Larkana district in

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Sind and belonging to the Indus Valley age. The illustrated specimens are an animal (fig. on p. 44) and a female figurine (fig. 3 on p. 45). Regarding the significance of the latter type he observes, 'The numerous terracotta figurines, moreover, which portray a nude female, crowned with elaborate head-dress and bedecked with ornaments, can hardly fail to be identified with the figures of the mother goddess familiar with Mesopotamia and countries further to the west' (p. 80).

**163 Sahni, B.** CS, II, p 799; fig 6; 1936

Antiquities from the Khokra Kot mound at Rohtak in the Jumna Valley.

The author reports his discovery of a number of antiquarian remains at Rohtak in Delhi district in the United Provinces. Among these remains there is a terracotta humped bull (fig. 6). According to the author it 'was found loose, below the cliff in which the clay matrices were found, and was probably derived from the same layer' (p. 799).

## II. Addenda.

**164 Agrawala, V. S.** ABIA for 1934, pp 14, 15; pl IV. d, e; 1936

(1) Acquisition to the Mathura Museum.

The author describes and illustrates certain terracotta figurines preserved in the Curzon Museum of Archæology at Mathura. One specimen which has been ascribed to the Śuṅga age represents a *kinnara-mithuna* (pl. IV. e) and the other which has been ascribed to the Kushaṇa age represents *Kāmadeva* (ibid., d). Besides these there is the mention of a terracotta plaque representing *Vishṇu*. This has been ascribed to the Gupta age.

**165 ———** JUPHS, IX, pp 6–38; figs 1–60 with the exception of figs 51, 52; 1936

(2) Mathura terracottas.

Here the author gives a chronological and stylistic account of some terracotta figurines preserved in the Curzon Museum of Archæology at Mathura. He has divided these figurines into five groups, viz., I. Primitive and Pre-Maurya, II. Late Pre-Maurya and Maurya, III. Śuṅga, IV. Kushaṇa, and V. Gupta. The illustrated specimens represent mother goddess (figs. 1–14), mother and child (figs. 41, 45), *Kubera* and *Hāriti* (fig. 47), *Vasudharā* (fig. 48), *Kāmadeva* (fig. 49), *Mahishamardini* (fig. 53), *Vishṇu* (figs. 54-55), *Śiva-liṅga* (fig. 56), *Śiva* (fig. 57), *Kārtikeya* (fig. 58), *Pārvatī* (fig. 59), human face (fig. 15), human head (figs. 16–23, 50), male figurine (figs. 24-25, 43), male bust (fig. 42), female figurine (figs. 26-27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33 a-b, 34, 44), female head (fig. 28), female bust (fig. 35), *mithuna* (fig. 36), *kinnara-mithuna* (fig. 37), *yaksha* (figs. 38–40), *nāgī* (fig. 46), and crocodile (fig. 60). He has attributed figs. 1–8

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to primitive and pre-Maurya ages, figs. 9–25 to late pre-Maurya and Maurya ages, figs. 26–41 to the Śuṅga age, figs. 42–49 to the Kushaṇa age, figs. 50–59 to the Gupta age and fig. 60 to the post-Gupta age.

166 Mackay, E. BMFAB, XXXIV, p 88; fig 11; 1936

(1) Excavations at Chanhu-daro by the American School of Indic and Iranian Studies and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Season 1935-36.

In course of archæological excavation at Chanhu-daro in Nawabshah district in Sind the author has discovered a number of terracotta figurines among which one has been illustrated. The illustrated specimen represents ox (fig. 11). It belongs to the age of the Harappa culture.

167 ——— ILN, November 14, 1936, pp 860, 862-63; figs 1, 8, 9, 11, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25; 1936

(2) Great new discoveries of Indian culture in prehistoric Sind.

In course of archæological excavation at Chanhu-daro in Nawabshah district in Sind the author has discovered a considerable number of terracotta figurines. The illustrated specimens represent human head (fig. 1), male figurine (figs. 22, 25—the left photo), female figurine (figs. 18, 20, 24, 25—the right photo), unidentifiable animal (fig. 8), ram (fig. 9), ox (fig. 11), rhinoceros (fig. 19), antelope (fig. 21), elephant (fig. 23), and hen (fig. 14). Regarding the age of the Chanhu-daro antiquities the author has opined that archæological excavations at Chanhu-daro 'produce unmistakable evidence of the presence of remains contemporary with those of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa—the so-called "Indus Valley Civilisation". And here I would suggest that this somewhat elastic term be henceforth replaced by "Harappa Culture", from the site where first its existence was realised' (p. 860). The author has found five archæological strata at Chanhu-daro. He has not given any name to the uppermost stratum but has called the second stratum as that of 'Jhukar Culture' for pottery, similar to that found here, was first discovered at Jhukar in Larkana district in Sind. The third, fourth and fifth strata represent 'Harappa Culture'. These figurines belong to the ages of the Jhukar and the Harappa cultures.

168 ——— ILN, November 21, 1936, p 911; fig 37; 1936

(3) Great new discoveries of ancient Indian culture on a virgin prehistoric site in Sind.

In course of archæological excavation at Chanhu-daro in Nawabshah district in Sind the author has discovered a considerable number of terracotta figurines among which one has been illustrated. The illustrated specimen represents mother goddess (fig. 37). It belongs to the age of the Harappa culture.

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## III. Addenda.

169 **Chandra**, G. C. and **Dikshit**, K. N. ASIAR for 1930–34, pp 116, 120, 124, 125 ; pls LI. d, LIV. b–d, LIX. d, LX. b ; 1936

(1) Excavations at Paharpur.

In course of excavation at Paharpur in Rajshahi district in Bengal the authors have discovered a number of terracotta plaques some of which have been illustrated. The illustrated specimens represent *Kṛshṇa* (pl. LI. d—the extreme right plaque), *Buddha* (pls. LIX. d, LX. b), *liṅga* with three heads (pl. LIX. b), male figurine (pls. LI. d—the third plaque from the right, LIV. c), female figurine (pl. LIV. d), lion (pl. LI. d—the extreme left plaque), and peacock and snake (ibid.—the second plaque from the left). It has been observed that the animals depicted on some plaques represent stories found in the *Pañchatantram*.

170 ——— ASIAR for 1930–34, pp 128-29 ; pl LXII. g ; 1936

(2) Exploration at other sites in the Eastern Circle.

In course of excavation at Mahasthan in Bogra district in Bengal the authors have discovered a terracotta female figurine (pl. LXII. g). According to their opinion this specimen is to be ascribed to the Śuṅga age ; but Fabri believes that it might belong to the Maurya age.

171 **Das Gupta**, C. C. OZ, vol. XII, pp 189–94 ; tafel 28 ; 1936

Remarks on a few early Indian terracotta figurines.

Here the author has shown by a few examples how the terracotta figurines of the post-Indus Valley, pre-Maurya and Maurya ages have influenced the modelling of the stone sculptures of the Maurya and Śuṅga ages respectively. It has also been shown that the style of sculpture does not always change in the succeeding age.

172 **Mackay**, E. ASIAR for 1930–34, pp 56, 60, 61, 62, 63 ; pl XXII. 4–6, 8, 9 ; 1936

Excavations at Mohenjo-daro.

While excavating at Mohenjo-daro in Larkana district in Sind the author has unearthed a number of terracotta figurines, which have been illustrated, belonging to the Indus Valley age. The illustrated specimens represent ram (pl. XXII. 4), head of bull (ibid., 5), dog (ibid., 6), male figurine (ibid., 8), male mask (ibid., 9).

173 **Majumdar**, N. G. ASIAR for 1930–34, p 260 ; pl CXXX. 3–5, 7 ; 1936

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

While dealing with the archæological acquisition of the Indian Museum the author refers to four terracotta figurines which were originally found in Mathura in the United Provinces.

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These specimens are illustrated. They represent male figurine (pl. CXXX. 4), female figurine (ibid., 3, 7) and man and woman (ibid., 5). According to the author the specimen illustrated in ibid., 7 is to be ascribed to the Maurya age and the rest to the Śuṅga age.

174 **Marshall, J. H.** ASIAR for 1930–34, pp 170, 172–74; pls XCV. a, b, XCVI. a–d; 1936

Exploration at Taxila, 1930–34.

In course of excavation-work at the Kalawan monastery in Taxila in North-West Frontier Province the author has discovered a number of terracotta figurines some of which have been illustrated. The illustrated specimens represent male head (pl. XCV. a), female head (ibid., b), *Buddha* head (pl. XCVI. a), *Bodhisattva* head (ibid., b), *deva*-head (ibid., c), monk-head (ibid., d).

175 **Vats, M. S.** ASIAR for 1930–34, pp 81, 82, 83; pl XXVII. c. 1–5, XXIX. c. 3; 1936

Excavations at Harappa.

While excavating at Harappa in Montgomery district in the Punjab the author has unearthed a number of terracotta figurines belonging to the Indus Valley age. The illustrated specimens represent male figurine (pl. XXVII. c. 5), female figurine (ibid., 3) and monkey (pl. XXIX. c. 3). It seems that specimens illustrated in pl. XXVII. 1, 2, 4 are not described in the text.

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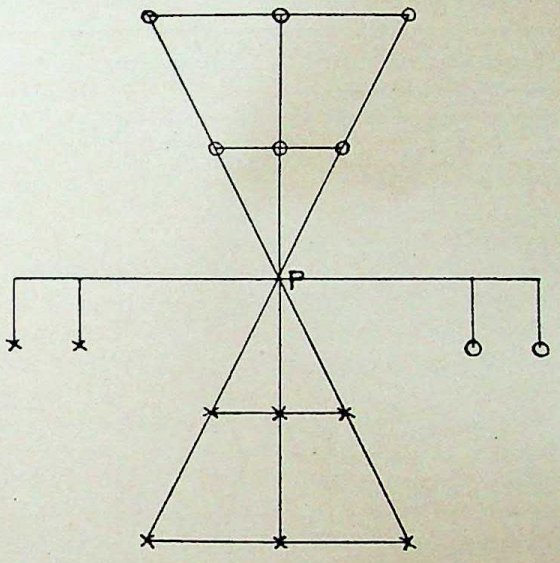
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ARTICLE No. 3.

# A type of sedentary game prevalent in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

By CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.

The object of this short note is to describe a type of sedentary game called *Kāuā-ḍorki*[1] which I have collected in the month of January, 1938, at Kosam, a village situated in the district of Allahabad in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.




*Kāuā-ḍorki.*

The information about this game was obtained from a man called Bacchu Singhala who belongs to this village. The diagram used for this game is shown above. It is played by two men, each having eight ballets in his possession and placed on the points marked **X** and **O**; the central cross-point marked **P** is kept vacant at the beginning of the game. The game proceeds in the usual way of jumping over and capturing the ballet of the adversary lying on the next cross-point if there be an unoccupied cross-point just beyond the latter and in the same line. In this way the player who can take all the ballets of the opposite party wins the game.

There is some similarity between this game on one hand and some other sedentary games called *Egāra-guṭi* prevalent in

[1] This term literally means 'Catching the crow'.



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the Central Provinces,[1] *Lāu-kāṭā-kāṭi* prevalent in Lower Bengal,[2] *Nāo-guṭiyā* prevalent in Bihar[3] and another game prevalent at Bargarh in the United Provinces[4] so far as the diagram is concerned because the common characteristic found in all the diagrams is that two triangles meet each other at the apex. But there is one very important point in which the diagram used for this game differs from those of the games mentioned above and which, therefore, makes it a new type of sedentary game not noticed before by any scholar. This point is that this diagram has a straight line, drawn horizontally intersecting the central point marked **P**, to which two vertical lines are drawn on each side and on which two ballets in possession of each player are placed at the beginning of the game.

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[1] *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (N.S.), Vol. XXII, 1926, p. 211, fig. 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, 1933, p. 168, fig. 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, 3rd series, *Letters*, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 410–12, fig. 2.
[4] *Ibid.*, (N.S.), Vol. II, 1906, p. 123, fig. 5.

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*Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.*
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ARTICLE No. 4.

# Kinship and marriage among the Coorgs.[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU.

(*Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.*)

The Coorgs are an endogamous community of about 40,000 people who form approximately a quarter of the population of the province of Coorg, which lies in the mountains of western South India between Mysore State and British Malabar. They were originally the warrior owners of this tract and formed, and still form, the highest community in the social scale there (barring the few Brahmans who live in the province). It is doubtful how far they can be considered a caste in any strict Indian sense of the word, for they resolutely refuse to accept the ministrations of the Brahmans in any of their rites. No accurate ethnological account of these people has yet appeared. This paper gives a description of the marriage rites and the kinship system of those Coorgs who live in the central portion of the province, i.e. in Mercara and Virajpet and the district between these two towns and in Nalknad to the west ; how far, if at all, the northern and southern extremities of the province present differences of detail is not known.

Kinship organization among the Coorgs takes the form essentially of father-sibs. Each sib (called oka) is marked as such by its name, which is borne by each member as his or her first name. All land is owned ideally, and a great part of it actually, by the sib as such and not by the individual; departures from this ownership system, whereby an individual by his own initiative or good fortune and without depending on the sib property acquires property which he holds as an individual, do not affect his position with regard to the sib property nor do they give the other sib-members a claim upon his individual property. In other words, individual ownership of land is an excrescence upon the traditional sib-ownership. It is the sib, moreover, that

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[1] This paper represents part of the work done in 1936-37 during my tenure of a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society. The phonetic writing used is in general that of the IPA. ë is the back, mid, unrounded vowel; c and j are palatal affricates, y is practically the English y. I write a subscript n at the end of a word to denote that the whole word is nasalized; e.g. in ma:vn, both the vowels and v are nasalized. The nasalization is best evaluated phonemically as a feature of the whole word and not of any separate vocalic or consonantal phoneme. When a suffix is added or the word becomes a member of a compound (e.g. in tamma: vi$^{n}$), the nasalization does not extend beyond the limits of the simplex.



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takes part in the communal affairs of village or district through its headman; though all the affairs of the country must have been conducted by the hierarchy built up on this basis in the days before the rajahs and the British government, nowadays it is only social matters that are governed in this way and even these now tend to find their settlement in the courts. In some religious ceremonies the sibs rather than the individuals seem to play the chief part, e.g. at the village Karavaleba:ḍaga near Mercara at the padra:ḷinamme (ceremony of Bhadrakāḷi) in the month mi:nia:rɯ, a dance called koḍia:ṭɯ, is performed on several days both at the temple and on the dancing-green. In this the essential performers are a male member of each sib in the village, carrying each a koḍi, or staff surmounted by cloth tied in the form of two cones with their bases together and the apex of one pointing upward. Each performer has his right arm bare and a fold of his turban hanging down his back. If all the male members of a sib should be unable to dance because of age or infirmity, the koḍi must be carried by a member of another sib along with that of his own sib. It is the sibs that are represented at the performance, and individuals who dance in the line after the men carrying the staffs are a non-essential part of the performance, carry no staffs, do not wear their dress in the distinctive fashion of the sib-representatives, and may at any time drop out of the dance, which is forbidden for the staff-carriers. Again, in the Huttari festival (Coorg name: putëri), when the first ceremonial cutting of the rice-harvest takes place, the ceremony should be performed not at each house of a sib, but at their original sib-house, the traditional center of the sib. It is only the wide geographical spread of a sib and the inconvenience that would result if the far-flung families had to gather in one small locality that makes it allowable for some families of a sib to hold their celebration at their separate dwelling-houses.

The sibs are exogamous. This rule has been stated by Ananthakrishna Iyer in the form that no marriage is possible between two persons of the same family name. This however is not quite accurate. The number of sibs in Coorg is unknown; some indication of their number is given by the fact that one of the large and prominent sibs is connected directly, i.e. by marriage of its members, with some fifty-five other sibs. But in the case of some of the sibs which have representatives in most of the villages of Coorg, the spread over the whole country is of so ancient a date that it is not remembered what the relationship is between some of the more distant branches. In such cases the Coorgs regard the sub-divisions as distinct sibs, and intermarriage is allowed between the branches; i.e. in these exceptional cases two persons of the same sib-name may marry, if there is no known relationship between the two branches and if there is no more recent relationship between the individuals.

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I said above that the organization is essentially one of father-sibs. The qualification is necessary since a woman upon marriage renounces her sib-name and her claim to maintenance by her father-sib and acquires her husband's sib-name and a claim to maintenance by her husband's father-sib.[1] The formal statement of her acquirement of a place in her husband's sib (the ceremony is called sammanda) is the crucial point in the marriage ceremony and will be discussed more fully below. Her membership in the new sib is of such a sweeping character that she may even lose her personal name and be called after marriage by the personal name of her husband's mother or grandmother, in cases where either of these is dead and it is desired to preserve the use of the name in the family (rather than in the sib), if it is not used by some other female sib-member whose intercourse with the new family would be so intimate as to cause confusion. Even after her husband's death the wife remains a member of her husband's sib and cannot lose her rights in that sib's property except by remarriage, which is permissible and apparently of fairly common occurrence. If her second husband should be a member of her first husband's sib (and often enough it is his brother[2]), representatives of her father's sib are sent for and they and the representatives of her husband's sib perform the sammanda ceremony. By it she is given to her new husband and reacquires rights in his sib with a new orientation. My informant was of the opinion that the new rite is necessary since her rights in her husband's sib are essentially co-rights with her husband. To this extent it seems that the family is recognized by the Coorgs as a sub-unit within the sib, though it is significant that the Coorg language has no word for this sub-unit. If the widow marries a man of a different sib from that of her first husband, her rights in her

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[1] This point may be discussed here from the comparative point of view, since Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 109, has said that he knows of no well-authenticated case of a woman in a typical sib-organized society becoming a member of her husband's sib and losing membership in her original sib. The Coorg data provide a rather clear-cut case of this kind, with the qualification indeed that a foothold is retained by the woman within her father's sib, which may however never be utilized. It is true to be sure that the Coorgs are considerably above the level of a 'primitive tribe', as were the ancient Athenians instanced by Lowie. The organization of Coorg society shows a slight secondary accent on the conjugal aspect of the family group, in that the wife has rights in her husband's sib as a co-partner with him, but that this accent is slight is clear from the lack in the language of a word denoting the family unit.

[2] It will be observed that even if a widow marries her husband's brother, the process is not automatic, but her father's sib must be called in and the woman must reacquire rights in her husband's sib. This is certainly no example of the levirate. Similarly, while a widower may marry his first wife's sister, the process is not automatic, and we must rule this out as an example of the sororate. Neither of these types of selection is either compulsory or preferred.

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first husband's sib are extinguished with the formulas given in Appendix I, and in her father's house she is given to her new husband with the sammanda ceremony. A woman regains a permanent place in her original sib only by divorce. This may happen if she is grossly and persistently immoral or if she and her husband are continually at odds with one another (the former is much the more usual cause). In such cases the aruvës of the two families (see ref. [1], p. 130) negotiate between the two parties and if both families agree to a divorce, the woman relinquishes all claims to a place in her husband's sib and may never regain it by another marriage into that sib. She regains a place in her father's sib and keeps it, unless as rarely happens she should be sought in marriage by another man from another sib. My informant emphasized significantly that the woman is readmitted to her original sib not automatically but only if the sib is persuaded to agree to it. In the sammanda ceremony by a piece of symbolism the woman retains the right of readmission to her original sib. The aruvë of the groom's party is given by her party eleven out of twelve pebbles; the remaining one is kept by her sib. This right to readmission is exercised in case of divorce or of remarriage if her first husband dies. It carries with it only one other right in her father's sib, viz. if she should die in the house of her parents and the burial-ground of her husband's sib should be at an inconvenient distance, she may be buried in that of her father's sib. Children by a woman's first husband always remain members of his sib, whether or not she leaves it by divorce or remarriage into another sib. If at the time of her leaving her husband's sib any children should be too young to fend for themselves, she may retain charge of them until they attain an age when they can care for themselves, when they return to the house of their own sib.

Marriage is forbidden also between a couple who are related to one another by descent through females only from a common female ancestor. There is not however among the Coorgs the same division of the people among female lines that I have elsewhere described for the Todas.[1] It seems probable from my informant's accounts that the relationships in female lines tend to be remembered for a comparatively small number of generations and even in some cases to be neglected when they are remembered, if it is considered that the degree of relationship is not close enough to hinder marriage. What degree would be considered distant enough to allow of intermarriage I could not elicit with any accuracy, but it seems that three or four degrees might be sufficiently distant, i.e. a relationship that is traced back through females to a common great-grandmother or great-great-grandmother. The proverb quoted in the fifth paragraph below refers also to this type of marriage.

[1] American Anthropologist, 39, 103–112.

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It follows from the two rules that have been stated that the marriage of cross-cousins is permissible. Such marriages occur, probably with about the same frequency in all classes of Coorg society, poor and well-to-do, rural and urban. My informant gave it as his impression that it was frequently considered that cross-cousin marriages were more suitable than others as creating new bonds of intimacy and friendship between the families concerned. He was emphatic that property considerations have no part in determining the frequency of such marriages; the bride brings with her merely a trousseau, and no other property is involved. Cross-cousin marriage is of the symmetrical variety; no tendency can be seen towards asymmetry. While the linguistic terms for cross-cousins cover, beside the children of brothers and sisters, also such more distant relations as the children of a mother's parallel male cousins or of a father's parallel female cousins, my informant in referring to cross-cousin marriages generally meant marriages between people of the closest relation. In the incident discussed in the following paragraph, the male cross-cousin who takes a part is if possible the son of the bride's father's sister or of her mother's brother.

That cross-cousin marriages were anciently the preferable and possibly the universal type is to be inferred from an incident that takes place at weddings. It may be described here fully rather than in its appropriate place below. When the bridegroom is about to lead his bride from her family's house after the wedding ceremony, he may be stopped before he crosses the threshold by a male cross-cousin of the bride's who refuses to let her leave the house until he has been given a present by the bridegroom. The cross-cousin may be of any age, even a child in arms, and the incident is now looked upon as a piece of festive sport. But it is significant that he says (not however in any set formula) that the girl belongs to him and he will not let her leave. The present given varies in accordance with the means of the parties, but usually takes the form of a rupee or a gold sovereign. It may be kept by the cross-cousin or may be tied by him in the bride's sari as a present to her. The latter seems to be usually the case.

While the evidence of kinship terminology might be invoked to support our conclusions in the matter of cross-cousin marriage and would fully support them, it seems to be unnecessary to bring this forward since the material facts already adduced provide sufficient evidence. It seems unwise moreover to base a great deal on the evidence given by kinship terminologies in the Dravidian-speaking areas of India. They are practically identical in all the languages of the area, and the same terminologies are used by such ethnologically diverse communities as the mother-sibs of the Malabar coast, the father-sibs of most of the rest of the area in question, the Coorgs and the Todas who practise symmetrical cross-cousin marriage, and communities

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which practise an asymmetrical form of cross-cousin marriage. Until we have exact ethnological and linguistic accounts of many more communities of the area than we have now, any correlations found between institutions and terminology must rest under suspicion of being in part accidental and not due to a coordinated development of the two. The kinship terminology of the Coorgs forms an appendix to this paper.

Within the group of the blood-relations of a man or woman, marriage is allowed only with the cross-cousin, either real or classificatory. This implies that within this group one may not marry except in his own generation. The matter was stressed by my informants, since in some of the Kannaḍa-speaking communities a man may marry the daughter of his elder sister, and the Coorgs wished to point out that this is not allowable for themselves.

It will be evident from Appendix II dealing with kinship terminology that kinship terms are applied to many more people than actual blood-relations (see especially App. II, 7). The ramifications tend to become very wide-spread, especially when marriages take place outside of the blood-group, and when a man marries more than once; e.g. in the latter case, a man's step-mother is called cikavvë, her sister is called by the same term, the husband of this latter woman is ayyë, and his children, whether by this woman or by another wife, are called by terms for 'brother' and 'sister', though they are in no way blood-relations to oneself. It remains to ask whether in such cases the Coorgs apply in the field of marriage the dictum: like designations involve like social relations.[1] My informant (not the same gentleman from whom most of the information in this paper was obtained) said that the rule should apply that marriage is prohibited between any two persons who apply to one another brother-sister terms or terms denoting relationships between different generations. This rule however is not adhered to in practice and it was easy to call to mind in a few moments half-a-dozen cases where marriages had taken place between persons related in this way by terminology but unrelated in blood. The rules that must not be broken are those two stated above: the sibs are exogamous, and marriage is forbidden between a couple who are related to one another by descent from a common female ancestor through females only. On the history of this disregard of terminological relationships little information was gained. My informant's guess that it is due to the influence of education and the 'British example', and so is a very modern thing, is of little value. Of the cases mentioned none could have occurred more than half-a-century ago. But, since there was no mention of any opposition to any of these marriages, it is probable that such

[1] Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 148.

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marriages had been taking place for many years before that time. It is of some significance too that a proverb was quoted illustrating this matter: ñaṇḍɯkɯ maṇḍe ille, koḍavĕkɯ ca:ce ille 'the crab has no head, the Coorg has no regard for kinship terms'. Such a proverb implies a rather long history for the social phenomenon in question. One factor making for disregard of what is obviously felt to be a rule of some validity is worth mentioning. In many cases a strict application of the rule would make it almost impossible for a man to find a suitable wife, even in a community of such a size as the Coorgs, and it must often be extremely convenient and even advantageous to all parties to disregard a brother-sister relationship which is based in no way on blood and may be felt as almost fictitious.

The age at which marriage takes place among the Coorgs is a matter for statistical investigation. It can only be said that girls are not married until after puberty and usually not for a number of years thereafter. The marriage song in main outline and in many of the details is traditionally fixed, needing to be adapted for any wedding only by inserting the appropriate names; it must be of considerable age and where it describes a different state of affairs from those now in vogue may be adduced as evidence of an older stage of the institutions in question, allowing for the possibility that it may be describing an ideal rather than any state that had an actual existence previously. In the song the girl who becomes the wife of the young man whose marriage is described is married five years after puberty. My informants are of the opinion that this represents an ideal, which is rather faithfully lived up to. Certainly marriages before the age of 17 or 18 years for the girl and before the age of 20 for the man are rather rare. It may be noted also that among the more well-to-do Coorgs it sometimes happens that a girl never marries. This may occur for various reasons, perhaps the first of which is that young men of the equivalent social status, for the same reasons that operate in Western society, find marriage economically difficult and tend to marry at a later age than is customary in other groups of the Coorgs. Consequently, a girl may not be asked for when she is in the full bloom of youth and gradually comes to be less desirable in comparison with younger girls. When this happens, a girl of this class may decide that it is better to stay in her own sib and wield there the influence that comes with advancing years and experience rather than snatch at any chance of marriage and enter into an unfamiliar environment where she will occupy for a long time, if not for the rest of her life, a position of secondary importance. If she arrives at such a decision, being a woman of sufficient strength of will to do so, she will undoubtedly be a strong enough character to persuade her family to agree with her. No stigma will attach to her in consequence which cannot be overcome with time and patience.

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The marriage is at present arranged by the families of the young people. The family of the young man approaches the family of a girl who is considered a suitable match and after much discussion arrangements are made; the girl is informed of them and in most cases she acquiesces. The authority of the family is ideally supreme. Young people have many opportunities of meeting, or at least of seeing one another, and as we should expect, matches that are not likely to be endurable are tacitly avoided by the elders of the family. Cases are known however where a girl has refused the arranged marriage and for various reasons elder members of her family have agreed with her and prevented the marriage; cases are also known where a young man after suggesting for himself a particular girl and carrying with him most of the other members of his family has found opposition from an elderly female member who disapproves of the girl and he has had to give up his idea. Life in a joint family, as is well known in other parts of India, is a matter of the adjustment of conflicting stresses. The evidence of the marriage song seems to show that at some time in the past a young man went out himself to look for a suitable girl and settled the matter himself, without reference to his family until the time for the formal arrangement arrived. There is probably some historical truth in the account, but the period at which this was the custom is not known. Richter's account of 1870 implies, though it does not mention explicitly, a state of things like that at the present day.

When a marriage is to be formally arranged and fixed, the aruvë[1] of the young man's family accompanied by representatives of this family, e.g. the man's father, his elder brother, or a brother-in-law, go to the house of the girl's family. There they meet the aruvë and the representatives of the girl's family. Formally the man's party declare that he will marry the girl and the girl's party that they will give the girl, and the aruvës guarantee that their respective parties will hold to the agreement. The ceremony is performed in the nellaki of the house, i.e. the portion of the central hall opposite the door, where a lamp hangs. It is regarded as the sacred part of the house and apparently the sanctity centers in the lamp, before which prayers are offered in the evening to the ancestors of the sib (or nowadays to any other gods in addition). Most of the ceremonies to be described

[1] Two sibs stand in mutual relationship to one another, so that each provides an aruvë for the other on certain ceremonial occasions. Their duties in connexion with marriages are described in the text. At a funeral the aruvë is present and seems to have been originally entrusted with supervision of the ceremonial. At present the office tends to become a mere formality and the aruvë does not necessarily come from the traditional sib. The man of the traditional sib is called maṇṇaruvë 'land-aruvë'; one who is engaged for the occasion only is ponnaruvë 'gold-aruvë' and this term seems to carry with it some derogatory connotation.

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are performed at the nellaki. After this formal arrangement of the marriage neither party may withdraw from their agreement.

As soon afterwards as all the preparations have been made, a variable period but seldom more than a month or two later, the wedding takes place. The Coorg season for weddings is between the end of the paddy-harvest and the breaking of the S.-W. monsoon, i.e. during the months of April and May. In ancient times any other period was inconvenient and even with the advent of transportation by motorbus and automobile no change has taken place. The day for the marriage is frequently fixed nowadays by an astrologer (kaṇië), and the song gives ample recognition to this, though in this it may reflect the conditions of the last few centuries rather than of more ancient times. The ceremonies take place at the houses of the bride and bridegroom respectively. Ideally these should be the traditional central houses of the respective sibs (called aynɯmane). In very many cases however these houses are most inaccessible and perhaps not even occupied, and in such cases the actual dwelling-houses of the families are the scene of the ceremonies.

The wedding ceremonies are now to be described. On the first day each of the two persons to be married goes through the mu:rta ceremony in the house of his or her family. It is essentially a ceremony in which the person is blessed and prosperity and fertility are ensured by the sprinkling of rice on the person and feeding him or her with milk by the members of his or her father's and mother's sibs. Early on the following morning the bridegroom arrives at the bride's house. Rice is again sprinkled and milk fed, to the bridegroom by members of the bride's father's sib, to the bride by members of the bridegroom's father's sib. Then follows the sammanda ceremony, by which the bride is made a member of her husband's sib. This is the essential ceremony of the marriage. The bride is then conducted from her house, being stopped as she leaves by her male cross-cousin, and is brought to her husband's house. There she performs the ceremony of carrying water into the house, as an earnest of the household duties that she will perform as a wife in this house. On that night the marriage is consummated. Details of the various ceremonies now follow.

On the first day of the wedding two separate but identical ceremonies called mu:rta are held, one at the bride's house the other at the bridegroom's. To each all the members of the respective sib and of the original sib of the mother of the central figure of the ceremony and all the members of the village sibs are invited. Preparations for the affair, cooking, cleaning and the like, have previously been made by the members of the house assisted by the closest or even by all of the sib-members. The bridegroom bathes on this morning in the bath-house; seven married women, who are not widows, from among his relatives, e.g. his sisters, his mother's and father's sisters, his uncles'

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wives, but not his brothers' wives, unless they are much older than himself,[1] must pour over him one pot of water each. After this he is arrayed in full Coorg dress, including the turban, dagger, and sword, and puts on heavy bangles and neck-chains. His long coat (kupia) should be white, as all such garments were anciently. The bride likewise is bathed by women and girls from among her relatives, no one being barred from this office except widows. She is dressed in her best sari and headcloth and decorated with a great number of ornaments, toe and finger rings, earrings, necklaces and chains, and hair-ornaments. When the guests have all arrived in the early morning (all wearing Coorg dress, though the men need not wear white coats), the bride and groom in their respective houses are brought forth into the nellaki. Each is wearing in addition to their full dress a cloth over the head, the bride's covering her face but left unfastened in front. Each, conducted by a near relative or friend of the same sex (in the man's case frequently the husband of his sister, in the woman's the wife of her brother), circles three times in clockwise direction a stool between two standing lamps and then is seated facing to the east on the stool, which has been covered with a cloth. The nellaki was anciently the place for the ceremony; at present it often takes place in the yard of the house in a pandal built for the occasion and fitted with the stool and two standing lamps, but not with a hanging lamp. This shift of scene is due to the fact that the house is frequently too small to accommodate all the guests. During the ceremony four Coorg musicians beat on drums and sing the wedding song (this I hope to present and discuss linguistically elsewhere).

When the central figure of the ceremony is seated, his or her mother, or if the mother is dead or a widow, the eldest married woman in the sib who is not a widow, stands in front of him or her. She takes from a large flat plate of rice a handful and throws some first to the hanging lamp, apparently as an offering to the ancestors of the sib (if the ceremony is outside in the pandal, this is omitted), then over her head towards the sun;

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[1] Younger ones are said to be restrained by shyness, but the fact is that they are women who are referred to as maciṇi and are possible spouses of the man, in case they should be widowed and he should become a widower. Such relatives of a man, viz. all those whom he classes as maciṇi and mammë, whether they are blood-relations (i.e. cross-cousins) or related merely by marriage, are the subjects of taboos with relation to him. They begin to operate when both parties have attained puberty. They may not touch one another, except in case of real necessity, nor may they sit on the same bench. Other specific taboos operating between these cross-cousins seem to be lacking, since in general Coorg men and women observe about the same taboos in speech and action that are observed in polite circles in western society. The specific taboos do not operate between any other classes or relatives; it may be observed that the taboo on touching is merely a very small extension of the usual reluctance of a Coorg man to touch a woman.

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with both hands then a little is sprinkled on the seated person successively at the joints of knees, elbows and shoulders, and finally on the head. Then she takes a small brass vessel (called kuṇḍi) with a long spout, which is filled with milk, puts the spout through the open front of the veil to the mouth of the person, who drinks a little. Then she puts some money contained in a small bag into the hand of the person, and nowadays at least sprinkles rice into his lap, though this is unnecessary. The groom or bride then bends forward and three times touches the feet of the mother, after each touch putting the joined hands to his or her forehead. During this salutation the mother puts both hands on the child's head in blessing and ends by joining her hands and bringing them to her forehead. The mother is followed by all female relatives in some approach to an order by seniority and by the female guests in turn, and each goes through the same ceremony, the only difference being that gifts are presented without being enclosed in a bag. Widows are not debarred from performing the ceremony. If the female is younger than the bride or groom, the salutation made by touching the feet is performed by the guest and not by the bride or groom. After the women have finished, the men do the same thing, the first being the father, or if he is dead, the eldest male member of the sib, followed by the other male members of the sib in some approach to order by seniority and by other relatives and the male guests. The bride or groom is then conducted from the nellaki or from outside the house to his or her own room, and all the relatives and guests proceed to feast, first the men, then the women, and finally the servants of the house (who belong to the Holeya [poleyë] caste).

After the feast the guests are dismissed with the usual salutations (generally an abbreviated form of the salutation described above). Somewhat more formality attends the departure of the male members of the sib to which the mother of the bride or groom respectively originally belonged. They are conducted with music to the small pasture near the house and are seated there on mats. They are given betel and such light refreshments as sweets. Then a Coorg sword (oḍikati) is offered to the eldest member of this sib with an invitation to cut down three plantain stems that have been fixed in the earth. Since each stem is nearly a foot thick and cutting each across with one slanting blow is a matter of strength and knack, he usually hands the sword to some younger member of his party who cuts them. It is said to be mark of respect to offer the sword, and likewise a matter of honour to cut the stems cleanly. At present the whole affair is treated rather jestingly and it is said that foreign bodies are inserted into the stems to make the stroke a more difficult matter. The sword is a weighty and well-balanced weapon and those stems that I have seen after they were cut had been neatly and accurately severed with one blow.

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After this ceremony of dismissal the guests generally nowadays return to the house for further conviviality.

The bridegroom spends such part of the night as may be necessary in travelling to the bride's house so that he may arrive about four or five o'clock in the morning. All the time previously he has spent in his own room and has not removed any article of his dress (it is said to bring bad luck if he or the bride takes off a single article of clothing or ornament until the two of them are together in his room on the following night). The bride meanwhile has got what sleep she can in her room in her own house. The bridegroom is accompanied by his aruvë and a party of his sib-members, including females. His mother and father stay at home to await the arrival of him and the bride. One of the girls or women of the party carries a basketry box (po:ḷia) filled completely with an odd number of measures of rice, an odd number of coconuts, some plantains, jaggery, betel-leaf and arecanut, and a kuṇḍi of milk such as was used at the ceremonies of the previous day. This she is supposed to carry all the distance, but the requirement is fulfilled if she carries it out of her house and then hands it to a servant or a male of the party, who again hands it to her when the bride's house is reached. She then hands it to a girl or woman of the bride's house who carries it inside. The pot of milk is used in the following joint-ceremony by the bridegroom's sib-members in feeding the bride. The other articles seem to have no part in the ceremony but are left at the bride's house. When the bride finally goes to her husband's house after her visit to her own home, she brings with her the box filled with eatables.

When the groom's party reaches the bride's house they are met by the bride's party and salutations are exchanged. They go to the pasture near the house and six plantain stems are cut through by the bridegroom or a member of his party in the same manner as three were cut at each house in the dismissal of the members of the bride's and groom's mother's sibs.[1] Then the

[1] This cutting of plantain stems by the bridegroom's party has been conjectured to be a vestigial trace of marriage by capture. It seems highly doubtful however whether this can be the case. If only the bridegroom's party cut stems on arriving at the bride's house and the bride's on arriving at the bridegroom's house, we might consider that we had symbols of the bride's abduction and an attempt at rescue by her relatives. It will be noticed however that during the course of the wedding ceremonies there are altogether four occasions when plantain stems are cut. The bridegroom or some member of his party cuts six, some member of the bride's party cuts six, and the other two sibs most nearly interested, those of the groom's and bride's mothers, each cut three, the eldest male member being the person to whom the sword is offered. Considering that the Coorg marriage system was originally in all probability one of cross-cousin marriages, we may work out the complicated possibilities and it will be found that the present details as to who cuts the plantain stems and at which house they are cut, lend no support to a theory that Coorg marriage was originally one of capture. We may conjecture of course that

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parties go to the house and eat a meal. After this the bridegroom is seated in the nellaki on a stool, the bride is brought out and seated on a stool near him, and a joint-ceremony of rice-sprinkling, milk-feeding and giving of gifts takes place. The bride's mother, or her substitute as on the previous day, first performs the ceremony for the bridegroom and is followed by all the members of the party of the bride, while at the same time the ranking male member of the bridegroom's sib is doing it for the bride, followed by all the members of the bridegroom's party. After all have done the ceremony, the bridegroom is raised up by the man who has acted as his supporter on the previous day and performs the ceremony for the bride. He then takes her hand and raises her from her stool. She at once runs into the kitchen and stands there, waiting modestly.

At this point the two parties, bridegroom's and bride's, separate and form two lines facing one another. A formal conversation takes place between the parties whereby the bridegroom's party admit the bride as a member of their sib and the aruvës undertake their duties, the one belonging to the bridegroom's sib that he will see that the bride is treated well, the one belonging to the bride's sib that if she returns to her father's house and refuses to rejoin her husband he will initiate a settlement of the matter. This, the sammanda, is the central point of the ceremonies. Before it has taken place, the bride is not yet married; after it, she is a member of her husband's sib even if her husband should die before the physical consummation of the marriage. The text of the necessary formulas will be given here; in practice other words may be added at various points, e.g. in the lists of things to which the bride acquires a right, but none, or very few of the words given, may be omitted. The names given in this text are those of my informant and his first wife; in the case of the aruvës the sib names are correct, but the personal names are merely type-names. A member of the bride's party who knows the words begins: daṇḍɯ kaḍe na:ḍo:nu: daṇḍɯ kaḍe bendu: aŋgënaruvënu:[1] sa:lɯ santa:na

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these present details are not original, but a reconstruction which attempted to reconcile cross-cousin marriage and marriage by capture by meddling with the known details in the matter of cutting down the plantain stems would be in the highest degree conjectural. My informants say that in all cases the sword is offered to do honour to the recipient's party. It seems most reasonable to suppose that it is a vestigial trace, not of marriage by capture, but of the warlike tradition of the Coorgs. Each sib concerned nearly in the marriage is given an opportunity to show its ability with the sword, the chief traditional weapon of the Coorgs, with which enemies were beheaded, and the two sibs concerned most nearly are given the opportunity to cut double the number. It is in order to refer for a general critique of the marriage by capture theory to Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 180-81.

[1] aŋgë is a traditional part of the phrase; its meaning is unknown to the Coorgs, but is conjectured to be the same as that of aruvë.

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ku:ḍɯ kuṭumba sa:lɯ beci nindi:ra:. 'People of the district in two parties and relatives in two parties and aruvës, people of the lineages and blood relations, the assembly and the sibs, have you formed lines and stood ?'

A member of the bridegroom's party answers: nindi:tɯ 'they have stood'.

*Speaker of bride's party*: a:naka ko:daṇḍ(a) okaḍa taŋgammë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë kannina kɯ:tiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa ka:ḷapë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë baymbëŋgɯ tandu: bendu: paranditɯ tapa kovva: nd(ɯ) a:yitɯ na:ḷɯ mu:rta no:ṭitɯ inde:këtɯ dinatɯlɯ maŋgɯla kuricitɯ indɯ maŋgɯl(a) a:ḍi bandalli taŋgammë: nd(ɯ̃) ëṇṇuvë kannina ka:ḷapë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë baymbëŋgɯ sammanda koḍɯkanalla.

'If so, in the matter of the girl called Taŋgammë of the Ko:daṇḍa sib and the man called Ka:ḷapë of the Kɯ:tiaṇḍa sib, having made an offer of marriage and relationship, having agreed saying that they would give and they would receive, having looked for an auspicious day and moment, and eight days before today having formally arranged the marriage, now today when the marriage procession has come, let us give the girl called Taŋgammë to the man called Ka:ḷapë, giving her rights in his sib (sammanda).'

*Speaker of bridegroom's party*: koḍɯka.
'Let us give.'

*Speaker of bride's party*: a:ce:ŋgi kɯ:tiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa kë:kɯ nindë gurumane na:lɯ kë:ṭ(ɯ) aramane ni:rɯ balipë kaṇatare nu:ra:yira baṭṭi [1] bu:mi nu:rɯ kaṇḍa [2] ba:ṇe upë̈la ne:ŋgi noga taye tami allate bu:mir(a) a:ka e:ka e:kaḍ(a) e:ri kuṇḍitere ku:ḍa sammanda koḍɯtira:.

'If so, of the Kɯ:tiaṇḍa sib, the ancestors' shrine [3] which stands to the east (of the dwelling-house), the palace (=house) with its four buildings (round the central court), the well where they draw water, the arable land of 100,000 measures, the pasture land of 100 pieces, the plough with which they plough, the yoke, the harrow, the yoke-rope, and besides that, of the arable land the large paddy-field, the paddy-nursery, the banks of the paddy-nursery, the manure-pit, all did you give her as her rights in the sib ?'

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[1] More usually a:yira baṭi '1000 measures'.
[2] More usually patɯ kaṇḍa '10 pieces'.
[3] Usually in ordinary speech called kaymaḍa; each original sib-house (aynɯmane) has such a shrine of its ancestors, supposedly on the site where the first ancestor was buried and frequently enough actually containing a tomb.

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*Speaker of bridegroom's party*: koḍɯtatɯ.
'We gave.'

*Speaker of bride's party*: okuvë kaḷa kaḷatɯlɯ bo:ṭi cita:ril(ɯ) aki kommel(ɯ) upɯ tuyyatɯ maḷu karavatɯ puḷi kalatɯlɯ pa:ra bindigel(ɯ) ënṇe baraṇilɯ ney allate kaḍacekallɯ ammikallɯ bi:juvë kallɯ meypël(a) oḷake cavṭuvë ra:ṭe bakatɯ guḍḍa ka:cuvë gañji ko:tuvë cembɯ katuvë puḷḷi kuḷipëḷa pa:re atakoṭɯ kaḍɯcikoṭɯ meypë koṭɯ puḷḷikoṭɯ ku:ḍa sammanda koḍɯtira:.

'The floor where they thresh, the post on the threshing-floor (round which the cattle go in treading the grain), the rice in the storehouse, the salt in the basket, the chillies in the big store-basket, the vinegar in the pot, the chutney in the pot, the oil in the large vessel, the ghee in the pot, and besides that, the stone mortar and pestle, the roller grinding-stone, the stones with which they grind, the wooden pestle with which they pound paddy, the pounder which they tread, the bath-house in the lane, the boiler which they heat, the pot with which they dip, the fuel which burns, the tiled floor where they bathe, the cattle-shed, the calf-shed, the shed where they pound paddy, the fuel-shed, all did you give as her rights in the sib ?'

*Speaker of bridegroom's party*: koḍɯtatɯ.
'We gave.'

*Speaker of bride's party:* e:lato:ṭa ka:pito:ṭa puḷito:ṭa ba:ḷeto:ṭa teŋgɯto:ṭa iñjito:ṭa mañjato:ṭa pañjeto:ṭa ku:ḍa sammanda koḍɯtira:.

'The cardamom-plantation, the coffee-plantation, the orange-plantation, the plantain-plantation, the coconut-plantation, the ginger-plantation, the turmeric-plantation, the vegetable-garden, all did you give as her rights in the sib ?'

*Speaker of bridegroom's party*: koḍɯtatɯ.
'We gave.'

*Speaker of bride's party*: në:ti ketuvë matɯ bi:di ketuvë kati maŋgaḷapë guddali cuki po:në co:më madici po:në po:ri patɯkuḍi a:ḷɯ paytakëtɯ patɯ karapa paymbaṭi nellɯ nell(ɯ) aḷapë pa:ni koci aḷapë se:rɯ aki aḷapë ma:na ne:lelɯ to:kɯ mu:lelɯ ba:ḷɯ a:ṇilɯ kati ta:kɯnë taḷia tu:kɯnë boḷica cu:dɯk(ɯ) irɯmbɯ cuṇḍekɯ modalɯ ondɯtoṭɯ nu:ro:ḷa sammanda koḍɯtadallate kɯ:tiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa kaṭɯl(ɯ) ajjë toṭɯlɯ kuññi olekët(ɯ) ajji sa:laḍaŋga ba:laḍaŋga sammanda koḍɯtira:.

'The axe with which lifting they cut, the knife with which waving they cut, the hoe with which they dig earth, the bullock which became restive and strayed, the male buffalo which lusted after the female and strayed, the servants in ten families,

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the ten pairs of bullocks, the ten milch cows, the ten measures of paddy, the two-seer measure with which they measure paddy, the one-seer measure with which they measure the servants' wages, the half-seer measure with which they measure rice, the gun in the hanging slings, the long sword in the corner, the sword on the nail, the plate which they leaned against the wall, the lamp which they hung, the iron for making needles, among the articles even as small as the cuṇḍe-fruit, all from one to one hundred, not only giving as her rights in the sib, but also of the Kɯ:tiaṇḍa sib, the old man on the bed, the child in the cradle, the old woman at the hearth, the family line complete, did you give her relationship with these ?'

*Speaker of bridegroom's party*: koḍɯtatɯ.
'We gave.'

*Speaker of bride's party*: eŋgaḍa kuññia maka niŋgaḍa manekɯ ba:ḷɯ ba:ke bandalli niŋgaḍ(a) okaḍa ni:rɯ nëḷatɯlɯ iñji mañja naṭitɯ ko:ḷi pandi ca:kitɯ ɯ:ḷemba:ḷe ma:ritɯ në:ḍɯnë paṇatɯna cepɯl(ɯ) ɯṭɯ beca:na na:ḷe piniandɯ niŋgaḍa kuññia mak(a) ëḍɯtit (ɯ) allasalla: nd(ɯ) ënṇɯce:ŋgi idɯŋgm javabda:rën a:nantë aŋgënaruvë da:rɯ.

'When our child has come to your house to rule it and in marriage, the money which she has earned, by planting with water and in shade ginger and turmeric, by rearing fowls and pigs, by selling (the fruit of) creepers and plantains, and has kept in a box, if on some day later your children have taken that money and have said: "We did not take it (lit. it is not so)," who is the aruvë who becomes the person responsible for this ?'

*The aruvë of the groom's sib*: na:nɯ.
'I.'
*Speaker of the bride's party*: niŋgaḍ(a) okapeda ennɯ.
'What is your sib-name ?'
*Aruvë*: tamba:ṇḍa.
*Speaker of bride's party*: a:ḷɯpeda ennɯ.
'What is your personal name ?'
*Aruvë*: mutaṇṇë.
*Speaker of bride's party*: maṇṇaruvëna: ponnaruvëna:.
'Are you the aruvë of the traditional sib or a temporary aruvë ?'
*Aruvë*: maṇṇaruvënu: aku ponnaruvënu: aku.
'I am both.'
*Speaker of bride's party*: okaperiavë$^{n}$na: a:ḷɯperiavë$^{n}$na:

'Are you the oldest member of the oldest generation of your sib or the oldest member of the sib regardless of generations?' It is the latter who is the koro:ka:rë or headman of the sib, though of course the oldest member of the sib is usually also the oldest member of the oldest generation. This question, like the

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previous one, is asked to establish the aruvë's claim to speak for his sib. It does not necessarily follow however that the aruvë is the permanent koro:ka:rë of the sib; on such occasions as this, the oldest member of the sib who is present at the ceremony ranks as koro:ka:rë for the time being.

*Aruvë*: okaperiavë$^{n}$nu: aku a:ḷɯperiavë$^{n}$nu: aku.
'I am both.'

*Speaker of bride's party*: idari panneraṇḍacira ponnɯ. ë:ra uṇḍe:ŋgi taralu. kammi uṇḍe:ŋgi kë:ṭavalu.

'Here! take 12 gold coins. If there are too many, you may give us (those in excess). If there are too few, you may ask (for enough to make up the deficiency).' With these words he hands to the aruvë eleven pebbles, which represent the 'gold coins'; their significance has been discussed above.

*The aruvë after counting says*: pannandacira ponne: uḷḷë.
'It is just eleven gold coins.'

*Speaker of bride's party*: oracira ponnɯ illi hakɯ sta:panekɯ becaṇḍi:tɯ.

'One gold coin we have kept here with us to retain her rights in her own sib.' [1]

*Speaker of bridegroom's party*: inda:kaṇekɯ i: taŋgammë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë kanni niŋgaḍa taŋge maka. indɯtoṭɯ me:vara kɯ:tiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa ka:ḷapë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë baymbëṇḍa pommaka maka. annane ba:ḷike bandë poṇṇɯ mane ca:-yille: ndu: añci ɯṭitille: ndu: paṭi ja:ruva: ndu: koṭɯ to:ruva: ndu: o:ṇilɯ kete: ndu: ca:ṇakɯ kayya: ndu: ni:rɯkɯ du:ra: ndu: ma:vë$^{n}$ṇḍa ba:yiguṇa po:ra: ndu: ma:vi$^{n}$ra kayguṇa po:ra:ndu: oḍeyëṇḍa mayguṇa po:ra: ndu: maciṇicira managuṇa po:ra: ndu: ku:ḷɯ kuycatɯ: ndu: kari kaycatɯ: ndu: na:yi kaḍicatɯ: ndu: pu:ñe ma:ndɯci: ndu: ëtɯ kutɯci: ndu: payyu cavṭɯci: ndu: kokaci ketɯci: ndu: ba:kemane buṭitɯ ta:manek(ɯ) o:ḍi oḷici po:yitɯ aḷatitɯ ba:manena paḷandaṇḍɯ ta:manena tudicaṇḍɯ aḷataka ña:ya$^{n}$ paranditɯ tiddi ni:kitɯ baṭekɯ tu:ḍu: ku:ṭɯk(ɯ) a:ḷu: koḍɯtitɯ ayci tapantë aŋgënaruvë da:rɯ.

'Until today this girl called Taŋgammë has been your younger sister and child. From today onwards she is the wife of the man called Ka:ḷapë of the Kɯ:tiaṇḍa sib. If the woman who thus came in marriage says: 'The house is not good,' or 'They have not tiled it,' or 'The yard is slippery,' or 'The shed leaks,'

[1] My informants seemed somewhat uncertain as to the fate of these pebbles. It seems that they should be tied into the hem of the bride's sari before she is led out of the house. Certainly no great importance is attached to them in themselves and they are not kept for any length of time.

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or 'The lane is full of mire,' or 'It is impossible to carry dung (to the paddy-field),' or 'It is too far to go for water,' or 'My father-in-law's words are not good (lit. the qualities of his mouth are not enough),' or 'My mother-in-law is niggardly in giving supplies (lit. the qualities of her hand are not enough),' or 'My husband is impotent (or, neglects me sexually, lit. the qualities of his body are not enough),' or 'My younger sister-in-law is not affectionate (lit. the qualities of her mind are not enough),' or 'The rice was too hot,' or 'The curry was bitter,' or 'The dog bit me,' or 'The cat scratched me,' or 'The bullock gored me,' or 'The cow kicked me,' or 'The she-buffalo gored me,' if saying such things she leaves the house into which she married and going running and hiding to her father's house she sits there and stays speaking ill of her husband's house and praising her father's house, who is the aruvë who having talked it over and settled it will give her a torch for the path and a servant to accompany her and will send her back?'

*The aruvë of the bride's sib*: na:nɯ.
'I.'

He is identified in a dialogue verbally the same as that which identified the other aruvë, the differences being only in his sib and personal names, which were given in this case as karo:ṭira and ma:dapë respectively. After he answers: okaperiavë$^{n}$nu: aku a:ḷɯperiavë$^{n}$nu: aku, the speaker on the bridegroom's side says: idari takɯkɯ tapatë sa:ksipaṇa. 'Here! take the witness-money so that you will not break your promise.' Three annas (=paṇa) are given to him.

*The speaker of the bride's party*: eŋgaḍa kuññia makakɯ nu:rɯ bira:ṇḍa poṭi añña:rɯ bira:ṇḍa poḍea tuṇi a:yira bira:ṇḍa pa:vu padi:ca o:le ma:le same:ta i: okaḍa nellakilɯ ëṇṇa baṇṇa no:ṭitɯ maŋgɯl(a) a:ḍi po:nalli a: okaḍa nellakilɯ ëṇṇa baṇṇa no:ṭuvaka baṭelu: baylu: ka:ṇate kë:ḷate po:ce:ŋgi idɯŋgɯ javabda:rën a:nantë aŋgënaruvë niŋgaḷannea:.

'Belonging to our child, the box worth 100 pagoda-coins (the pagoda=4 rupees), the saris and clothes worth 500 pagoda-coins, the jewels worth 1000 pagoda-coins, including ear-ornaments and necklaces, having checked over their number and size in the nellaki of this sib, they will go in the marriage procession. After they have gone, when in the nellaki of that sib they check over their number and size, if on the path any has been lost unseen and unheard, is it just you that is the aruvë who is the man responsible for this?'

*The aruvë of the bridegroom's sib*: na: nanne:.
'Just I.'

*Speaker of the bride's party*: idari oke teraŋgatë be:li e:ri teraŋgatë kallɯ annane takɯkɯ tapatë sa:ksipaṇa.

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'Here! take the witness-money so that you will not break your promise, (being immovable) as the fence over which the jungle does not encroach and the boundary-stone beyond which the walls of the paddy-nursery are not shifted.' With these words he gives three annas to the aruvë.

After the bride has thus been made a member of her husband's sib, he goes to the kitchen and without entering it takes her hand and brings her out. After this, her mother removes the cloth which he has up to this time worn on his head and puts it on his shoulders; he may leave it there or remove it entirely after this. He and his party with the bride and some members of her party then start for his house. As he is bringing her out of the house, the incident with her male cross-cousin takes place as has been described above. When they have arrived at the house of his sib, formal salutations take place, noteworthy among them those of the bride to her parents-in-law, and some member of the bride's party cuts six plantain stems. The bride is led into her husband's room and remains there except for the water-carrying ceremony. Everyone receives betel and light refreshments. Then the bride removes her veil and is led out to the well with music and accompanied by all the people. She breaks a coconut and pours the juice into the well, and then carries on her head a pot of water from the well to the house. Formerly according to tradition and the wedding song, she also carried a load of dung to the paddy-field. These are her first household duties in her new sib. She is led back to her husband's room and replaces her veil. Then all have the midday meal and the bride's party are led with ceremony as far as the pasture near the house and are dismissed. After this, songs are sung by Coorg singers and in them the bride is given her new personal name. This may be one quite different from her old one, if as has been said above, it is desired to perpetuate some name in the house or if the bride's name is the same as that of some woman already in the family and confusion might result. Or, her name as an unmarried girl may be kept with the change only of -ammë or -akë, the terminations of the names of unmarried girls, to -avvë, the termination of the names of married women, as happened in the case of the woman whose name is given in the text above; Taŋgammë became Taŋgavvë.

The bridegroom is brought to the nellaki by his best man, throws rice to the lamp and salutes all the members of his sib who are present. He is then led to his room, where the bride has been all the time except when led out to carry water. He now removes her veil, and the marriage is consummated on this night. On the following morning the villagers return, are fed at midday and formally dismissed. After some days, a variable number but usually the next day, the bride returns without her husband to her father's house. No ceremonies take place. Richter's statement that the bride is treated as a polluted woman

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and is unable to touch cooking utensils and causes her family inability to take part in ceremonies as does a woman after childbirth is definitely untrue and is vigorously contradicted by my informants. After a short period her husband is invited by her family and with a companion he comes and takes her to his house and thereafter she lives there.

Of the two ceremonies, mu:rta and sammanda, the latter ceremony is performed at every marriage. The former can be performed for a woman only once in her life, however many times she marries, and so is not done when she remarries. For a man, on the other hand, it is performed each time he marries. Consequently, if a widower marries a widow, the mu:rta is performed for him alone and on the following day the sammanda is performed, giving the woman rights in his sib.

In giving this account of the institutions and ceremonies of Coorg marriages I have in many places tacitly corrected previous accounts, especially that given by Richter. On examining his description it was found that very many of the details as given by him were vigorously contradicted by my informants. It has not seemed necessary to draw attention in most cases to the discrepancy between my account and his. My account has been carefully checked with a number of Coorgs of some age and experience and from a number of localities within the large district whose institutions I have described. It will be found, I think, that wherever my account and Richter's disagree, mine may be accepted as correct.

The main part of the information presented was furnished by Mrry. K. Calappa Avl., retired sub-magistrate and additional sub-judge, Mercara, Coorg, to whom I must record my gratitude for this and for the linguistic information which he gave me freely over a period of eight months in 1936-37. His information was supplemented for this paper by many conversations with other Coorgs and by attending and making notes at several weddings to which I was hospitably invited.

## Appendix I.

*Readmission of a woman to her father's sib.*

If a widow wishes to marry a man of a different sib from that of her first husband, or if, as happens rarely, she wishes because of ill-treatment to return to her father's house, a ceremony of readmission to her father's sib and renunciation of all claims to a part in her first husband's sib is necessary. After all arrangements have been made, a formal ceremony (called kallɯpara kaypë 'the ceremony of the pebbles') takes place at the nellaki of her first husband's house. Representatives of the two sibs and the aruvës of the two sibs gather. The movable property of the woman, her clothes, etc., are brought to the nellaki. The parties separate into two lines as in the sammanda, and the aruvë of the woman's sib says: daṇḍɯ kaḍe na:ḍo:nu:illavë nu:bendu: aŋgënaruvënu: sa:lɯ këṭi nindira:.

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'People of the district in two parties and people of the house and relatives and aruvës, have you formed lines and stood?' (The wording as given is slightly different from that of the introductory sentence of the sammanda, but the intent is identical, and either wording or others still different may be used at either ceremony.)

*The aruvē of the husband's sib*: nindi:tɯ.
'They have stood.'

*Aruvē of the woman's sib*: a:nak(a) ikka—[woman's sib-name] okaḍa co:makë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë kuññi—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa apëyyë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë kuññira ba:lɯ ba:ke bandalli apëyyë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë kuññira a:yisa koru a:yitu: co:makë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë kuññira adrɯsṭa? kẽṭad(ɯ) a:yitu: patɯ ka:la baddɯ ba:vëkɯ ruṇa illata:naŋguṇḍɯ inda:kaṇe niŋgaḍa pommaka maka: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇitiñjë co:makë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë kuññina poṇṇɯ kẽṭate:ŋgi ta:mane:[1] ndɯ bayyakɯ kā:kiaṇḍɯ po:luva:.

'If so, after the child called Co:makë of the—sib came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apëyyë of the—sib, his life having become short and her luck having become bad, because it was not their destiny having ruled to rule the house for more (lit. ten) years, now according to the saying: "If a woman has fallen into trouble, her father's house (is the place for her)," may we go taking back the child called Co:makë who up to today was said to be a wife among you?'

*Aruvē of husband's sib*: kɯ:na:ḷɯ maria:di annane.
'According to the custom of past time.'

*Aruvē of woman's sib*: a:naka co:makë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë kuññi apëyyë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë kuññira ba:ḷɯ ba:ke bapaka aññu:rɯ bira: nɯra poṭilɯ a:yira bira:nɯra ma:lɯna sa:laḍaŋga ba:laḍaŋga terakiaṇḍɯ banda:ṇḍa uṇḍitɯ uḍɯtitɯ miñjɯna:na bayyak(ɯ) ëḍɯtaṇḍɯ po:luva:.

'If so, what is left over, after her eating meals and wearing the clothes, of all the jewels and clothes worth 1000 pagoda-coins in the box worth 500 pagoda-coins which the child called Co:makë brought with her when she came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apëyyë, may we go taking it back?'

*Aruvē of husband's sib*: kɯ:na:ḷɯ maria:di annane.
'According to the custom of past time.'

*Aruvē of woman's sib*: idari sa:ksipaṇa.
'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the husband's aruvë.

*Aruvē of the husband's sib*: ba:tɯ. a:naka co:mavvë:[2] nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë kuññi apëyyë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë kuññira va:ḷɯ ba:ke bandalli co:mavvëŋgɯ cu:dɯk(ɯ) irɯmbɯ cuṇḍekɯ modalɯ ondɯtoṭɯ nu:ro:ḷa—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manelɯ sammanda koḍɯpaka—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manelɯ co:mavvëŋg(ɯ) iñjë sammandaṭɯna kovvañji niŋga tandë pannandaci ponn(ɯ) idari. beci tapa.

'I have received them (lit. it came). If so, here! take the eleven gold coins which you gave on taking sib-rights which were Co:mavvë's in the house of the—sib when we gave to Co:mavvë rights in the house of the—sib to (all things, even to) the iron for making needles, among the articles

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[1] The proverb has a second sentence: a:ṇɯ kẽṭate:ŋgi aramane 'if a man gets into trouble, prison (lit. the palace; sc. is the place for him).'

[2] The husband's party use the name that the woman had in his house, with the -avvë termination, while the woman's party have been using the form suitable to an unmarried girl, by which she was known to them before her marriage.

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even as small as the cuṇḍe-fruit, all from one to one hundred, after the child called Co:mavvĕ came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apĕyyĕ. We will give (the coins).' With these words he hands over eleven pebbles.

*Aruvē of woman's sib*: ba:tɯ.
'I have received them (lit. they came).'
*Aruvē of husband's sib*: idari sa:ksipaṇa.
'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the woman's aruvĕ.
*Aruvē of woman's sib*: ba:tɯ.
'I have received them.'

After this ceremony the woman is taken with her belongings to her father's house.

If she should be leaving her husband by divorce, much the same formulas are used, the main difference being in giving the reason for her leaving.

## APPENDIX II.

### *Coorg kinship terminology.*

'The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system. A summary of the Coorg system follows:

1. There is no self-reciprocating terminology. In Ego's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins on the one hand and his classificatory cross-cousins on the other are indicated by terms which denote age older than himself and younger than himself respectively. Consequently, none of the terms used within Ego's generation are self-reciprocals.

2. No term is found denoting an individual whose sex is unspecified. Collectives which class the sexes together are found in three cases (see U, Y, and Z in Table 2).

3. Siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are classed together in each generation.

4. In Ego's generation a dichotomy is made in classification on the basis of age elder or younger than himself (see 1). In the first ascending generation, Ego's father's male siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age elder or younger than the father's, and Ego's mother's female siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age elder or younger than the mother's.

5. The father is distinguished from his brothers, and the mother from her sisters.

6. Ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations show a use of terms perfectly in accord with a strict system of cross-cousin marriage. Further, no terminological distinction is made between siblings and classificatory parallel cousins of any degree of remoteness, or between classificatory cross-cousins of any degree of remoteness. Consequently, in the first ascending generation there is a separate term (G) for the father's sisters and parallel female cousins, and this is used also for the mother's female cross-cousins and her male siblings' and parallel male cousins' wives. Similarly, there is a separate term (J) for the mother's brothers and parallel male cousins, and this is used also for the father's male cross-cousins and his female siblings' and parallel female cousins' husbands. In Ego's generation the classification of cross-cousin applies to all the children of those in the first ascending generation who are classed according to the preceding two sentences. In the first descending generation a distinction is made between two groups, (a) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the same sex as oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the opposite sex from oneself (these are classed with Ego's

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children), and (b) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the opposite sex from oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the same sex as oneself. Members of (a) are possible mates of members of (b). For (a) a collective term is found disregarding sex, i.e. 'children'.

7. The terms that would apply to Ego's mate's relatives if the mate were a cross-cousin apply also to those relatives when the mate is not a cross-cousin.

8. A step-mother is called by the same term as a sister of the mother, a step-father by the same term as a brother of the father. (This is not evidence for levirate and sororate, but would follow from a strict cross-cousin marriage system; see ref. 2, p. 125.)

9. Two classes in the first descending generation yield one class only in the second descending generation; there are two terms, one for each sex, for grandchildren. For these a collective term is found disregarding sex, as for 'children' in 6 above. Similarly, the second ascending generation is divided only on the basis of sex.

10. The third ascending generation, like the second, has two terms differentiated on the basis of sex. For the third descending generation there are no unitary terms, only phrases, see Z in Table 2.

11. All the above statements are valid whether Ego is male or female.

12. For husband and wife there are separate terms, oḍeyĕ and ponnu respectively.

## Bibliography.

A bibliography of the meagre writings on the Coorgs will include the following as the most important items in English (there are no books on the subject in any other European language):

Rev. G. Richter, *Manual of Coorg* (Mangalore, Basel Mission Book Depository, 1870). This is the earliest account and must be taken into consideration despite its limitations; it is still available at the publishers.

Lewis Rice, *Mysore and Coorg* (Bangalore, Mysore Government Press, 1878); volume 3 on Coorg. This is an almost verbatim reprint of Richter's book, with few additions or changes of any importance.

Pandanda Muthanna, *Coorg and the Coorgs* (Siddhapur, Coorg, C. M. Ponnappa, 1931). A small book with some good material, but on the whole meagre and disappointing.

Dewan Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, Presidential Address to the Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress, Hyderabad (Deccan), 1937. The Dewan Bahadur promised a book on Coorg similar to his *Cochin Tribes and Castes and Mysore Tribes and Castes*; since his lamented death in February 1937, it has been announced (Man, Vol. 37, No. 120) that his manuscript was at the time of his death almost completed. Pending the desired publication of this manuscript, it has seemed desirable to publish this account of one side of Coorg life, especially since in the printed presidential address there is one very serious misstatement. It is said there that among the Coorgs cross-cousin marriage is prohibited; this is definitely not the case, the evidence given in this paper will show that cross-cousin marriage must be considered to be the favored form among the Coorgs, either operating as such at some past period, or at least held as an ideal.

I must express my gratitude to Dr. David Mandelbaum for his criticisms and suggestions on numerous points in the paper.

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TABLE 2. TERMINOLOGY MARKED IN TABLE 1 BY LETTERS.

A mutajjë.
B muta:yi.
C ajjë.
D ta:yi.
E apë.
F ayyë; if older than Ego's father, he may be called balliapë, if younger, ceriapë.
G ma:vi$^{n}$; Ego's father's sister, as distinguished from others to whom this term applies, may be called tamma:vi$^{n}$.
H avvë.
J ma:vë$^{n}$; Ego's mother's brother, as distinguished from others to whom this term applies, may be called tamma:vë$^{n}$.
K cikavvë; if older than Ego's mother, she may be called balliavvë (cf. F) or doḍḍavvë, if younger, bo:javvë.
L aṇṇë, used of those brothers and parallel male cousins who are older than Ego.
M akë, used of those sisters and parallel female cousins who are older than Ego.
N tammaṇë, used of those brothers and parallel male cousins who are younger than Ego.
O taṇge, used of those sisters and parallel female cousins who are younger than Ego.
P ba:vë, used of those male cross-cousins who are older than Ego.
Q Maciṇë, used of those male cross-cousins who are younger than Ego.
R mammë, used of those female cross-cousins who are much older than Ego.
S maciṇi or maciṇici, used of those female cross-cousins who are younger than or of about the same age as Ego.
T mo:vë$^{n}$.
U mo:va; T and U may be called collectively maka.
V maymë.
W mayma.
X Kwrwmo:vë$^{n}$.
Y Kwrwmo:va; X and Y may be called collectively kwrwmaka.
Z no unitary term; collectively called kwrwmakaḍa maka 'children of grandchildren'; with distinction of sex kwrwmo:vë$^{n}$ṇḍa mo:vë$^{n}$ (or mo:va) 'son (or, daughter) of grandson' and kwrwmo:vaḍa mo:vë$^{n}$ (or, mo:va) 'son (or, daughter) of granddaughter'.

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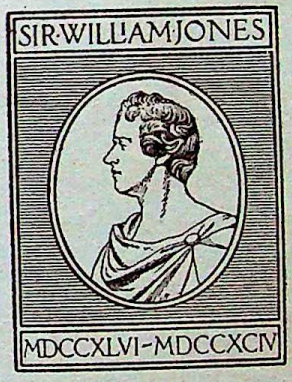
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Article No. 5.

# Putrikā-putra, or the appointed daughter's son in Ancient Law.

By Nares C. Sen Gupta.

In my paper on Early History of Sonship in India (*Man*, 1924, 32 and 42), I tried to trace a history of the evolution of secondary sons in India. Some of the conclusions I there reached require revision in the light of further studies.

The main thesis which I there sought to establish I still adhere to. It was that the Vedic Āryas did not recognize a secondary son ; but pressed by environments their law was forced to recognize secondary Sonship as well as forms of marriage prevalent in societies among whom they came to live, just as the Romans who had but one justum matrimonium, the confarreatio, were later forced to recognize marriages like Coemtio and Usus.

The Dharmasūtras represent diverse attempts made at different periods of history and in different communities to absorb this exotic stock into the body of the sacred law.

I shall attempt in this paper to give a brief account of the stages of evolution of one kind of secondary sons, the Putrikāputra or the son of the appointed daughter. In doing so I shall briefly indicate what I consider to be the beginnings of secondary Sonship generally in ancient Indian Law.

As I have observed, the early Vedic society did not recognize any secondary son. As Zimmer[1] observes referring to the great hankering for sons displayed by the Ṛgvedic texts, " Nicht soll man glauben er konne durch Adoption erzetzt werden, denn ' Was von einen andern gezeugt ist keine Nachkonemmenschaft ' RV. 7, 4, 7."

Āpastambha, though apparently later in date than the other Dharmasūtras retains the purity of the early Vedic law in this respect. According to him Aurasa, the son begotten by one on one's lawfully wedded wife is the only son.[2] Niyoga he denounces,[3] and he absolutely declines to recognize gift or sale of sons as chattels.[4] In his scheme of the law of inheritance the secondary sons find no place. And Āpastambha cites the authority of unquestionable Śruti texts.

Gautama, Vaśiṣṭha and Baudhāyana recognize secondary sons, though the rules about secondary sons laid down by them are in many respects widely divergent. But the noticeable

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[1] Altindisches Leben, p. 318.
[2] Apast., II, 13, 1 ; so too Aupajaṅghani quoted by Baudh., II, 2, 34.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, 13, 4–7.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, 13, 11.



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thing is that none of these authors cites any Vedic text recognizing secondary sons. Vaśiṣṭha is the only author who cites Vedic authority, which I shall presently refer to, but the remarkable thing is that in his enumeration of the secondary sons he says: 'Twelve kinds of sons are given by *Purāṇa*'.[1] What he means by Purāṇa seems to be sacred tradition, and this is borne out by his reference to the fact that in Vedic texts there is precedent for certain kinds of secondary sons; as the purchase of Śunaḥśepha which he reads as the making of a krita son by Hariścandra and his adoption by Viśvāmitra which he reads as a case of Svayamupagata.[2] It is with reference to such traditions that Āpastambha asserts that they are not authorities, because a recital of a mere fact in a Śruti text is not law and because the defections from law and crimes by great men are not to be followed; in them with their superior spiritual excellence they were harmless but they would not be so in the case of lesser mortals.[3]

Vaśiṣṭha's reliance on Purāṇa rather than on any *Vidhi* of the Śruti shows that in Vedic law as distinguished from the practice of isolated men there was no authority for secondary sons. This conclusion is further reinforced by the fact that there is nothing in the Gṛhya Sūtras which indicate the existence of any kind of secondary son. If secondary sons had been recognized in the Vedic society there would inevitably have been some ritual or ceremony connected with the making of such son in the Gṛhyas. But the Gṛhyas have none such. In the Dharmasūtras, Kṣetraja,[4] Dattaka[5] Putrikāputra[6] are found associated with some rituals, but no such ritual finds place in the Gṛhyas. In later ritual literature an elaborate ceremony is found evolved for the taking of a Dattaka son, but it consists practically of the performance of ceremonies prescribed in the Gṛhya sūtras for a natural born son.

Secondary sons are found to have been recognized for the first time in the Dharmasūtras, though the reference of Vaśiṣṭha to Purāṇa shows that their legal recognition was preceded by isolated practices of individuals.

The earliest of the secondary sons to be recognized were the Kṣetraja and the Putrikāputra and they enjoy between them a primacy over other kinds of sons throughout the Smṛtis. In my paper in *Man*, 1924, p. 32 and p. 42, I have suggested that the Kṣetraja Sonship was borrowed from the Semitic Levirate. It is not possible to pursue the history of Kṣetraja in this paper and I must reserve it for future treatment.

With regard to the Putrikāputra, we find in the first place that he does not fit in with the Vedic scheme of society and that

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1 Vaśiṣṭha, XVII, 12.
2 XVII, 31, 34-35.
3 Apast., II, 14, 13; II, 13, 8–10.
4 Vaśiṣṭha, XVII, 55 *et seq.*
5 Vaśiṣṭha, XV, 6.
6 Gautama, XXVIII, 18.

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on the other hand he is quite normal in societies built up on matriarchal or semi-matrilinear bases in which the *beena*[1] type of marriage prevails. The essence of Vedic marriage as described in Ṛg Veda X, 85, is *Vahatu*, the name by which it is called in the Vedas, which, like the Roman *deductio domum* and the corresponding Athenian ceremony, consists of the carrying away of the bride to the husband's home. And the Mantras clearly indicate that she is carried not only out of her father's house but out of his village. It must have been so, as ancient villages and settlements were exclusively agnatic and the exogamous Ārya could not marry his girl in the village. Some of the Mantras emphasized by Zimmer show that the Vedic Ārya was anxious that a daughter who went out should go out for ever. In such a society a daughter staying with her father would be an anomaly.

If we examine the early laws of Inheritance and Śrāddha which have been borrowed intact from tradition by the very Dharmasūtras which recognize the appointed daughter's son, it will be seen that they give no place to the daughter or her son.

Thus in Gautama, we find that only those connected by Piṇḍa, Gotra and Ṛṣi were entitled to succeed to a sonless person (Gautama, XXVII, 21). The wife is given a place which we need not refer to here. In Śrāddha, we find that the persons entitled to perform Śrāddha to a sonless person are his own sapiṇḍas, his mother's sapiṇḍas and sagotras (Gautama, XV, 13-14).

The word sapiṇḍa has been given a new meaning in the Mitākṣarā and later commentaries as ' of the same body '. This interpretation was given with the clear object of supporting the Mitākṣarā law of inheritance which does not run on the lines of spiritual efficacy. Looking at the Smṛtis themselves it is reasonably clear, however, that they meant by this term those who participate in piṇḍas or funeral oblations.

Who then were the sapiṇḍas in Gautama's text ? It is quite clear that they did not include cognates who were not agnates. Otherwise mother's sapiṇḍas would not have been separately mentioned. In later law, no doubt, the daughter's son and other cognates have been made sapiṇḍas and daughter's sons have been recognized as offering piṇḍas to their maternal ancestors. Gautama already provides for it, but none the less he does not consider the maternal grandfather as a sapiṇḍa of his grandson but as only a sapiṇḍa of his mother.[2]

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[1] See footnote on page 165.

[2] Even in Viṣṇu who recognizes a daughter as such as heir, it is interesting to find that in the detailed and complete procedure for Śrāddha given in Chapter 73, the piṇḍas offered are to the father and his two male ancestors. In Chapter 75 a text is thrown in which says that piṇḍas are to be offered to maternal ancestors in the same manner. That this was a later addition is shown by the ritual described in Chapter 73 which is perfectly complete to the minutest detail down to Brāhmaṇavisarjana.

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Both for inheritance and śrāddha therefore the daughter's son was a stranger in early law.

Vaśiṣṭha interpolates a whole gamut of six secondary sons in his scheme of succession, but, leaving out the secondary sons, his scheme of succession is the same as that of Gautama.[1]

The scheme of society indicated by these laws is strictly agnatic. The daughter's son can have no place in it, any more than in the law of the Twelve Tables. The law of Gautama and Vaśiṣṭha is in substance the law of the Twelve Tables, barring secondary sons.

As to what happened in the interval between the early Vedic texts and the period of the Dharmasūtras which recognized the *Putrikāputra* and other secondary sons we are left more or less in the domain of conjecture. But we can find traces of a few factors which may have contributed to the evolution of the *Putrikā* and the *Putrikāputra*.

The extension of the status of sonship to boys loved as sons would be a natural process. This is indicated in the story of Śunaḥśepha who so charmed Viśvāmitra by his spiritual excellence that with the consent of the latter's hundred sons he endowed Śunaḥśepha with the rights of the eldest son. That was very far yet from the creation of fictitious sonship, as laid down in the Dharmasūtras, but it indicates how natural affection would tend to extend sonship to strangers.

Besides economic conditions were changing and social conditions and environments were no longer what they were when the hymns of the Ṛg Veda were written. One of the great changes which apparently occurred was that daughters of sonless persons began sometimes to live with their parents.

On the other hand the tie of kinship to distant agnates grew weaker as society expanded and distance both of space and of degrees of descent grew between them.

In a strictly agnatic society the law of succession in Gautama and Vaśiṣṭha would have been accepted as a matter of course. For daughters by their marriage in such societies would pass out of the family not only in a spiritual sense but absolutely. In a society however which had become more or less familiar with the idea of a sonless father having his daughter and her children about him, natural love and affection would assert itself.

And, it is more than barely possible that this development in the law was aided by the institutions of non-Ārya communities with whom the Vedic Ārya came into contact and some of whom were themselves converted to the Ārya cult.

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[1] सपिण्डाः पुत्रस्थानीया वा धनं भजेरन्। तेषामभावे ऋत्विगाचार्य्यान्तेवासी हरेयाताम्। तयोरलाभे राजा।

Āpastambha, II, 14 also gives the same order, only he gives the inheritance to the daughter before the King.

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That the Ārya cult expanded and developed as much by Āryanization of non-Āryas as by the migration of Āryas themselves cannot be doubted. The literature relating to the ritual of the *Vrātyastoma* indicates that such conversions were not infrequent. Later history and the anthropology of races now following the Ārya cult furnish abundant evidences of such conversions.

With regard to one great race in historical times who were clearly converts to Ārya cult, we can more than guess that they were descendants of a race which had matrilinear kinship, at any rate in an earlier stage of their history—I mean the Āndhras. Barring the earlier Āndhra Kings whose names we get probably in an abbreviated form in the Purāṇas, the Kings of this line were obviously known by their metronymic, e.g. Gautamīputra, Vāśiṣṭhiputra, Mathariputra. This use of the metronymic is one of the survivals by which a society originally matrilinear in kinship can be recognized as such. It is more than probable that the Andhras were such a race who were Āryanized and among whom in historic times descent was apparently from father to son but was originally matrilinear.

That, in the ages before we have definite history, the Āryas who clearly had contacts with non-Ārya communities, some of whom were absorbed into the Ārya cult, did come across societies like that of the Āndhras with matrilinear kinship is a guess which might be hazarded. And though we do not have definite historic facts in support of this hypothesis, ancient traditions embodied in the Mahābhārata lend considerable support to it. Thus we find that Bhīma married Hiḍimbā but he did not carry her home. Similarly Arjuna married Ulupī and Citrāṅgadā both of whom remained with their respective fathers. These are instances of marriage of girls who were definitely non-Ārya, in which it was taken for granted that the brides should not follow their husbands. It is true these facts are not historical, but they are a record of very ancient traditions and are all the more valuable, as the aspect of the stories on which we rely is one which was recorded unconsciously and therefore without bias or any intention to point a moral.

It is thus possible that the ancient Vedic Ārya whose ritual of marriage involved the taking away of the bride and the cessation of the tie of kinship between the bride and her parents came into contact with other races among whom daughters remained in the father's family where the husbands visited them, societies in short among whom the *beena* form of marriage prevailed.

It is quite possible that such societies when they were Āryanized retained their institution of having daughters in the house notwithstanding marriage. It is also possible that pure Ārya society faced with the fact of the daughter and grandson of a sonless man living with the father who, unless a formula

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could be found which could make such daughters kindred and substitute for sons, would be stranded, adapted the non-Ārya usage for their own purposes.

It was in this predicament that the Ārya society of post-Vedic times evolved the concept of *Putrikā* which gave to brotherless daughters the status of sons.

When this situation arose in ancient Rome the problem was solved by an edict of the Praetor who gave *bonorum possessio unde cognati* to these near cognates. In India of Gautama's day the same thing was done by a fiction. The daughter's son was brought in by being made a son by fiction.

The earliest trace of this change in the organization of society is probably to be found in a Śruti text cited in Nirukta quoted in Madanapārijāta.[1] The same text in a modified form is quoted by Vaśiṣṭha.[2]

This Śruti text does not specifically refer to the Putrikā but as I read it, it simply records a fact that brotherless daughters used to come and live with parents and lived like sons. I look upon this as the germ of growing practice which developed later into a definite rule of law in the shape of the Putrikāputra in later times.

Barring this doubtful Vedic text pressed to their use by later law-givers in connection with the Putrikā, we find no trace of her before we come to the Dharmasūtras. But the law in the Dharmasūtras themselves shows that before it was recorded in them, it had already passed through a course of evolution.

The original procedure by which a daughter's son could be made a son is a definite ritual which is laid down by Gautama in XXVIII, 18. At the wedding the father had to make a ceremonial declaration with appropriate sacrificial rites saying that the girl's son was to be his son. This formula we find repeated in other smṛtis down to Manu.

But already in Gautama's time this formal requirement had been slackened and Gautama cites an opinion held by some (एके) that an appointed daughter could be made by mere intention of the father even without this formula (XXVIII, 19, 20).

Baudhāyana in a somewhat cryptic text says that a daughter begotten on a girl 'by approaching' (her ?) is a putrikāputra, otherwise dauhitra.[3] The meaning of this passage is obscure. The significance of the word अभ्युपगम्य which I have translated 'by approaching' is not clear. Govindasvāmin who, naturally

[1] अभ्रातेव पुंस एति प्रतीचिं quoted in Madanapārijāta (Bibl. Ind.), p. 141.

[2] विज्ञायत अभ्राटका पुंसः पितृनभ्येति प्रतीचिनं गच्छति पुत्रत्वं ।
Vaśiṣṭha, XVII, 16.

[3] अभ्युपगम्य दुहितरि जातं पुत्रिकापुत्रमन्यं दौहित्रं । II, 2, 15.

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interprets the passage in the light of later Smṛti texts reads into it the meaning that the father must have first stipulated that the daughter was given for the purpose of raising issue to her father. It is reasonable to suppose however that by अभ्युपगम्य what the Sūtrakāra meant was that the husband approached her *in her father's house* to distinguish this from the normal case where the wife goes to her husband's house.

The words अन्यं दौहित्रं are also unintelligible unless they mean that *dauhitra* is the name given only to such grand-children. This point however, on which Govindasvāmin gives two alternative opinions, is not material.

In the next Sūtra Baudhāyana cites authority which says that the Putrikā's son gives the first piṇḍa to his mother, the next to the father and thereafter to the grand-father of the mother.[1] I take this text cited by Baudhāyana to mean that this is the first recognition of a daughter's son offering piṇḍas to his maternal grand-father which he was not entitled to do under the original Vedic law.

Viṣṇu,[2] like Gautama, first lays down that the Putrikāputra is the son of a girl given by a father with a stipulation that the son born of her was to be his son. But then he goes on to say that even where a daughter is not appointed by the rule for making a Putrikā she is a Putrikā, if brotherless.

Vaśiṣṭha [3] differs from these authors in making the Putrikā herself a son. But he indicates by quoting a verse on the process of making a Putrikā that a Putrikā can be made by a contract at the time of marriage that her son was to belong to the grand-father. As authority he refers to a variant of the Śruti text cited in Nirukta referred to above.

These texts indicate the formative stages of the evolution of Putrikāputra down to its penultimate stage.

We start with the fact that the sonless person's daughter living with the father instead of going to her husband had become more or less familiar. Vedic law gave her no status in the family, but instances were probably known in other societies in which such daughters and their offspring enjoyed a definite status. The Ārya law reacted to this fact not by absorbing the laws of these non-Āryas about the status of a daughter but by producing the same result by a fiction by which by means of an appropriate ceremonial contract the Putrikā and her son could be made into sons.

There can be little doubt that this was the earliest form in which the Putrikāputra was recognized in early Ārya law; the details of the form of stipulation in Gautama and Vaśiṣṭha, as also in Manu indicate it.

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[1] Baudhāyana, II, 2, 16. See Viṣṇu Ch. 75 and note 10*a* above.
[2] Viṣṇu, XV, 5-6. [3] XVII, 15-16.

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The next stage was to extend the same right of the father to sons of daughters where the formal reservation was omitted but the intention to make a putrikā was clear. This Gautama indicates only as an opinion held by 'some', but Baudhāyana proceeds on this basis and lays down that where the daughter does not leave the father's shelter but her husband visits her there the son becomes a Putrikāputra.

At the next stage the possibility of a Putrikā, properly appointed not having a son is visualized. In that case the society which had relented so far in favour of a daughter and her sons would not allow the daughter whom her father's affection had deprived of the protection and shelter of a husband in his own home to be stranded. And now, therefore, we find Vaśiṣṭha providing that such a daughter would herself be deemed to be a son.

It was one step from this to recognize the daughter of a sonless man as his heir in every case irrespective of appointment. This step we find taken in Viṣṇu, according to whom, the inheritance of a sonless man went first to the widow, and failing her to his daughter.[1] When this was the position of every daughter, the ceremony of Putrikākaraṇa lost all significance and it is not therefore surprising that Viṣṇu who lays down this law says also that even without the ceremonial of Putrikākaraṇa a brotherless girl is in fact a putrikā.[2]

When this stage was reached the function of the Putrikā in legal history had been fulfilled. After this the law does not develop further.

As already indicated, with the exception of Vaśiṣṭha the Smṛtis throughout speak of the *son* of the Putrikā and not of the Putrikā herself as a son. The commentators have read these texts together to mean that both the Putrikā and her son are sons by fiction (e.g. Mitākṣarā under Yājñ., II, 128).

In later Smṛtis, the Putrikā has lost all her importance. For already the daughter as such is mentioned by them as heir, irrespective of her being a Putrikā,[3] after the sons and the widow. Manu too, while he begins by giving the formula by which a girl could be made a Putrikā,[4] in the immediately following ślokas, says that a daughter[5] and a daughter's son[6] as such

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[1] Viṣṇu, XVII, 4-5. [2] Viṣṇu, XV, 6. [3] Viṣṇu, XVII, 4-5
[4] Manu, IX, 127.

अपुत्रोऽनेन विधिना सुतां कुर्वीत पुत्रिकाम् ।
यदपत्यं भवेदस्यां तन्मम स्यात् स्वधाकरम् ॥

[5] यथैवात्मा तथा पुत्रः पुत्रेण दुहिता समा ।
तस्यामात्मनि तिष्ठन्त्यां कथमन्यो धनं हरेत् ॥ IX, 130.

[6] दौहित्रो ह्यखिलं रिक्थमपुत्रस्य पितुर्हरेत् ।
स एव दद्याद् द्वौ पिण्डौ पित्रे मातामहाय च ॥ IX, 132.

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inherit to a sonless person. In Yājñavalkya the Putrikā is barely mentioned, but the inheritance of the daughter after the widow is well settled.

Now, if a daughter and her son inherit as such and if the daughter's son, and not merely the Putrikā's son, as in Baudhāyana, offers oblations to the maternal grand-father as such, all practical utility of Putrikā disappears, and the institution naturally ceases to exist.

The obsolescence of this custom in the time of Manu and Viṣṇu and others appears from the absence of further details about this institution in any of these Smṛtis.

Manu, indeed, true to its character as an encyclopedic digest of all texts gives us several texts relating to the Putrikā, which belong to different strata of the history of law. It is singular, however, that in his enumeration of the *twelve* kinds of secondary sons (IX, 159, 160) he omits any reference to the Putrikā or her son. In another place (IX, 123 *et seq.*) however he deals with the Putrikā's son, but his treatment of the subject is mixed up with that of the daughter's son generally. As already pointed out he lays down the law that a Putrikā is made by a contract at the time of marriage (IX, 127) but immediately after that he follows with a text laying down that a daughter's son as such inherits to a sonless person and offers piṇḍas both to the father and the maternal grand-father (IX, 132). This he emphasizes by saying that the son's son and the daughter's son (not Putrikā's son alone) are equal in all respects (IX, 133, 136, 139). In IX, 140 he lays down the order in which the Putrikā's son offers piṇḍas to his maternal ancestors, while in IX, 135 he says that on the Putrikā dying sonless, her husband inherits to her, thus indicating that a true husband-wife relation for spiritual and legal purposes exists between her and her husband. If we remember that the present text of the Manusaṃhitā was essentially a compilation of all the texts of law which were current at the date of compilation in the name of Manu and that accordingly many texts are incorporated in it which had long become obsolete at that date, we shall be able to assess these texts at their proper value. It will then be seen that these texts, so far as the Putrikā's son goes, do not lay down anything which was not already laid down by Gautama, Vaśiṣṭha and Baudhāyana. The other texts, however, which give to the son of the daughter "अकृता वा कृता वापि"—'whether appointed or not' the same status as a Putrikā's son, belong to a later stratum already indicated in Viṣṇu. These texts practically nullify the provisions about Putrikāputra who had evidently ceased to be an institution of any practical utility, so much so that he finds no place in Manu's enumeration of the twelve secondary sons. Later Smṛtis, beyond occasionally

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mentioning the Putrikāputra among the twelve kinds of sons do not speak of them at all.[1]

The seal upon the obsolescence of the Putrikā along with the various other kinds of secondary sons, except the Dattaka, was set by the text of the Ādityapurāṇa [2] which gives an index expurgatorius of laws forbidden in the Kali Age and mentions among others the recognition of sons other than aurasa and Dattaka. This text, as the Smṛticandrikā, Parāsara-Mādhava and others rightly observe, makes the institution of Putrikā void in the Kali Age.[3] From the historical point of view we can only look upon this as a record of the contemporary fact, that this practice had gone out of vogue.

Had it not been a fact that the law of Putrikā had no practical utility and had become obsolete we should have expected to find some provision in these laws about many questions of detail which are of vital importance, and have been specifically treated in connection with the Dattaka, questions about which, in relation to the Putrikā and her son, the Smṛtis are silent. The commentaries too never discuss these questions squarely but only incidentally in the course of dialectical exercises. Yet there would be questions of great importance to settle if the Putrikā was a live institution and not an archæological relic faithfully borne along by text books without conviction or interest. Take for instance, the question of questions for sacrificial purposes—what would be the gotra of the Putrikā or her son? Or the question whether the Putrikā's son would inherit to his real father at all.

In the case of the Dattaka son who was the only secondary son of practical utility to the law-givers from Manu downwards,

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[1] Nārada does not refer to secondary sons. No text of Kātyāyana or Yama is found cited in the commentaries. Two texts of Bṛhaspati are cited (Col. Dig., V, 4, 304 and V. 4, 225) in which he quotes Gautama, XVIII, 18.

[2] दत्तौरसेतरेषान्तु पुत्रत्वेन परिग्रहः ।

× × × ×

एतानि लोकगुप्त्यर्थं कलेरादौ महात्मभिः ।
निवर्त्तितानि कर्म्माणि व्यवस्थापूर्व्वकं बुधैः ।
समयस्यापि साधूनां प्रमाणं वेदवद्भवेत् ॥

Cited in Smṛticandrikā (Ed. Gharpure), pp. 289-90 and other commentaries. Madhavācārya quotes as from another Smṛti a variant of this:

दत्तौरसेतरेषान्तु पुत्रत्वेन परिग्रहः ।
देवरेण सुतोत्पत्तिः वाणप्रस्थाश्रमग्रहः ॥
कलौ युगे त्विमान् धर्म्मान् वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥

Parāsara-Mādhava, Bib. Ind., III, 353.

[3] Smṛtic., pp. 288-9; Parāśara-Mādhava, III, 353.

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it is laid down expressly [1] that the adopted son does not take the gotra or inheritance of his natural father and he offers no piṇḍas to him. No such text is to be found about the Putrikā's son or for that matter about the Kṣetraja or any other kind of secondary son.[2]

The treatment of the subject by the Nibandhas is luminous, less for what it actually says than for what it omits to say. None of them deal squarely with the Putrikā's son ; where questions relating to them are discussed they are raised as incidental to the discussion of other problems and in a purely academic way. One who runs can read that in the days of these Nibandhas which laid down the practical law for the people in the ages succeeding the compilation of the Smṛtis, the Putrikāputra had ceased to exist. I shall deal with the treatment of the Putrikā and her son in some of the leading text books only by way of illustration.

Medhātithi who had to comment on every stanza of Manu naturally had to deal with the law as there laid down in some detail.

With regard to the manner of making a Putrikā Medhātithi, commenting on Manu IX, 123, refers to the text of Gautama and says that a Putrikā is made by means of the formal ceremony as described by Gautama, or by clear intention of the father. He does not refer to Viṣṇu's text which makes a brotherless girl a Putrikā in every case, but insists on the expressed intention of the father.

Dealing with the texts (IX, 130, 132 and 136) Medhātithi makes a forced interpretation limiting the rules to the Putrikā and her son only and not extending to all daughter's sons.

It is not necessary for our purposes to follow Medhātithi through all his dialectical subtleties in discussing a number of questions raised by him. It is enough to note that according

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[1] गोत्ररिक्थे जनयितुर्न हरेद्त्रिमः क्वचित् ।
गोत्ररिक्थानुगः पिण्डः व्यपैति ददतः स्वधा ॥ IX, 142.

[2] It is significant on the contrary that Manu while he lays down the right of the Putrikā's son to offer piṇḍas to the maternal grand-father IX, 135, 136, lays down the order, in which piṇḍas are to be offered by the Putrikā's son which is the same as given by Baudhāyana, IX, 140, he does not say that the Putrikā's son takes the gotra of the mother's father, as he does in the case of the Dattaka immediately after it. It is remarkable also that Manu in another text IX, 136, lays down the same law for daughter's sons whether the daughter is appointed or not. Only two texts are cited by the Smṛticandrikā one a text quoted in the Nirukta which has been referred to and another a text of Logākṣi (also cited by Madhavācāryya) to the effect that the Putrikā's son is to offer piṇḍas to his mother by her father's gotras. Logākṣi is not one of the authoritative Smṛtis referred to by Yājñavalkya or Śaṅkha but his name appears in texts of Paiṭhīnasi and Aṅgiras, both apparently late authorities. It is significant that earlier authorities in whose time Putrikā was a virile institution do not say so.

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to him the daughter's son of a sonless person as such neither inherits nor offers piṇḍas to the maternal grand-father; it is only the Putrikā's son who does so, and a Putrikā can only be made by a definite declaration of his intention by the father. With regard to the relation of the Putrikā with her husband he definitely says that there is no *vivāha* strictly speaking between them but none the less the intercourse is valid and lawful as distinguished from the secret connection which gives birth to a Kānīna son.

Reading the commentary as a whole one cannot but be struck with the unreality of the discussion. It is more a dialectical exercise to establish the consistency of Manu's texts than a discussion of a problem of practical importance.

When we come to the Mitākṣarā it is remarkable that this great text book of practical law dismisses the Putrikā with two brief references. Commenting on the word *bhrātṛmatī* in Yājñavalkya's text regarding the qualifications of a marriageable girl (Yajñ., I, 53) the Mitākṣarā observes,

भ्रातृमतीं पुत्रिकाकरणाप्रङ्क्तानिवृत्तये। अनेनापरिभाषितापि पुत्रिका भवतीति गम्यते।

and under the texts enumerating the twelve kinds of sons, he says,

पुत्रिकायाः सुतः पुत्रिकासुतः। अतएव औरससमः। × × × अथवा पुत्रिकैव सुतः पुत्रिकासुतः। सोऽप्यौरससमः, पित्र्यवयवानामल्पत्वात् मात्रवयवानां बाहुल्याच्च। यथाह वशिष्ठः द्वितीयः पुत्रिकैवेति। द्वितीयः पुत्रः पुत्रिकैवेत्यर्थः।

The great commentator had therefore nothing to add to the law as briefly laid down by Vaśiṣṭha.

Some of the other commentaries deal with some of these questions, and I shall briefly summarize the conclusions at which they arrive. It is remarkable however that in none of the commentaries is the question discussed squarely in a Prakaraṇa dealing with secondary sons or the Putrikāputra but only incidentally in the course of a discussion relating to an interpretation of texts relating to marriage. The reason for this is that as a matter of practical law, as these authors expressly say, the Putrikā had ceased to exist.

Madhavācāryya in his great commentary on the Parāsara-Smṛti, the Parāsara-Mādhava, says in the Vyavahārakāṇḍa that the making of a Putrikā is forbidden in the Kali Age (P.M. Bibl. Ind., III, p. 352), but discusses the texts relating to the Putrikā in connection with marriage. On the authority of a text of the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (cited P.M. Bibl. Ind., I, 469), he says,

गान्धर्वादिविवाहेषु कन्याप्रदानाभावेन पित्रगोत्रसापिण्ड्ययोर्निवृत्तिः।

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And in dealing with the Putrikā he says,

अन्याश्च पुत्रिकाया गान्धर्वादाविव स्वपित्रादिभिः सह न सापिण्ड्य-सगोत्रत्वनिवृत्तिः, अतएव लौगाक्षिः—

मातामहस्य गोत्रेण मातुः पिण्डोदकक्रियाम् ।
कुर्वीत पुत्रिकापुत्र एवमाह प्रजापतिः ॥ (*Op. cit.*, I, 474-5.)

implying that the change of gotra in this case does not take place for the same reason, viz.: प्रदानाभाव ।

He distinguishes two ways of making a Putrikā, following Gautama, by संप्रतिपत्ति or agreement at the time of marriage and by अभिसन्धि or mere intention of the father—and in the latter case he conceives that such intention might not be communicated to the husband.

In dealing with her gotra however he deals only with Putrikās who are married with reservation, i.e. without सम्प्रदान ।

In the Vyavahārakāṇḍa or the Chapter on law, the only comment about Putrikā that the author of the Smṛticandrikā like Madhavācāryya makes, is that Putrikākaraṇa is forbidden in the Kali Age.[1]

This is all that he says so far as practical law is concerned. In Ācārakāṇḍa, however, in discussing the texts about the qualifications of the bride where it is said that she must be *asagotra* of the father and *asapiṇḍa* of the mother, the Smṛticandrikā propounds the riddle, why talk of the *sapiṇḍa* of the mother at all? By marriage, the mother has become the same with the father and the father's sapiṇḍas are the sapiṇḍas of the mother too. This riddle it answers by saying that this would not always be so, and illustrates by reference to what it thinks to be the law about Putrikāputra as follows :—

उच्यते सत्यम् । नास्ति मातृस्वपित्रादिभिः सापिण्ड्यं यदि तस्या-स्त्यागपूर्व्वको विवाहः स्यात् । त्यागे हि स्वत्वनिवृत्तिरिव सापिण्ड्य-सगोत्रत्वयोरपि निवृत्तिः । अनेनैवाभिप्रायेणोक्तं "एकत्वं सा गता भर्त्तुः पिण्डे गोत्रे च सूतके" इति । अतएव दत्तपुत्रादेस्त्यागेनैव पितृगोत्रादि-निवृत्तिसिद्धिः । अन्यथा असगोत्रा च या पितुरिति पितृग्रहणमनर्थकं

[1] Smṛticandrikā (Gharpure's Ed., p. 288):

एवं निरूपितगौणपुत्राणां सर्वेषां युगान्तरे पुत्रत्वेन परिग्रहः । कलौ तु दत्तकस्यैकस्य 'दत्तौरसेतरेषान्तु पुत्रत्वेन परिग्रह' इति कलेरादौ महात्मभिर्दत्तकौ-रसेतरेषां पुत्रत्वेन परिग्रहनिवारणात् । पुत्रिकाकरणमप्यस्मादेव वाक्यात् कलौ निवारितम् । दत्तौरसेतरत्वात् पुत्रिकायाः । एवं च कलावौरसपुत्रपौत्रयोरभावे दत्तक एव गौणपुत्रो भवति नान्य इत्यनुसन्धेयम् ।

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स्यात्। × × × एवं च पुत्रिकाया विवाहो नैव प्रदानपूर्व्वक इति न तत्र सापिण्ड्यसगोत्रत्वयोर्निवृत्तिः। × ×

नतु पुत्रिकाविवाहेऽपि तस्या प्रदानमस्तीति शङ्कनीयम्। प्रदानतो गोत्रादिनिवृत्तिवत् पुत्रत्वस्यापि निवृत्तेस्तन्निवृत्तौ तत्कार्य्यकरत्वं न स्यात्। श्रूयते च तस्याः पुत्रकार्य्यकरत्वं अभ्रातेव पुंसे भर्त्तरि चेति। एतदपि निरुक्ते व्याख्यातम् अभ्रातृकेव पुंसः पितृनेत्यभिमुखी सन्तानकर्म्मणे पिण्डदानायेति। अतश्च पुत्रिकायामप्रदानेन स्वपितृसापिण्ड्यं सगोत्रत्वञ्च सिद्धम्।[1]

So too the Madanapārijāta in answer to the same query and in the same context comes to the same conclusion.[2]

According to these authorities, therefore, a Putrikā retains the gotra of her father and does not pass on to the husband's gotra, the reason being that in the case of the Putrikā there is no gift of the daughter. If there is a *Sampradāna* of the girl she does not become a Putrikā as she passes to the husband's gotra by reason of the gift, as expressly stated by the author of the Smṛticandrikā.

It may be noted in passing that Devanna Bhaṭṭa, Madhavācāryya and Madanapāla in assuming that the Putrikā is *not given*, cite no texts which lay that down and they give the go by to the provision in the Smṛtis that a *Putrikā* can be made by mere intention and that a brotherless girl should not be married because she might be made a Putrikā, evidently after marriage. These texts seem to indicate that even after a marriage with a regular ritual involving Sampradāna a girl could be made Putrikā when the institution was in vogue. It is obvious that in laying down that a Putrikā retained the gotra of her father and did not pass on to the husband's gotra Madhavācāryya, Devanna Bhaṭṭa and Madanapāla were only contemplating cases where there was a regular and formal *Putrikākarana* and the marriage was without Sampradāna and not to cases of informal Putrikās who had been married with Sampradāna. So far as the law laid down in the Nibandhas goes therefore it must be taken to be settled law, according to the commentaries, always on the hypothetical basis, having regard to the fact that there can be no Putrikā in the Kali Age, that (1) a Putrikā who is, *ex hypothesi* not given by the father, retains the gotra of the father, but

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[1] Smṛticandrikā, Gharpure's Ed., p. 69.

[2] तथा च पुत्रिकायाश्च न परिपूर्णभार्य्यात्वं प्रदानाभावात्, तथा गोत्रमपि न निवर्त्तते। एवमासुरादिविवाहेष्वपि गोत्रनिवृत्तिः।

This is said on the authority of the Nirukta text and Vaśiṣṭha's text hereinbefore cited. Madanapārijāta (Bibl. Ind.), p. 141.

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that (2) if she is given ceremonially, as she has to be in the full Gṛhya ritual, she passes to the gotra of her husband.

These texts of the Nibandhas relate only to the Putrikā. As regards her son, the commentaries say nothing. Madanapārijāta however incidentally interpolates a remark to the effect that such son, while he would be a son of the maternal grand-father by virtue of the stipulation would also be an aurasa son of the natural father.[1] Elsewhere he says that the Putrikāputra inherits to his progenitor as aurasa son. And we find Manu expressly providing that a Putrikā's husband inherits to her if she leaves no son.

This of course stands to reason on the Smṛti texts. For *aurasa* is described as a son begotten on a धर्म्मपत्नी in the Smṛtis. Even assuming, as stated by the Smṛticandrikā and the Madanapārijāta that the Putrikā does not change her gotra, and that she does not become a *bhāryā* in the full sense of the word as a participant in Agnihotra, she is still the dharmapatnī, and a son begotten on her by her lawful husband would according to this definition be an aurasa son of the husband, although he might be also a son of the grandfather. The contrary view that a Putrikā does not acquire wifehood ( पत्नीत्व ) is repudiated by Medhātithi.

While this is undoubtedly the logical position, specially having regard to the fact that there is no text like Manu's text about the Dattaka son barring the acquisition of the natural father's gotra or inheritance by a Putrikāputra, the significant thing is that there is no Smṛti text about it and the commentaries are practically unanimous in their silence on the point. This points the moral that the Ādityapurāṇa was right in its record that the institution of Putrikā had disappeared in its time.

This leads us to another question which also the Smṛtis themselves do not answer. What are the *rituals in the marriage of* a Putrikā. The Gṛhya sūtras have no distinctive ritual for Putrikās given in marriage. If the full Gṛhya ritual according to any Śākhā is followed, the girl necessarily passes into the gotra of her husband. For, in the ritual not only is there a gift of the girl, as these authors state, but in the course of the rituals the bride is ceremonially called by the gotra name of her husband. That completes her conversion to the husband's gotra.

So, if the Gṛhya ritual is followed in the marriage of a Putrikā, she must inevitably pass to her husband's gotra. The Smṛticandrikā and the Madanapārijāta seem to assume that the Gṛhya ritual of marriage was not performed in the marriage of the Putrikā, but that the entire ritual in the marriage of a

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[1] The Mitākṣarā too, under Yājñ., II, 128, considers the Putrikā's son to be द्यामुष्यायण though जनकस्य औरसादपकृष्टोऽन्यत्वेनोत्पन्नत्वात् ।

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true Putrikā consisted of something like the ritual summarized by Gautama.[1]

Considering that these authors were dealing, merely on the authority of the meagre records in the Smṛti texts alone, with an institution about which they had no personal knowledge, too much stress should not perhaps be laid on their authority. But if they are correct in their view of the Smṛti texts, the conclusion is inevitable that in the true Putrikā's case as in the Āsura and Gāndharva marriages no Gṛhya ritual of marriage was performed, for, as the Smṛticandrikā logically asserts, in that case the girl would inevitably pass to her husband's gotra and her whole purpose as a fictitious son of the father would fail.

My studies of the ancient Indian law of marriage has convinced me that in early days in India there was, beside the sacral marriage according to the Gṛhya ritual, several kinds of civil marriages without sacra. Later on, sacraments more or less modified were added to some of these forms, and they were adopted into the sacral law. These were the Daiva, Ārṣa, and Prājāpatya marriages. In the Daiva the ritual consisted of merely uttering the words of gift in favour of the Ṛtvik in the presence of the sacrificial fire, in Ārṣa the ritual consisted of the ceremonial gift of a bullock and a cow or two pairs of them to the bride's father. In Prājāpatya the father says ceremonially सहोभौ चरतां धर्म्. So too in Putrikā's marriage the only ritual that was provided was that stated in Gautama (XXVIII, 18). A girl married with full Gṛhya ritual could not be Putrikā. The question of the evolution of marriage forms in ancient India is however too large a topic to be dealt with in this paper and I must therefore refrain from developing this point further here.

Another question on which neither the Smṛti texts nor any of the commentaries throw any light is as to who can make a girl a Putrikā. The original Smṛti texts with regard to the Dattaka son, as well as with regard to other kinds of secondary sons, make it quite clear that none but the adoptive father was contemplated as capable of making one who was not a son his son, except in the case of the Kṣetraja where the widow could raise issue to the deceased with the permission of the guru—e.g. the father-in-law. In the case of the Putrikā the texts contemplate the father of the girl making the contract which makes her a Putrikā. The commentaries have extended this power in the case of the Dattaka to the wife or widow of a sonless person in some schools. So far as the Putrikā goes, no school of law has thus extended the powers. The commentaries which at all deal with the Putrikā all proceed on the basis that the father makes the Putrikā. It might have been different if the Putrikā

[1] Gautama, XXVIII, 18.

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was a live institution like the Dattaka and if in the later law any daughter as such would not serve all the purposes of a Putrikā. But as the Putrikā had ceased to exist as an institution and as the daughter and her son *simpliciter* had taken their place, the commentators were spared the trouble to coax or force the texts to extend the power of the father to the mother. The result is that the Putrikā could at no time be made by any one except the father of the girl, and if he failed to appoint the daughter, she could not be a Putrikā.

It is interesting to note that when, in an early case before the courts, a question was raised on the footing that a girl was a Putrikā, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council expressed an opinion, though they did not actually decide, that no Putrikā could be validly made now and they decided that none but a father could make a girl a Putrikā.[1] It is satisfactory to note that the conclusion at which their lordships arrived on relatively scanty materials is amply borne out by a searching examination of the authorities.

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[1] *Thakur Jeebnath v. Court of Wards*, 2 I.A., 163.

*Beena*—This is the name given by Robertson Smith in his *Kinship and Marriage* to the type of marriage in which the bride continues to live with her father and her offspring become kindred of her father.

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ARTICLE No. 6.

# On Tamerlane.

By H. BEVERIDGE, I.C.S. (*retired*).

Tamerlane, or the terrible Vulcan of Samarkand. His name was Tīmūr which in Turkish means Iron and the affix 'lane' means lame, so that he may be called the awesome Smith or Vulcan of Samarkand. He was born at Kesh, some fifty miles south of Samarkand in 1336 and he died at Otrār on the borders of China in 1405. He reigned at Samarkand for about forty years of continual warfare, without ever suffering a defeat. At last, however, he had to succumb to Generals January and February, as expressed in the Emperor Nicholas' epigram, and in Tenniel's cartoon. He was then seventy years of age. His body was conveyed to Samarkand and is buried there under a splendid tomb. Apparently he had little or no beneficial effect on mankind. Rather he was like a sweeping rain that leaves no food. In Tennyson's words, he shook the house like a tornado, and went. Like his predecessor and alleged ancestor Chingiz Khan he ruined Persia, and he defeated and caged his rival Bāyazīd. Fortunately for truth and his own real fame he had two biographers. One, a learned Muhammadan named Sharaf-ud-dīn, was an unblushing panegyrist and wrote 'like a pedant dreaming at his desk'. The other was Aḥmad, son of 'Arabshāh. He was a furious, but eloquent Damascene, and a hater of cruelty, and his works, though discursive and overloaded with quotations from the Koran, are really much more valuable than Sharaf-ud-dīn's. He has done for Tīmūr what Procopius did for Justinian, and Badayūnī for Akbar. He has shown Tīmūr with all his wants and all his ignorance and cruelty, but he has also shown his genius for command and has given merited praise to his endurance of hardships, his care of his son Shāhrukh's education, his occasional acts of mercy, and his admiration for learned men. Tīmūr is said to have been called the Lame because as a boy or in early youth he had carried off a sheep or a goat belonging to a shepherd. The shepherd shot him in the leg and Tīmūr remained lame for life. The story is probably true, for there can be no doubt that Tīmūr was lame, and his admirers have not given any explanation of how this happened. Nor does the affair cast any special blame on his character. It was an incident which was not worse than Wordsworth's having as a boy stolen woodcocks or wheat-ears from another's springe, or Clive's robbing his neighbours' orchards. There is no doubt that Tīmūr was of good family, his father being at the head of the Barlās clan. But he was poor,



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and to him there was no disgrace in a Qazzāqī, i.e. a robbery. Such things were in his blood, just as they were in King David's and Sher Shah's, who both began as brigands. And I believe that Haidar 'Alī started in the same fashion.

On his first occasion to enter India, I do not think that Tīmūr crossed the Indus although this is what Sharaf-ud-dīn says. Tīmūr, by coming down the Kharram, was already on the east bank of the Indus and he probably went down it as far as Dīnkot or Mithankot. Dīnkot is also called Dhan, not Dhān, kote, and I believe it was not opposite Kālābāgh, but was much further down. Indeed the stream was then in flood, and probably carried Jalāl-ud-dīn much further down than the opposite bank at the beginning of Chūl Jalālī. Unfortunately, Chūl Jalālī does not appear as a landmark on our maps. Tīmūr, however, may at an earlier period have crossed the Indus from west to east in pursuit of Toktāmish at an earlier period. Dīnkot I believe to have been the Dīnpanāh or Dīnkot of our maps. The two names Dīnkot[1] and Dīnpanāh have the same meaning, and I believe are, or were, in Derā Ghāzī Khān, and not far above Multan. It seems to me not improbable that the original name of the Ferry or landing-place was Dhankot and meant the Fort or Abode of Wealth, the first syllable being *dhan*, and that it is a reminiscence of the famous Chānd Swadāgar, the great and semi-mythical merchant of Bengali Ballads.

There is a curious reference to Tīmūr in Archdeacon Paley's *Moral Philosophy*. In his chapter on Promises he tells us how 'Timuras' promised the garrison of Sebasté, a once famous city of Asia Minor, that if they surrendered, he would not shed a drop of their blood, and how he kept his promise by smothering four thousand of them in the fosse of the city! Paley, I suppose, got his story from Gibbon or Petis de la Croix or from D'Herbelot. I do not believe the story of the breach of promise. It seems to rest on the authority of Aḥmad, son of 'Arabshāh, and is probably untrue. Tīmūr was under no necessity of making such a promise, and I doubt if the garrison would have believed him and have surrendered, if he had said so. But there can be no doubt that three or four thousand of the garrison were murdered, for the fact is admitted and rather gloried in by Sharaf-ud-dīn. See his Vol. II, p. 269, of the Asiatic Society of Bengal's edition of the Persian book, the *Ẓafarnāma*, and Samuel Manger's edition and translation of Aḥmad b. 'Arabshāh's work, *Kitāb 'Aja'ib fī akhbār Tīmūr*, 'the wondrous book of the doings of Tīmūr', Vol. I, p. 575. Many of the garrison who were

[1] General Briggs in his book on Ferishta spells Dīnkot as Dhonkot (Abode of Wealth).

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put to death were Christians, and were for the most part Armenians. The city, which was a fine one and full of learned men, was destroyed, and has been a ruin ever since. It is commonly known as Sivas. Probably the bones of the men of the garrison are yet in the slime of the fort moat.

Perhaps the day will come when, like the bones in Ezekiel's valley, these bones may yet come forth to accuse the ruthlessness of Tīmūr. The story then must be true, though I do not altogether believe that Tīmūr gave the equivocal promise about not shedding blood. It was unnecessary for him to do so, for the garrison was at his mercy, nor is it likely that the garrison would have believed him if it had been made. It is sufficient barbarity that the garrison were buried alive.

And yet though I do not altogether credit the story, it may be true, and at all events it shows what was the public opinion about Tīmūr's character. Nor it is by any means the biggest butcher's bill ever sent in by Tīmūr. His murders at Ispahan and Delhi were on a far larger scale, though they lack the picturesqueness and cold-blooded ferocity of what happened at Sebasté. I see no reason to doubt that Tīmūr kept Bāyazīd in a cage. It was by no means the worst thing he ever did. And I have little sympathy with Bāyazīd who began the career of insults. True, Tīmūr insulted Bāyazīd's wives and daughters and behaved very grossly towards them. But it seems that Bāyazīd had already insulted another Muhammadan king's family.

It is noticeable how tyrants, and especially kingly tyrants, worsen with time. As Tennyson sings,

> 'O ill for him who, bettering not with time,
> Corrupts the strength of heaven descended will!
> And ever weaker grows through acted crime.'

Tīmūr's worst cruelties were committed in Asia Minor and India, and are recorded in the second volume of the Ẓafarnāma. So also were the death-bed injunctions of King David about the worst of all his actions. Tiberius, the Roman emperor, was also exceptionally cruel in his old age, and it was in his later years that Akbar had an officer thrown into the Indus and nearly drowned! Tīmūr was an elderly man when he shut up Bāyazīd in an iron cage, and when he massacred the garrison of Sivas ('Sebasté') and the Indians of Delhi. Nādir Shāh too became more cruel than ever in the last years of his reign. Continuous success and bodily weakness or disease no doubt affected the originally equable mind of Tīmūr. Even the genial Bābur became cruel and morose in his last years!

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## Samuel H. Manger and 'Arabshāh's Book.

Manger was a learned Dutchman who was attached to the University of Leeuwarden (Leovardia) in Holland, and he dedicated his book to William of Nassau, a descendant, I suppose, of our William III. The famous Golius also edited, I believe, Ahmad b. 'Arabshāh's work. There is a copy of Manger's book in the R.A.S. Library, and it seems that Aḥmad's work has also been published in Cairo in 1285 A.H. =1869 A.D.

It is worth noting that none of Tīmūr's biographers was exactly his contemporary. Sharaf-ud-dīn was many years younger than Tīmūr, and there is no evidence that he accompanied him in his campaigns. He was probably only a child when Tīmūr set out on his expedition to India. I doubt also if Sharaf-ud-dīn is a trustworthy chronicler. Apart from his glossing and flattery, his geography is often vague, and his accounts of Tīmūr's raid to Nagarcote and also of Tīmūr's crossing the Indus are unsatisfactory.

## The Raid to Kāngra.

I think there can be no doubt that Tīmūr went to Kāngra, that is to Nagarkote, in the Chamba State. It is intrinsically probable that he went there, for his predecessor Maḥmūd of Ghaznī went there and presumably acquired much plunder there. Probably Tīmūr was less successful, and it is likely that this was why his biographers say so little about the expedition. Evidently there was a feeling that every Muhammadan sovereign should visit such a centre of Hindu superstition and should show his contempt for idolatry. Maḥmūd of Ghaznī was followed by Ferozshah, Tīmūr, Akbar, Jahāngīr and Aurangzeb. They had all been attracted by the beauty of the scenery, the goodness of the climate and the wonders of the Flaming Face (the Jhāla mukhī). At that time the beauties of Cashmere were unknown or inaccessible.

Tīmūr was indeed a marvel for his personal activity, and was at least equal to the Ottoman Bāyazīd, who was given the name of Ilderīm or the Lightning on account of his rapid marches. In fact, Tīmūr was too active for his biographers, who have had to leave some of his exploits unchronicled. There is a striking instance of this in their accounts of the march to Nagar or Nagor in Kāngra. I believe that there were at least two places called Naghaz or Nagor. One is shown in the Indian Gazetteer Atlas, plate 32, of the Punjab as in the district of Kāngra, and is spelt Nagar. It appears to be 90 m. west of the city of Kāngra, that is, Nagarkote. It is in the Kūlū subdivision. It is said in the Gazetteer that Kāngra was originally called Kāngraghara, and means the 'place of the

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head'. This was because the head of a giant or Rakhsh was buried there, whose name was Jaladhar. (See the Chamba Gazetteer, p. 67 of vol. I.) Kāngra, being an old place and much revered, has had many names. It was once called Trigarta. Another name for it was Bhīmnagar. It is also said that the town in Kāngra, where 'the flaming face' is, was originally Kāngraghara, which means 'the place of the head'.

Kāngra in its long existence has had many names. It was at one time known as Bhīmnagar. It is also said that the town of Kāngra, where the Jhāla mukhi or Flaming Face (a flame of fire) exists, was originally called Nāgarkote. It is unfortunate that 'Arabshāh's work is in Arabic, and is often obscure. But a learned Dutchman, Samuel Manger, published a Latin translation of it in the eighteenth century and added valuable notes. He was a professor in the University of Leeuwarden in Holland. He had the advantage of an Arabic text of 'Arabshāh made by the great Golius. Copies of Manger are rare, but there is one in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society. It seems that the first edition of 'Arabshāh's biography was an Elzevir, and was published in 1636 at Leyden. It appears that it was for this edition that Golius prepared the edition of Tīmūr's Life. Golius died in 1667 without, apparently, finishing his edition, or translating the Life by 'Arabshāh. A century afterwards another Dutchman, a professor at Leeuwarden in Holland, edited 'Arabshāh's work, and also published a translation of the biography of Tīmūr. But I presume that it was borrowed from Golius' MS., or at least founded thereon. Apparently the Elzevir edition was never completed, and remained as a solitary first volume.

Major Raverty's statement that Kāngra was originally called Bāghzan, and that such a place as Naghaz does not exist, seems to me to be quite unwarranted, and one that never would have been made if Raverty had read the Ẓafarnāma, or Price's Retrospect. Raverty's view is that Naghaz is a copyist's mistake. But Baghzan, whether we make the first syllable long or short, seems to be a mythical place and to have no existence in any government map. (See Raverty's index to his Notes on Afghanistan, p. 718, and also p. 318 of his Notes.) Raverty apparently never read Sharaf-ud-dīn, or even Major Price's excellent Retrospect. Raverty has been called 'the Father of Pushto', and no doubt his works are the result of much labour, and are useful. But I should rather call him the stepfather of Afghanistan. His writings are full of abuse of such scholars as Bellew and Blochmann. As my revered chief Colonel Haughton some sixty years ago said to me, Raverty was too noisy a man to be trustworthy.

There is an obituary notice of Raverty in the J.R.A.S. for 1907, p. 251. Raverty was born in 1825, and died in 1906. It seems desirable to give one or two dates here. 'Arabshāh, or

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rather Aḥmad, the son of 'Arabshāh, died at Damascus in 1450, that is about fifty years after Tīmūr's death, which took place in China in 1405 A.D., or 807 A.H. Sebasté, that is the city of Augustus, was destroyed by Tīmūr in the beginning of 1400, or 803 A.H.

Raverty's works, especially his Dictionary of Pushtu, are still valuable. But he was a solitary man, and, worse still, a solitary man with a grievance. So he naturally supposed himself to be a greater scholar than he was. He mentions Sharaf-ud-dīn but he does not seem to have read him, nor even to have looked at Price's Retrospect. His work on the Indus, or as he prefers to call it, the Mihrān of Sind, is a portentous work, and occupies nearly the whole of the J.A.S.B., Vol. LXI, Part I for 1892, but it does not give much information, and he does not mention, I think, Dhankote. Probably he never saw the Indus in its lower reaches, for his local knowledge was nearly confined to Afghanistan.

'Arabshāh's work has been reprinted (in Cairo), but the reprint is almost a fake. It does not seem to contain more than a small portion of the original, and is, I think, quite valueless. It is much to be wished that Manger's works were reprinted. One Perizonius, a Frenchman, is said to have written Tīmūr's life, but I know nothing of it. The contemporary pamphlets published in Europe are worthless. Sir F. Goldsmith's Life, in the Ency. Britt., is much inferior to the notice in the Biographie Universelle. Sir Frederick does not even give the Arabic title of 'Arabshāh's work correctly.

It was in this way that Tīmūr gave up for a time his expedition to China, and undertook instead the conquest of India. From Samarkand, according to Price, who is quoting from Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, Tīmūr crossed the Oxus and marched to Andarāb (the Enderaub of Price's map) on his way to the Hindu mountains. There he heard of the oppressions committed by the Siah-posh Kafirs, and marched to Peryān in Badakhshan. There he sent off a force to punish the Kafirs, and himself went towards Khanāk, and eventually towards Kabul. Then on 8 Zīlhajj, 800 A.H., he arrived before Irjab, and on the last day of August he arrived at Bānū. On 3rd September he reached Naghaz or Nagaz, having made a forced march there, accompanied by several thousand cavalry. After leaving Naghaz he came to Bānū, which (see Price, 234) is on the Koumuli (i.e. the Khurram). On 19th September he reached Dīnkot on the banks of the Indus, and on 23rd he crossed the Indus by a bridge. Price does not say clearly, but he implies, that Dinkot was on the west bank of the Indus. But it seems to me more probable that it was on the east bank. Price and Sharaf-ud-dīn agree that Tīmūr crossed the Indus from the west to the east. But unless the river's course was

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different then from what it is now I do not know why he should do so.

My idea is that Tīmūr avoided the Indus, which, probably, was in flood, and came down the Kurram, and then joined the Chenab at Mithankot.

I doubt if Tīmūr marched down the west bank of the Indus to Dīnkote or Kālabagh. His grandson Pīr Muḥammad crossed the Indus on his way to Multan, but he was governor of Afghanistan, and started on his march from the city of Kabul. But apparently Tīmūr had no occasion to cross the Indus at the beginning of his career. He was away at the North-East of India, and it would seem that it was more natural for him to have come by the Kurram river on his way to Multan. Dīnkote was in the Salt Range, and on the east side of the Indus. Price's abstract of the Rauḍat-uṣ-Ṣafā should be consulted.

As for Dīnkot or Dhankot where, apparently, Tīmūr halted on his way down the Kurram, I wish to suggest that Dīnkot seems the proper spelling, and that it may be identified with the two Derās Dinpanah shown in the survey-map of the operations of 1878-79. They are a good way below Kālā Bāgh and are N.N.W. of Mooltan, and are in the Sind Sagar Dūāb. They belong to the Punjab, and are on the left, or E. bank of the Indus, and are N. of Dera Ghāzī Khān. Both Sharaf-ud-dīn and Price represent that Tīmūr crossed the Indus by a bridge, from the east to the west, but if Dīnkot[1] was on the left bank, I do not see why Tīmūr crossed the Indus from east to west. It is more likely that he continued his march to the east and so traversed the Jālāl-ūd-dīn desert (the Chūl Jalēlī).

## Naghaz or Nagur.

There is a mystery about Naghaz, and Raverty has not hesitated to say that no such place exists, and that Naghaz is merely a copyist's error for Bāghzan. Acting on this view he has in his Notes on Afghanistan not hesitated to alter Naghaz, wherever he found it mentioned, into Bāghzan, which perhaps he regarded as meaning 'The Woman's Garden'.

There was a strange and uncanny resemblance between the characters and the careers of the two men—Tīmūr of Kesh and Napoleon of Ajaccio.

Both had good blood, but both were born poor. Both had the power of attracting the love and the hatred of their fellow-men. Both were without religion, and both were possessed

[1] See Jarrett's A.A. II, 401, and Irvine's list of place-names in Ajin, p. 30, under Dhānkot. Dīnpanah was also the name of a fort in Delhi built by Humāyūn.

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of surpassing genius for war. Both were for a time wonderfully successful. And both had to yield to the forces of outraged Nature, and both had their Moscow and their Russia. But Tīmūr had the more bottom of the two, and lasted the longest! I conclude with the remark that Gibbon's account of Tīmūr is a magnificent piece of writing. Fortunately, it has been republished in Chambers' Cyclopædia of English Literature, vol. II, p. 556.

*Editorial Note*: This article was received shortly before the death of its author, in 1929, at the age of 93. Its proof could not be submitted to him for consideration, but the article is now published in token of respect for the late scholar and will speak for itself.—J. v. M.

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Article No. 7.

# The Chinese Connection with Africa.

By E. H. L. Schwarz.

Marco Polo, with his two uncles, went to China overland in 1270, and returned twenty years later by sea with a big convoy. Nothing would have been heard of this remarkable voyage had he not been captured by the Genoese in a naval battle with the Venetians, and shut up in a dungeon with a Frenchman who could write. He whiled away the tedium of his incarceration by dictating to his fellow prisoner the story of his wanderings. The book opened up a vision of incredible wealth in the Celestial Kingdom, so amazing that most people regarded it as an amusing traveller's tale, without the least basis of truth. There were men, however, who read the story and believed it. The Venetians knew it was true, for their fellow townsman had brought home with him a vast treasure in jewels, and they set about monopolising the trade with the East. Further, they sent the brothers Zeno to seek a route to Asia by what became later known as the North West Passage. These two went to the Orkney Islands, Iceland and Greenland, and most likely to the mainland of America, but they returned and reported that the way was impracticable.

The Portuguese read Marco Polo's book, and never doubted that it represented facts, and Prince Henry the Navigator endeavoured to find a way to China round Africa. The French did likewise; the merchant adventurers of Dieppe and Rouen sent their ships to West Africa, and would have gone further, had not political troubles that led to the Hundred Years' War stopped all enterprise. It was China that was the magnet that drew Columbus across the Atlantic, and indeed was the incentive that induced all the famous navigators of the time, Diogo Cao, Bartholomeu Diaz, Vasco da Gama, Tristan da Cunha, Magellan, and others, to risk the perils of the uncharted oceans.

Marco Polo reported wealth beyond the dreams of avarice in the Far East; towns of eight million inhabitants, bigger than any city that has existed since; trade in precious articles like silk and spices, that made the mouths of all Europe water.

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*Editorial Note*: This article was received shortly before the death of the author and its proofs could not be submitted to him. Some debatable points in it, which might have been referred to him for consideration, have now to speak for themselves. The article is published without any modification as it was received.—J. v. M.



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Beyond everything, there was such an abundance of gold and ivory, that would enrich every kingdom of the West, and it seemed a pity that the heathen Chinese should be allowed to keep all this for himself. Silk and spices were products of the countries in the East, but where did the gold and ivory come from?

China at the time was divided into two kingdoms, the northern part under Kublai Khan, and the southern, Manzi, which was as yet independent, under the kings of the Sung dynasty. The northerners were warriors, brigands, and stay-at-homes, whereas the southerners were men of far superior enterprise, peaceful traders, miners and manufacturers. It was the latter who equipped the junks that sailed all the eastern seas as far as shores of Africa, and brought back from the dark continent the vast amount of gold, ivory, tortoise-shell, rhinoceros horns, leopard skins, ambergris and a certain number of black slaves.

The sniggering incredulity with which Marco Polo's account was received by his ignorant contemporaries has persisted down to the present day, and practically every historian of Africa has ignored this splendid and important chapter in her chronicles. There are reasons for this, although Col. Yule has completely re-established Marco Polo as a conscientious and truthful author. Towards the latter part of the narrative, there are details put in from hearsay about Madagascar, which island Marco Polo never reached, that are grotesque; they have now been traced to a work by a Chinaman, one Chau Ju Kua, who wrote about the East African coast in a book published a couple of hundred years earlier. It may have been the author himself who wished his readers to think that he had done more than he had, but more probably it was his scribe and amanuensis who sought to extol his hero, and wrote so as to make it appear that he had gone to this wonderful island, with its great bird, the Rukh. The wretched Arabs stole the story and incorporated it in the tale of Sindbad the Sailor, and so made the whole thing ridiculous. The rest of Marco Polo's voyage was thus classed with the Arabian Nights, and no serious writer would concern himself with it.

The most striking testimony of the truth that the Chinese did do a great trade with East Africa is afforded by the maps of the period. There is the Catalan Atlas of 1375, but earlier editions existed; this shows Chinese ships sailing about the Indian Ocean, with meticulous regard to details of construction and rigging. Fra Mauro's map is less correct about the actual design, but it shows the immense junks followed by two smaller ones, acting as store ships, exactly as described by Ibn Batuta in 1340—as a matter of fact, Ibn Batuta says there were usually three store ships to each capital one. Fra Mauro is necessarily vague about the south coast of Africa, but he makes a point 'que comenca el mar scuro', that is, 'where the dark sea begins,'

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which from Arab sources we know was Cape Corrientes. Here he shows a ship beating up against the winds and currents from the west, and in a note attached he describes how this vessel had almost miraculously managed to return in 1420, after having been driven past this dangerous promontory.

It was generally believed that any boat forced beyond Cape Corrientes was inevitably lost. There is a very strong current flowing from the Equator down the east coast, called the Mozambique current. The winds are easterly all the year round owing to a permanent depression which causes a cyclonic disturbance in the atmosphere; further north there are the Monsoons which blow for one half of the year from south-west to north-east, and then reverse, blowing from the north-east to the south-west. These winds, confined to the region north of the Tropic of Capricorn, allowed the junks to come down the coast from October to March, and to return six months later, in both journeys with a wind behind them. The clumsy nature of the yards and mat sails prevented the ships from tacking against the wind. The big capital ones had a complement of rowers who could be called upon to manœuvre in times of difficulty, but the ships were too large for this procedure to be adopted for any length of time.

The Rev. Charles Gutzlaff states that the junks in the fleet in which he sailed in 1830 were one hundred and seventy feet long, and from thirty-five to forty in beam, with a great top-hamper of deck houses for the captain and officers, joss houses, gardens for growing ginger and so on; the hull was separated into compartments by water-tight bulkheads.

The trade with East Africa began certainly in the Sung dynasty, 960–1280, if not before; there is mention, in the 'Book of the Marvels of India,' of a fleet that sailed in 945. The earliest coin picked up along the East Coast is one of the reign of K'ai Yuan, 713–742, but it does not follow that this was the time when the ships sailed, for coins remain in use for a hundred years or more after being struck; many shillings with the date 1820 are still current in the Eastern Province of the Cape. It was a little later in the eighth century that the Chinese sent a military expedition across the central desert, and brought all the Arab states from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian under their dominion. Other coins found with the Chinese pottery are of the reigns of Shen Tsung, 1068–1086 and Shan Hing, 1131–1163, besides many of the Ming dynasty. The whole coast from Kishmayu to Zanzibar is littered with Chinese pottery, which Major Pearce had determined at the British Museum as dating from the Sung to the Ming dynasties, and his collection is now in the Museum at Zanzibar that bears his name. Formerly one used to be able to buy this 'China Lamu' at Mombasa, but it is rare now-a-days; some were mere fragments, but fairly intact plates and bowls were obtainable; two large

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specimens of the latter are built into the stucco of a Persian ruin at Lindi.

Al Biruni was on the Arabian coast and saw the fleets of junks, which he describes in his 'Geography', 1040. Idris 1154, is equally explicit; he states that the Chinese transferred their trade to the island of Zanj (Zanzibar), which is off the coast of Zinj, and by their equity, mild ways and accommodating spirit, soon came into very intimate relations with the inhabitants. These 'intimate relations' produced a fine crop of half-caste children up and down the coast, who will be referred to later—they can still to-day be recognised by their yellow skins and other Mongoloid characters.

Mas'udy, in his 'Golden Meadows' says that to the south of the country of the blacks (Zinj) there were the Wa-Kwakwa, who were related to the Chinese, they themselves being known as Gog and Magog. The last statement is extraordinary, for Ma-Gog is the Bantu plural of Gog. It still survives in many Bantu dialects of the East Coast as Ma-Gockwa, meaning anything horrible, and has come down to the Cape in the form of 'goga' the Dutch for nasty insects. The Bantu gave the word a click, whereas the Boers aspirated it, pronouncing it 'hogha', but the derivation is unmistakable. In mediæval English, Gog and Magog were giants. The only suggestion of how a word with a Bantu plural prefix could have come to England is that the Crusaders may have picked up Mas'udy's story from the Arabs. These last were subjugated by the Chinese in the eighth century, and Chinese Khans were placed over them. Marco Polo came home in 1290 with the princess Kokachin, destined to be the bride of a Sultan in the Persian Gulf. The tale of Aladdin and the Lamp, in the Arabian Nights, again demonstrates how familiar were the Arabs with Chinese matters.

Col. Yule, in his edition of Marco Polo, follows step by step the course of the fleets of junks from South China to Sofala. He shows how there was a great half-way station at the Point of India, called Cail, now utterly destroyed, but all the ground for hundreds of yards, is covered with Chinese pottery and cinnabar, used by the Chinese as a red pigment. From here the junks went up the Malabar coast, where Ibn Batuta, 1324–1353, saw them at Calicut, with their mat sails standing in the wind while they lay at anchor. Thence they went to the south coast of Arabia, and then down the African coast, calling at all ports as far as Sofala; beyond was 'el mar scuro', whence no one returned.

The journey took two years, and although there were store ships carrying provisions for the crews of the great junks, there could hardly be enough to last them for the return journey of another two years. The Phoenicians in the time of Pharaoh Necho landed somewhere on the southern coast of Africa, sowed

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their millet or barley, waited till it was ripe, and then sailed away with the new grain, which lasted them the rest of the voyage round the Cape, through the Straits of Gibraltar, back to Memphis. The Chinese must have done the same, but on a vastly greater scale, for there was an enormous number of mouths to feed.

In the 'Book of the Marvels of India' it is stated that in 945 the Chinese fleet consisted of a thousand sail. Ibn Batuta says that the larger ships carried a thousand men, six hundred sailors, and the rest soldiers. These figures appear utterly ridiculous till one gets down to actual measurements. Col. Yule surveyed the walls of the ancient city of Honan, and calculated that there were quite eight million inhabitants at the time we are speaking of, so the Chinese were accustomed to doing things on a large scale. The biggest junk in the fleet in which Rev. Charles Gutzlaff sailed in 1830 measured 170 feet long, by 40 broad, giving a deck area over all of 6,800 square feet, for the junks were straight-sided, not tapering fore and aft as European ships do. Provided there was not much space taken up by the cargo, which was mostly carried by the smaller junks, there was ample room for a ship of this size to carry a crew of one thousand, and formerly the vessels were even larger.

If we accept Ibn Batuta's statement that each capital ship had three tenders, then the fleet would have consisted of 250 big ships, and 750 small ones, with a total complement of something like a quarter of a million souls. Allowing one pound of rice per head per day, this meant a daily consumption of 125 tons, or 90,000 tons in two years; distributed over 750 smaller ships, this last figure gives them a carrying capacity of 120 tons on an average, which seems about the right order of magnitude. Double the size, to carry twice the amount, is more than ordinary junks would run to. We have to reckon that many of the ships would be lost on the way, but this would be offset by purchases in India. We are driven to find somewhere where the Chinese could raise 90,000 tons of rice in Africa for the return journey.

In the Inyanga district, near the Portuguese border in Southern Rhodesia, and on the Usambara Plateau, south-west of Mombasa, the whole country for dozens of square miles is covered with terraced gardens, such as the Chinese make. From plain to hill-top the ground is carefully levelled, with strong stone walls following the contours. Behind these, at one time, there used to be earth, but the centuries of tropical rain have washed this away. What is left made Randall MacIver believe that the whole thing represented a fortification with concentric enclosures, but then, there are the remains of irrigation channels; even now, in the Inyanga district, the streams follow artificial conduits. There was unlimited black

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labour at the disposal of the Chinese, so there was no difficulty in explaining the erection of the structures under their supervision.

To grow an enormous amount of rice along the coast would have meant the cutting down of whole sections of the forest, while to produce it in areas already cleared would have meant collecting it from a vast region with very varying results from each patch. On old ground, already under cultivation, the results would have been distinctly poor. The grain sown was hill rice, that does not need constant submergence as the ordinary rice does, and this variety is still cultivated by the natives of Rhodesia. The Chinese, we must suppose, sought out a region free of bush, no matter if it was distant from the coast, for there were porters in plenty to carry the harvest to the ships. The new-made ground was extremely fertile, and with irrigation, produced abundantly, while the whole, being together in one compact block, readily lent itself to proper control.

To the 90,000 tons of rice necessary for the return journey, we must add what was necessary for the six months' stay in the country, together with food for an immense population of workers, say an additional 100,000 tons and this amount could be produced from the Inyanga terrace gardens. If we add the Usambara ones, then we have too much, but it was not necessary that the two were cultivated simultaneously; very likely one was worked for a hundred years or so, and the other came into use later.

It may be objected that before offering such a solution to one of the greatest enigmas of Africa, there ought to be some positive facts to bring forward in support of it. Where are, for instance, the relics of the Chinese, their language, their bones, their utensils, or local tradition concerning them? In an enquiry of this nature, though such facts would admittedly be desirable, too much stress should not be laid upon their absence. A study of a language; of the local customs; a series of measurements on certain individuals—that is considered a scientific way of going about things, but unless this is supported by a full knowledge of the region, its history and connection with the rest of the world in the past, the conclusions drawn may be entirely erroneous. To give an instance, the proto-Nordics are supposed to have originated in Scandinavia, but the conditions there utterly preclude the development of a primitive race; they necessitate that the first people who braved the long winters had reached a state of civilisation in which they could clothe themselves, build houses, and store up food. There was a blue-eyed, yellow-haired race in the south, and the old Mediterranean legends actually tell the story of how these people went across Russia to the Baltic and they were in just that stage of the polished stone culture which we find in the north.

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The Chinese language we cannot expect to find in the country, for it is an extremely difficult language to learn, utterly foreign to anything the Bantu could imagine, so that the temporary wives of the Chinamen would not retain the least memory of even single words. The children of such unions would be born while the Chinese were away, and no claims for paternity would be admitted, hence the children, would have had no opportunity for learning their fathers' language.

As to the bones left in the country, anyone who died during his sojourn in Africa would be embalmed and taken home, where he would rest with his ancestors, and the children of his Chinese wife would pay the customary rights to his spirit. That is an invariable custom with Chinamen all the world over. Millions of Chinese must have swarmed over East Africa between 900 and 1200, but they did not leave their dead behind if they could help it. Some were driven beyond Cape Corrientes, and were wrecked, and their descendants live in Africa to-day, and in West Africa, perhaps, someday, a Chinese grave may be discovered, but on the East Coast never.

The other relics such as pottery, are subject to two interpretations. The Ming pottery, for instance, dug up in the Great Zimbabwe, in Southern Rhodesia, never for an instant suggested to MacIver that Chinamen had ever been there, as the articles could have been so easily imported. Whether any such remains occur in the Inyanga we do not know, as the ruins have never been systematically explored, and still less the Usambara terrace gardens. On the coast, however, the enormous quantity of Chinese pottery points unmistakably to junks having frequented the coast. The stuff is not modern, such as has been dredged up in Table Bay from East Indiamen which had been sunk in a gale, but veritable Sung pottery, of the greatest rarity.

In regards to legends, there are any amount in Southern Rhodesia. At Tagati Hill, not far from Gwelo, where the M'Telegwa ruins are, there is a police camp, and anyone sleeping in the guest-house attached to it, is awakened by a company of weird spectres. They are clothed in silk and speak in an utterly incomprehensible language, while the war drums beat on the opposite hill-side. The last Mombo, or chief of the Makalaka lived here and used the ruins, but it was not his people who collect together and anxiously discuss the threatened attack by the Bantu hordes, while the alarmed stranger shivers with fright in his bed. Of course this is all nonsense, but no one will knowingly use the guest chamber at night.

Another legend among the Mashona is that one day the Mangan-Hutari will come back and drive the white men from the country. The word is usually interpreted as meaning 'men in armour.' The natives of Rhodesia knew the Portuguese,

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who came to the country in the sixteenth century, wearing armour, and who witnessed the death-throes of the kingdom of Monomatapa, but these men were white. The story refers to men who were not white, black nor brown, and by elimination, they should have been yellow. It is possible that the expression 'men in armour' refers to the Chinese in silken robes, which shone like armour. The African natives have not the least conception of chronology, and they interpret what has come down to them from past ages in the light of more recent experience.

In Rhodesia, especially, where sanguinary expeditions have ravaged the country time and again, everything is confused; but some events have remained ingrained in the popular memory, and the most striking of these is the departure of the Chinese in about 1250, or thereabouts.

It is then that the history of the Bahurutsi begins, whom we are taking to be the half-caste children of the Chinese. There is some connection between Ba-Hurutsi, and Ma-N'gan-Hutari, Hutary and Hurutsi being inversions according to a common rule in Bantu language. For instance, 'bambu,' a house in Makraka, becomes 'mumba' in Makalaka. 'N'gan' is found in another Bechuana tribe, the Ba-Gananoa of the Transvaal.

The Chinese were driven from the Indian Ocean by the Arabs about 1250. The Gujeratis, seeing the rich argosies passing their doors, thought it might be as well to attack them and plunder the ships. The first great battle was so successful that the city of Diu was built with the proceeds. From that time onwards, the Arabs of the Persian Gulf held sway all down the East Coast, and up till quite recently, the Sultan of Zanzibar was tributary to the Sultan of Ormuz. When Marco Polo came along in 1290 the trade was almost a thing of the past, and for one reason or another, not stated in the narrative, the gallant fleet that sailed from Manzi was reduced to only a few sail. Under the Ming dynasty, there was an attempt at a revival, and it is stated that now Cail was destroyed, a half-way house was established in Ceylon, but no confirmation can be found for this. The regular traffic was short-lived, but individual junks continued to frequent the ports of the Indian Ocean, and de Barros states that Chinese ships in his time were more plentiful there than those of other nations.

Accounts of East Africa during the Sung dynasty are necessarily meagre, because we have no translations of the enormous literature that exists. E. Bretschneider, in his pamphlet concerning the knowledge possessed by the ancient Chinese of the Arabs and Arab countries, states that the first black African slave was brought to the Chinese Court in 976, where he occasioned the greatest surprise. About the same time, a Chinese author, Chau Ju Kua, wrote an account of

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'The Countries in the Sea,' of which the following is an extract. "K'un Lun Ts'ong K'i. This country is in the sea in the south-west. It is adjacent to a large island. There are usually there great p'öng birds, which so mask the sun in their flight that the shade of the sundial is shifted. If the great p'öng bird finds a wild camel, it swallows it, and if one should chance to find a p'öng feather, he can make a water-butt of it, after cutting off the hollow quill. The products of the country are elephants' tusks and rhinoceros' horns. In the west, there is an island in the sea on which are many savages, with bodies as black as lacquer, and with frizzed hair. They are enticed by offers of food, then caught and carried off for slaves in Ta-shi (Arabian) countries, where they fetch a high price. They are used for gate-keepers, and it is said they do not long for their kinsfolk."

A contemporary artist painted pictures of the coast of Africa, and four of these were recently sold in a London auction room; the Pearce Museum in Zanzibar endeavoured to purchase one of them, and the rest were dispersed among art-collectors.

Turning now to Mas'udy's Wa-Kwakwa, we find the name still preserved in the river on which is built the Portuguese town of Quilimane. Capt. Owen, in his Narrative of Voyages to explore the shores of Africa, Arabia and Madagascar, in His Majesty's ships *Leven* and *Barracouta*, 1833, describes yellow Zulus or Hollontontes as living from Durban to Delagoa Bay, whom he calls Vatwah, a corruption of Wa-Kwakwa. The Vatwah still live round Lorenco Marques, but what relationship they bear to Capt. Owen's people, is uncertain. The next step was to change the 'Va-' into the usual Bantu plural prefix 'Ba-', so we get Batwa, usually translated by the Bechuana as meaning 'abandoned'.

Father Torrend derives the name 'Bechuana' from 'Kua' the eastern people, with the prefix 'Ba-' and the diminutive '-ana,' Ba-Kuana, children of the eastern people. They all admit the totem of the baboon, Chwena, which is the private one of the Bahurutsi tribe, so they are the Ba-Chwena, which suggests another derivation, but the authorities in Bechuanaland will not hear of such an origin. They themselves prefer to say the name comes from betswain, to separate, because the Bechuanas are always throwing off groups of people, who form separate tribes. The original Bahurutsi threw off the Baralong, and these the Bamangwato, Batawana and so on; there have been at one time or another some thirty or forty separate tribes under their own kings.

From what has gone before, it is evident that the Chinese abandoned the country and their half-caste children about 1250. the Rev. Ellenberger collected the lore taught to the boys during their initiation ceremonies and found that this, among the Bahurutsi began about the same time; there is a long list

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of kings, which, from other sources as well, can be traced back to 1250–60–70. According to tradition, the nation was created clothed, that is, did not start as a naked, savage one. A difference between the Bechuana and Kaffirs, Batho and Bantu, to-day is that, whereas the former always endeavour to scrape up some kind of European clothing, even in their huts, the latter directly they come from the towns, cast this off, and revert to the blanket. A case in point is that of a highly educated Kaffir who went home, passed his medical degrees in Edinburgh, and married a Scotch girl; on his return, despite his white wife, he refused to wear anything but the nutshie and blanket. A Basuto or Bechuana would never do that.

A more striking example, showing how even people who are supposed to know something about natives, confuse the two, is that of George Moshesh. His father, the Great Moshesh, formed the Basuto nation, amalgamating a number of tribes, mostly Bechuana, but including Hlubis, Zulus, and even Bushmen; he himself remained faithful to the British during the Basutoland wars, and was expelled from his country. The Cape Government gave him a large tract of land in Griqualand West in compensation. To make things more pleasant, Sir George Grey suggested he should marry Emma Sandili, the daughter of the great Kaffir chief. "How could I marry a black girl?" he exclaimed indignantly, for, although white people might consider him as black as the ace of spades, he had the Bechuana blood, which renders them entirely apart from that of the Bantu, entitling them to be considered light-skinned. At any rate the marriage did not come off, and the lady he eventually married was even blacker than the Kaffir maiden, though of royal Bechuana blood. The white men call all blacks in South Africa 'Bantu;' they themselves, unless their ideas have been confused by education in the State schools or by missionaries, always say 'Abantu-Batho' if they wish to refer to the whole lot.

The most compact group of the Batho to-day are the Bechuana in the country adjoining the Kalahari, and the oldest section of these is the Bahurutsi. They have never succeeded like other branches, who have had famous warriors as chiefs, and they live, therefore, in isolated bunches in among the others, to whom they pay tribute. One of these was led by Chapo into the marshes south of the Makarikari, to be free of the exactions of the Matabele, and there, in almost complete isolation, they have to a large extent thrown off the result of Bantu mixture, and become yellow again. When wearing the tlaatlana, or pagoda hat, many of these would be indistinguishable from any ordinary Chinaman, having the broad faces, high cheek-bones, and oriental eyes, as well as the yellow skin-colour. The others in the Transvaal and elsewhere, are black, or grey, black, due to admixture, dating from the time when they were

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fugitives, and subject to all sorts of horrors at the hands of the other natives, once the powerful protection of their Chinese fathers was removed. Nevertheless, the yellow skin-colour occurs sporadically throughout the whole Bechuana nation, in certain families, and many notable instances could be quoted. For example, Monyalué, queen of the Matlokoa section on the Wilge River, in what is now the Orange Free State, was yellow, and a royal princess, probably a descendant of hers, of the same colour, lives to-day at Katchekau, married to a Batawana chief. The coal-black Bantu from north of the Zambesi consider all the Bechuana light-skinned, though no white man would be aware of the fact.

The colour question is complicated by two factors. In the first place, all self-respecting South African natives boast that they are 'Namane tsa Poo e Ntsho,' sons of the Black Bull, as this associates them with the warrior aristocracy. As a result, conscious selection of brides, especially among the royal families, inclines to maidens of the darker varieties, the lighter ones being ignored. When Chaka became chief of the Zulus, Capt. Owen describes a section of his people as being as yellow as Hottentots, but they are now, as a whole, quite black. Secondly, the royal families usually have nothing in common with the rest of the tribe, and are as a rule the blackest of the whole collection. Chief Khama was an exception, having Bushman blood in his veins, and there are other examples, but the statement is generally true. In Ovamboland, where the royal family is of a big, sturdy type, whereas the common people are smaller and altogether different, the paramount chief, Martin, explained that as regards the headmen, at least, he was trying to induce men of other tribes to come in and take charge, as his own people were so foolish, and this is probably what happened formerly with the chiefs themselves.

The name Wa-Kwakwa, Vatwah, or Abatwa, was applied originally to the light-skinned natives on the East Coast, and the word, according to the Bechuana, means 'abandoned.' Directly the Chinese left the shores of Africa, the Bantu set upon these nondescripts, and drove them into the hills, where, their legends tell, they lived on the spoils of the chase and feldkost-berries, mushrooms, and other vegetable products. They practised no agriculture, till they grew strong enough to enslave the Makalaka, who taught them the art. The other natives contemptuously called them the 'Baboon people,' just as the Makalaka, in the time of their glory, called the Mashona 'Dirty people,' from 'swina,' dirt. Later on, when the superior intelligence, due to their Mongoloid parentage, began to tell, and they formed themselves into clans, in a kind of bravado they took the Baboon as their totem or sereto, and they became the Ba-Chwena, or Baboon people. Other sections hived off and to distinguish themselves from the original Bahurutsi, the

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veritable Ba-Chwena, they took other seretos, and became the Ba-Kwena, the Crocodile people, the Ba-Katlha, the Monkey people, and so on, but all had a right to the ancestral Baboon totem. The Baralong, who claim almost as ancient a lineage as the Bahurutsi, have become very rich and powerful, with Mafeking as their capital, but in ceremonial matters, as, for instance, eating the first melon during the harvest festival, they yield pride of place to the Bahurutsi, poor as they may be, and tributary to them.

Once the Bechuana became united into a self-respecting race, they threw off the stigma of Abatwa, and applied it to the most degraded specimens of humanity in their midst, the Bushmen. They migrated across Africa to the Gulf of Guinea, and we find this word used in the same sense throughout, for all manner of primitive and pigmy races. There have been some marvellous speculations as to the meaning of the word by students of African natives who have sought to solve the problem from local information, without knowing the history of the tribe.

D. M. Ramoshoana, an educated Bahurutsi, has supplied some very important information about the transition period, when some of the tribes were still called Abatwa, and others had assumed the Baboon totem. According to him, the nation began, as in all South African, and in African nations generally, where there is a tribal history, with a single great chief or hero, one Mhurutsi, who gave his name to the people. The Zulus and Kaffirs have a common ancestor in the same way, equally improbably; the only historic occurrence of such a happening is that of queen Mantatesi, who gave her name to the Mantatees, but this was the appellation given them by the white men. In other cases which permit of investigation, the first man of the tribe turns out to be a myth, such as Hercules or Jason were. In the Woloffs of Senegal, for instance, who trace their origin to an amphibious being called Ndyadyane Ndaye, which, being translated, means 'Wonderful; really!' who lived precisely somewhere about the same time as the supposed Mhurutsi, namely, 1250, we know from written Arab history, that the story has no foundation in fact.

Mhurutsi, however, had two sons, Motoblee and Motobeyana —the proper commencement of all native stories. They quarrelled about a tame baboon, which led to the adoption of this animal as the tribal totem. Motshoene, son of the younger brother, became chief of the Barwa boo Thoebedi, which would be translated by the accepted school of African languages, as the Bushmen of Thoebedi. Anyone who knows Bechuanaland, and the contempt which these aristocratic descendants of the doughty warriors of the past regard the miserable Bushmen, would laugh at the idea of an important chief assuming the leadership of one of their bands. The actual meaning is that

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Motshoene became chief of a section of his tribe that still called themselves Batwa or Barwa, and who lived round Thoebedi. Barwa becomes Masaroa or Masarwa, the last form being the commonly accepted one in Bechuanaland now-a-days.

The adoption of a national sereto is far too serious an affair to be occasioned through a boy's quarrel over a pet animal, as my friend Ramoshoana would have us believe. We have the historic case of Sebetoane chief of the Makololo, naming the mongrel band he was leading into Barotsiland from the family of a young lady with whom he became enamoured, and arbitrarily assuming the sereto of the Marala, a bush something like a camelia—the writer camped under a magnificent specimen on the Botletle River, which was where Sebetoane passed, and may have been the actual bush which gave him his inspiration, for all the natives have a great regard for it still—but in most cases, one imagines, there must have been some more weighty occasion for it. The Batawana assumed Tau, the lion, as their totem, because the chief who led them to revolt against the Bamangwato was called Tauana, child of a lion. The whole totem system of the Bechuana, however, is artificial, and was probably concocted after they had enslaved the Makalaka, who had Malay traditions, for originally their overlords were far too savage to think out an arrangement like this of themselves.

To one not familiar with African natives, the word 'Bantu' is a mystification, for it is employed in two senses. Dr. Bleek, who first used the word in literary sense, applied it to a group of languages, having a peculiar form of prefixes, and anyone using this manner of speech is loosely called 'Bantu.' Later, Dr. Bleek called certain physical types Bantu, more especially the Kaffirs and Zulus, and this type persists throughout Central Africa. The most primitive dialects are found round Victoria Nyanza, and it is there that we suppose the Bantu began their history. Hence we get the annoying fact that the Batho, who represent a distinct physical type, speak Bantu, and are commonly referred to as such.

Father Torrend created the Ma-Kua section of the Bantu group of languages, and all who speak this call themselves Batho, singular, Matho, a man. This is the Polynesian 'atho,' or 'ata,' a man, with the Bantu prefix added. There were many Polynesians in Africa at the time, who came from the Sulu Islands, Tonga Group, and Viti Levu, the native name for Fiji, and who are now called the Ama-Zulu, Ba-Thonga, and Ma-Viti. The Efate dialect of the New Hebrides is preserved in countless place names, such as Thaba ka Mamba, in Efate, Tafa ka Mama, the Hill of the Chief; Makarikari, either Makarakara, a burning in the throat, in Efate, or Mikirikiri, a shimmering. The inhabitants of Madagascar are Malays, and speak a dialect of Malay to-day. Instances could be multiplied indefinitely, but the Malay connection with Africa is not primarily the

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object of this account, except in so far as it explains how it is that a Polynesian appellation has been applied to the Bechuana section of Bantu-speaking people. The language of the Chinese being unknown, we may suppose that the offspring of these adopted the terminology of their neighbours, the Makalaka, or Malays and Polynesians which at any rate differentiated them from the other blacks.

The distribution of the Ma-Kua is very remarkable, and begins in the east in the Comoro Islands, between Madagascar and the mainland. The Bantu as a whole are terrified at the thought of crossing the water, and unless someone of another seafaring nation carried them across, none of the blacks would have been found so far out to sea. The Mascarene islands, Mauritius, Reunion, and Roderiguez, were wholly uninhabited when first discovered, which would not have been the case had any of the original inhabitants of southern Africa been naturally fond of the sea, like the Dyaks or early Greeks.

When the Matabele invaded Barotsiland, Lewanika craftily ordered the Masubeia, who have Hamitic blood in their veins and are therefore canoemen, to ferry the invaders across to an island in the Zambesi and leave them there. The Matabele, thinking they had arrived on the other side of the river, soon learnt their mistake, and instead of building rafts, or swimming across, they remained marooned there till they perished by famine, eating their shields and sandals in their extremity. The writer had the same trick played on him, but waded across the intervening channel, though the water came up to his neck; the river may have altered since the Matabele were there, and have become shallower, but there was nothing so formidable that a starving man could not negotiate it. Again, the Matabele invaded Ngamiland, and attacked the Makoba, who retreated across the Mohohelo River. To follow them, the impis of Mosilikatsi cut down a whole section of the forest, and threw the trunks into the river to make a cause-way, whereas they could have made rafts with a thousand times less labour.

In the 'Book of the Marvels of India' it is stated that the Chinese set out to conquer the island of Kambalu in 945. This may mean anything, but there is a suggestion that the Comoro Islands were indicated. The islands are extremely fertile, and are small, so that there would not be a constant fear of invasion from natives coming from the unknown interior, as there would be on the mainland; and for matters of trade, the Chinese had their small ships which could go to and fro to all ports on the coast opposite, either to Madagascar, or Africa, both of which we know they were acquainted with.

The Ma-Kua are found in Portuguese East Africa, round Inhabane and Quilimane, up to the Rovuma, and inland to Kilimanjaro. The central group is found in Bechuanaland and

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Basutoland, with a strong section in the Transvaal, the Bapedi of Sekukuniland and Malaboch's people, Baganano a. The western group includes the very large nation of the Mangala (a pure Sanskrit word) in the Congo, the M'Ponge, of the Ogowe and the Gaboon, the Dualla of the Cameroons, and the cannibal Fans of the upper Ogowe.

We find, thus, a complete corridor of Batho, stretching across Bantuland, having its starting place on the East Coast where we are certain the Chinese came during three or four centuries before 1250. Wherever their influence extended, we have the word for water 'manzi.' One may suppose that the natives, seeing these strangers descending upon them from some unknown region, raised their voices and asked where they came from. The Chinese, pointing over the ocean, said 'Manzi,' or south China, and their questioners said, from the 'water, for they had no conception of continents lying beyond the horizon. Where we find no Asiatic influence, the African word for water is 'gu' or numberless others. On the East coast the original form is preserved to this day, but as one proceeds inland, it becomes changed to 'metsi,' 'mai' and so on, till it grades into the Arabic 'ma,' which confuses the issue.

Father Torrend's work on the Ma-Kua is somewhat overshadowed by recent studies of Bantu languages, but he had the genius of seeing the essential points, and stressing them, to the neglect, perhaps, of the more intricate questions, such as the verb, and he brought to bear on his investigation an enormous breadth of personal experience. If one goes into the East End of London, and patiently takes down all the forms of English as there spoken, one arrives at an astonishing result. For instance: To see; past tense, I saw. In the East End this becomes: I seen; I seed; I sawed; I did seen; and so forth. The undisciplined mind of a savage is somewhat of the same type as that of the denizens of Stratford by Bow, and hence we find the conscientious enquirer into native languages carefully collecting all these forms. Father Torrend does his best, but in the end, says one must be a savage oneself to be able to conjugate as he does. Whatever the defects in his 'Comparative Grammar' Father Torrend gives us a clue to the tangle of languages spoken in Africa, and one can build upon it, and make sense of them, which no one else has been able to do.

We have many instances of native dialects rising spontaneously in our times, the Sesuto, of Basutoland, and the Sikololo of Barotsiland, are cases in point. The whole family of Bantu languages, with its unique form of prefixes repeated throughout the sentence, was invented by a primitive people living in the forests of Central Africa, and the present day representatives are no less formidable linguists: tribes belonging to the same stock, and living in adjoining clearings often speak

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dialects so different, that individuals of the two can scarcely understand each other.

Finally, we come to a consideration of what happened to ships driven beyond Cape Corrientes, and unable to get back, owing to contrary winds and currents. The natural thing to do would be to run before the wind, and try and get round Africa, as the ancient Phœnicians did. The Chinese had no general chart of the world, and may have had some vague notion that if they sailed sufficiently far to the west, they were bound to get home again. Before America was discovered, stretching right across the globe from north to south, this was a perfectly reasonable idea. Some did attempt to get back, and the vessel shown doing so on Fra Mauro's map, gives the only known instance of such a return up to 1420. The rest were wrecked on the African coast, and the crew forced to end their lives there.

In the early days of navigation no ship could beat up against the wind; the ancients, who could span in slaves for the work, used oars when the winds were contrary. Bartholomeu Dias, on his voyage round the Cape of Good Hope, encountered the easterly winds and currents, till at the Fountain Rocks, off the Kowie River, he gave up the struggle. Some thirty years earlier, the French had invented the square sail, with yards that could be turned, so that the ships could sail into the wind. It would appear that Bartholomeu Dias knew of this, for when he returned, he busied himself with designing ships suitable for the difficult bit between the Cape and India. He expected to be given charge of the squadron, but the command fell to an illegitimate scion of the royal family of Portugal, Vasco da Gama; Dias came as far as El Mina, on the West Coast, to teach the sailors to handle his new rigging, and then his services were dispensed with. To the utmost astonishment of everyone in the Indian Ocean, Vasco da Gama sailed up the East Coast and crossed to India.

The Chinese never discovered the principle of tacking. The mat sails of the junks were so clumsy that even when at anchor they left them standing, and certainly they could not be worked to catch a wind on the counter. The ships blundered along, skirting the coast, with sufficient mobility owing to oars to keep them running ashore, but no more. They would arrive in due course off the Cape of Good Hope, and would then be caught in the Benguella current that sets in strongly from the south. They would be wafted northwards, till the North-westerly storms caught them, and they would be wrecked along the Namaqualand shore, north and south of the mouth of the Orange River.

They would arrive here somewhere about December, when the South-Easters blow with great violence succeeded, during lulls, by these north-westerly gales. On the East Coast, the north-easterly monsoons blow in the southern summer, from

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November to March, and allowing a month for the passage round the Cape, this would bring them to their final stop in the time of year stated.

There are Eastern Hottentots recorded round Durban and Port Elizabeth, but the main stock of the genuine type, with bright yellow skins and Oriental eyes, is only found in Namaqualand, whence many emigrated to the Cape, where the Dutch called them 'Sneese', that is, Chinese. van Riebeek recognised their Chinese affinities, and he knew what he was talking about, for he had been a doctor in Batavia.

The Hottentots have been classed as belonging to the Negro family, because they have frizzy hair. Anyone's hair becomes frizzy in the dry atmosphere of the West Coast. Both Europeans and Jews in Kimberley frequently find their hair turns so after a sojourn of some years. The real test for hair is the structure; in the Negro it is a flat ovoid in section, in the Mongolian races, cylindrical. The hair of the Hottentots is of the latter variety.

The Hottentots are for the most part sturdy, taking after the Masarwa Bushmen, but the small, beautifully finished type is also common, denoting a parentage with the Qung-Bushmen, following the classification given in 'The Kalahari, and its Native Races' by the present writer. Some of the Masarwa in Ngamiland are quite six feet high, and the Abbé de la Caille measured a Hottentot in Cape Town of six feet three inches. The women are markedly steatopygous like the Masarwa, and this reaches extreme limits in the Korana of the Orange River.

There are the same clicks as in the Bushman language, with peculiar modifications; the labial click, for instance, which sounds like a kiss, is absent, as the Hottentots use the consonants 'b' and 'p' which replace it. No one comparing the two languages can doubt that the basis of the Hottentot language, as well as the physical stock, is Bushman, but there are added suffixes as in North African and Mediterranean languages generally. These denote the masculine, feminine and neuter genders, and the singular, dual and plural, as in Greek. As there is nothing whatever of the Hamitic about the Hottentot, these terminations have been adopted. We can trace their neighbours, the Ova-Herero, to a Hamitic origin, and we know that the Hottentots made wives of the Herero women, as their own were sterile owing to the pronounced steatopygy, so the mothers of the rising generation of Hottentots taught their children the Hamitic inflections.

Besides the Bush clicks, and the Hamitic terminations denoting sex, the Hottentot language contains a number of tones—sixteen in all. The southern Chinese dialects spoken by the sailors of Manzi, whom we suppose were wrecked on the shores of Namaqualand, have also exactly sixteen tones, as against the four of Mandarin. The numerical correspondence

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has no significance, being merely one of those curious coincidences against which one must be on one's guard, for many of the Chinese tones do not occur in Hottentot, but on the other hand, many do. The K'u, or departing tone, sounded in a dismal way, such as might be employed by a ruined gambler, if asked whether he had lost everything he possessed, and replied "All!" is the low tone of the Hottentot language, which sinks still lower. The Shang p'ing, or upper even tone is pure Hottentot, as is the Hia p'ing, the lower even tone, while the Juh, or entering tone, is the initial stress of the African language. Ordinarily the stress is on the last syllable, thus haré; occasionally the entering tone is employed, and hàri means something entirely different.

It seems impossible that an isolated and miserable people like the Hottentots could elaborate such a complicated system of tones as is employed by the Chinese, unless there had been direct contact and actual interbreeding. This, in conjunction with the pure Mongolian eye, the yellow skin, and the structure of the hair, raises the probability to as near a certainty as can be expected under the difficult circumstances of an enquiry of this kind.

The eye of the true Hottentot, as exhibited in the few pure bred people of the race, now reduced to forty individuals living at Zesfontein in the far north of South West Africa, is something entirely foreign to Africa. There is the Mongloid eye developed in certain pathological states, but this has nothing to do with that. The eye has the lid in the inner angle vertical, meeting the lower margin at right angles, and concealing the tear recess of European eyes; while there is a great clot, like the nictitating membrane of birds, representing what is known as the third eyelid.

Lists of words in Chinese and Hottentot have been made, but no correspondence has yet been traced. The agglutination of the African form of speech may be instanced by the following: Khoi-s, a woman; Khoësis, humanity; Khoë-si-ga-gu, to be friendly with one another; Khoë-si-ga-gu-s, friendship. In Chinese there are traces of the same in the older dialects, but the written language has destroyed the development of this; nevertheless the ideographs show much the same thing. There are signs for a pig and for crockery; an elephant, which has crockery about his face, has a sign compounded of that for a pig and for crockery.

Chinese is so difficult to learn that it would be beyond the power of the children to do so, seeing that their mothers spoke a click language, but they might catch the intonation of their fathers.

The time has almost passed by for elucidating the mystery of the Hottentots, for they have been almost exterminated by small-pox, venereal diseases, infertility of their women, and the

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machine guns of their former masters, the Germans. The Bastard races, like the Bondelswarts, instead of reverting in their isolation to the Hottentot type, are becoming more and more like the Masarwa, which shows that the former is a hybrid one. Under the circumstances, it seems legitimate to collect what is known about them, trusting that an intensive study may yet yield more positive results.

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# A Vocabulary of the Mawkhen, Salon or Sea-Gypsy Language of the Mergui Archipelago.

By Capt. G. M. Ambler.

## I. The Archipelago and its People, the Salons.

The coast of Lower Burma is studded with over 800 islands and islets of every size from King Island with an area of 170 square miles to mere barren rocks rising abruptly from the sea. Nearly all are forest clad and most are hilly, often fringed with mangrove swamps but frequently displaying a yellow beach of sand or pebble.

A remarkable feature is the occurrence of precipitous limestone rocks towering sheer out of the sea for several hundred feet, containing fissures, clefts and caves, the home of the little grey rumped Swiftlet (collocalia francica) the builder of the 'edible bird's nest' a valuable commodity, the source of a large revenue to Burma.

While sailing amongst them, they rise and fade, and in the shimmering heat and a cloudless sky, they appear ethereal, floating in the sea, ready to vanish in the drowse of the afternoon. Their peace is undisturbed. They are, except for a variety of snakes, birds and a few species of wild animal, uninhabited.

A cloudless sky and a brilliant scorching sun, a long stretch of sandy beach of beautiful golden colour, lapped by a calm sea; a brilliant green above the coral reefs close inshore, verging into an intense sapphire blue in the distance. The coral which abounds in these waters, displays an endless change of a myriad shapes and colours, amongst which many varieties of fish of gorgeous hue are lazily swimming or are darting about, when viewed through the clear water from a boat gently drifting with the current: a riot of ever-changing colour and scene which beggars description!

Approaching Owen island one is greeted by the sight of a sandy beach, with here and there a rock, and inland, swelling hills clothed in a mantle of dense jungle. In the distance, the

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*Editorial Note:* The Society's office has lost touch with the author. The paper is now published as it stands without certain modifications and amplifications which might have been made if the author had been available.—J. v. M.



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highest peak capped by a delicate tracery of foliage stands out, clear cut, in the pure atmosphere.

On approaching closer inshore, two distinct shades of colour are seen in the vegetation : light green dappled with russet brown along the coast and dark green merging into a deep bluey-green in the far interior. This island jungle is immersed in perpetual twilight due to the dense foliage of the trees forming a solid canopy over-head. Below, in the gloom, bird-life is non-existent, while over-head can be heard the discordant screech of the parrot, and the sounds of numerous doves and imperial pigeons. Occasionally the stillness is disturbed by a sibilant rustling and a sudden crash as some wild pig or deer, startled, breaks back into the dense scrub bordering the animal path.

On landing, and walking round the corner of a small Cape, we came across two boats, absolutely different from any type of boat to which one is accustomed. On approaching closer, we were greeted by a terrible odour, indescribable as regards its strength, which appeared to emanate from the directions of these boats, due, as we found to putrid fish offal in the bottom of the vessel with the filthy bilge water, a green putrid mess swarming with flies.

Approaching the boats, on the windward side, we were able to see the type of construction, proving beyond doubt that these were Mawkhen boats, or, as they call them, 'Kabangs'.

The Kabangs were about 25 feet long by about 8 feet wide. The hulls were fashioned from tree trunks (dug out), deeply scooped at prow and stern, leaving an exit at either end, with a projecting ram or horn, by means of which the occupants of the Kabang enter or leave the vessel by using this as a step. The hull is curved in the centre so as to rise fore and aft. The most extraordinary part of the whole vessel is the section between stem and stern which is built up with split palm stems of the *Kamaw* (Burmese *Yingan*) laid one upon the other, horizontally, on each side of the hollowed out keel, forming bulwarks. These are kept in position, by being lashed, with jungle fibres, to stays made of naturally curved wood, the joints being waterproofed by a heavy coating of jungle resinous gum (probably the nest of the dammer bee). At irregular intervals, inside, rough battens run athwart and upon these are laid, longitudinally, bamboo strips with the outer surface upwards, each individually lashed to the various battens. One roughly hewn plank, with a hole cut in it, runs athwart, near midships, for the mast which fits into a rough socket in the bottom of the boat. The mast is a light pole with a natural fork, like the letter V, at the top. The sail which is made in segments, of palm leaf stitched with jungle fibre twine, is hoisted by means of a plaited grass rope which passes through the V at the top of the mast. When lowered, the sail is rolled up like a bundle of Chinese matting. Midships, and near to one side is a square hole evidently for

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purposes of baling. Near this hole is another rough plank plastered with mud and sand in which are three stones set in the form of a triangle : ∘°∘. This is the hearth as was evident by the ash and charcoal there.

There were two inverted ∩ shaped cane supports running from midship to the stern, over which was a covering of dunnee palm leaf, closely stitched and quite waterproof. Inside were some earthen cooking pots, two bamboos of the giant variety, hollowed out and containing water, an old dao, a still older and very rusty axe, a fish spear, and a box of matches.

Of the occupants there was no sign. These folk are very timid and run away into the jungle, abandoning everything, on sight of a strange boat or even a stranger. There was no doubt however that keen and very inquisitive eyes were watching us through the undergrowth. Sitting down, away from the Kabang, with our backs to the jungle, we frequently called out a phrase carefully learnt on the mainland from one with a slight knowledge of the Mawkhen language '*Mawkhen manoot! Na nakoot ka! Ja engka chi!*' literally : 'Oh ! Mawkhen, do not be afraid, I am your friend'.

At the end of half an hour or so, and having patiently called out the above at about two minutes intervals, we were greeted by the sight of what, to us appeared, the great-grandfather of the Mawkhens—an old man with snow-white hair, hardly any teeth, very feeble, and in the last stage of dirt and decay with skin disease. This old man, being reassured as to our *bona fides*, called out, in a very high pitched voice and slowly about twelve Mawkhens arrived and stood at a distance, obviously ready to fly at the slightest false move on our part. They were accompanied by five very mangy pariah dogs which they apparently keep for hunting.

Facing the crowd, I addressed them in the Malay tongue '*Ada orang taoh chakap Malayu*' (Is there one who speaks Malay ?) and was immediately answered, in the affirmative, in Malay, by the sturdiest and most intelligent looking of the young men.

Calling him, I handed out cigarettes and matches and a packet of fish hooks. These were eagerly accepted, and we were now firm friends, though the women and children kept at a distance.

This was our introduction to the Mawkhens.

The Mawkhen men appeared to approximate five feet two inches to five feet four inches in height and the women four feet eight inches to four feet ten inches. They are from a dark dull copper to a deep olive brown in colour. The hair is generally black, long and lanky, though one woman had curly auburn hair, and one young man hair that was obviously bleached with lime, whilst two men and one old woman had snow-white hair due to age. The features tend to flattening, the forehead being large

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and square, with high cheekbones. The nose is short, stumpy, with wide nostrils, not Negroid, as there is a distinct bridge to the nose. The mouth is large and broad with well-formed lips of a bluey-pink colour. The teeth are good though very worn-down and discoloured, due to the constant chewing of the betel leaf. The eyes are dark brown, well-lashed, moderate in size, and, in a few cases tending to obliqueness. The chin is strong, tending to squarishness, distinctly belying the extremely timid nature of the individual and the tribe in general.

The Mawkhens are variously described as :

1. *Salons, Sellungs, Salangs*—by Europeans and officials generally. This tribe has a tradition that they originated from 'Ujong Salang' or as it is now corrupted by us the 'Island of Junk Ceylon'. This probably explains the derivation of Salon, perhaps a corruption of the Malay 'Orang Salang' (man of Salang).

2. *Sea-Gypsies*, from their nomadic habits, having no settled home—just aimlessly wandering from island to island in their Kabangs—their one and only home.

3. *Chao-nam*, the Siamese name for this tribe, meaning 'inhabitants of the water'.

4. *Orang laut* or *Orang besin*, the 'Sea folk', the Malay name for this tribe, some of whom are to be found in Maur (Johore) where they take to diving for fresh-water oysters, and live in very dilapidated huts on the shore surrounded by enormous heaps of oyster shells. I have also encountered three families living in huts built on stilts at Tanjong Rhu in Singapore and ekeing out a precarious livelihood by catching and selling prawns and crabs.

5. *Mawkhen*, literally 'Drowned people', the name by which the tribe describe themselves, and by which they should be referred to.

6. *Orang Bajao*, a Sea-Gypsy race inhabiting the Sulu archipelago (off the Philipine islands). This tribe belongs in all probability to the same stock as the Mawkhen, but they have attained a higher stage of civilization by contact with the surrounding tribes.

7. *Orang Shom-pen*.—Inhabiting the interior of great Nicobar island. There is every reason to believe these were formerly of the Mawkhen tribe, but generations ago they forsook the sea and took to the forest where they live a very primitive life. Literally, they may be termed 'land gypsies'. In appearance they are distinctly Mawkhen, but at the time of my having come in contact with them (1923) I was not conversant with either the Mawkhen race or language. I am unable to give any proof of definite linguistic affinity.

The real origin of the Mawkhen race is completely shrouded in mystery and as a tribe they are classified as Austronesians.

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This is a fascinating primitive folk, with the stone age outlook on the universe, very timid, with no idea about God, with a scanty knowledge of the devil and evil spirits, content as long as they get sufficient to eat, with, however, a good store of folk-lore, including a story of the flood and, what, with a slight stretch of imagination, may be termed a story of Adam and Eve, in circumstances to suit local conditions.

## II. The Vocabulary.

In the transcription of the Mawkhen words, *consonants* have their ordinary English values (*b*, *ch* as in *chin*, *chum*, *d*, *f*, *g* always hard as in *God*, *give*, *h*, *j* as in *joy*, *jack*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, always pronounced, *s*, *sh*, *th* as in *thin*, *w*, *z*) and the vowels have the values as indicated below: *a*=*ah* (as in *father*); *e*= almost like English *ay* in *day*; *i*=like *i* in English *in*; *o* as in *oh*; *u*=like *yu* as in *you*; the diagraphs *oo* and *aw* are respectively like English *oo* in *good* and *aw* in *law*. The inverted comma (') is used after a consonant, or between two consonant sounds, to indicate the characteristic 'neutral vowel' sound heard in Malay (=the *pĕpĕt*, like English *a* in *ago*, *China*). The letters *c* (except in the group *ch*), *q*, *v*, and *x* are not required for Salon.

A. English-Salon (Inglit-Mawkhen).

B. Salon-English (Mawkhen-Inglit).

### (A) English-Salon Vocabulary and Phrases.

#### Numerals

| English | Salon | English | Salon |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Aboolat | 19 | Ch'paw shewai |
| 2 | Dua | 20 | Twaplaw |
| 3 | T'loi | 21 | Twaplaw chi |
| 4 | Pat | 25 | Twaplaw lema |
| 5 | Lema | 30 | T'loiplaw |
| 6 | Anam | 35 | T'loiplaw lema |
| 7 | Loojoo | 40 | Patplaw |
| 8 | Wele | 45 | Patplaw lema |
| 9 | Shewai | 50 | Lemaplaw |
| 10 | Ch'paw | 60 | Anamplaw |
| 11 | Ch'paw chi | 70 | Loojooplaw |
| 12 | Ch'paw dua | 80 | Weleplaw |
| 13 | Ch'paw t'loi | 90 | Shewaiplaw |
| 14 | Ch'paw pat | 100 | Allatao |
| 15 | Ch'paw lema | 101 | Allatao chi |
| 16 | Ch'paw anam | 105 | Allatao lema |
| 17 | Ch'paw loojoo | 110 | Allatao ch'paw |
| 18 | Ch'paw wele | 150 | Allatao lemaplaw |

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## Relations

| English | Salon |
|---|---|
| Aunt (Genl. term) | Oo-ah |
| Aunt (elder) | Tawa-binai |
| Aunt (younger) | Wa-binai |
| Brother (elder) | Aka-kanai |
| Brother (younger) | Uui-kanai |
| Burman | Ta-nao |
| Child | Anak |
| Children | Chanat |
| Chinese | Chin |
| Daughter | Meh |
| Daughter-in-law | Nyatoi-binai |
| European | Inglit |
| Father | Apong |
| Father-in-law | Tawka-kanai |
| Grand-daughter | Chocho-binai |
| Grandfather | Ibap |
| Grandmother | Ibum |
| Grandson | Chocho-kanai |
| Headman (chief) | Micha-ada |
| Husband | Kanai |
| Husband (elder sister's) | Biai |
| Husband (younger sister's) | Ipan kanai |
| Indian (Bengali) | Koola |
| Malayan | Be-tak |
| Man | Manoot |
| Mother | Enong |
| Mother-in-law | Tawka binai |
| Nephew | Kawman kanai |
| Niece | Kawman binai |
| Siamese | Shem |
| Sir | Micha |
| Sister | Luah |
| Sister (elder) | Aka-binai |
| Sister (younger) | Uui-binai |
| Son | Anak-kanai |
| Son-in-law | Nyatoi-kanai |
| Uncle (Genl. term) | Kamon |
| Uncle (elder) | Tawha-kanai |
| Uncle (younger) | Nyi-kanai |
| Wife (elder brother's) | Lua |
| Wife (second) | Binai-nek |
| Wife (first) | Plao |
| Wife (younger brother's) | Ipan-binai |
| Witch Doctor | Micha-blen |
| Woman | Binai |

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## Nautical Phrases

| English | Salon |
|---|---|
| Have you a boat ? .. | Kabang bieng na ka ? |
| Where is my canoe ? .. | Bitam chapan chi ? |
| Go bring my boat quickly .. | Lakow bawa pana kabang chi |
| I am sailing to-morrow at sunrise. | Chichaw mata aloi l'bet ba chung chi. |
| I am going in my boat to the small Island over there. | Chi lakow Pawlaw nek idi |
| Will you give me your canoe ? | M'on ti chi chapan bieng na ka? |
| My boat is similar to yours .. | Kabang chi maemploom kabang bieng. |
| We are going in your boat to catch prawns. | Kamoi lakow langkap kawdang kabang bieng. |
| Are you going fishing ? .. | Bieng langkap ekan na ka ? |
| Where are you going fishing ? | Mana bi-eng langkap ekan ? |
| Will you catch prawns from your boat ? | Langkap kawdang kabang bieng na ka ? |
| No ! I will catch Beche-de-mer from my boat. | Ha ! langkap hymyaw kabang chi. |
| Do you see land ? .. | Bieng tanak p'nat na ka ? |
| Is the sea here shallow ? .. | Klun iri k'te na ka ? |
| Lay into the wind (Tauten main-sail). | Tangu laiyar ada |
| Haul up the main sail .. | Dauni laiyar ada |
| Lower the mizzen sail .. | Nama dalam laiyar nek |
| Heave up the anchor .. | Labaw tangu |
| Let go the anchor .. | Awin labaw nama dalam |
| Help me to heave the anchor up | Tawlawng labaw tangu |
| I am sailing to-morrow at sunrise. | Chichaw, mata aloi l'bet, ba chung chi. |
| Have you understood ? .. | Bi-eng chang na ka ? |
| Paddle the canoe here .. | Piwa iri chapan chi |
| Bail-out the water .. | Bak awin kabang chi |
| Lower the mainmast .. | Chabut tihang ada |
| What is the depth ? .. | B'choe dalam toom ? |
| Can the boat go safely here ? | Kabang iri kaboot na ka ? |
| Return, in your canoe, to the sandy bay. | Balay chapan bi-eng pahnat idi |
| Is there a sandbank here ? .. | Bahun ini na ka ? |
| Are there rocks here ? .. | Batwe ini na ka ? |
| Steer due west .. .. | Buat ch'koot balat |
| Steer for the sandy bay in that big Island over there. | Buat kabang mata pahnat Pawlaw ada idi. |
| What is the name of this small Island ? | Nanyan engka Pawlaw nek idi ? |
| Is it deep or shallow ? .. | Dalam ke k'te iri ? |
| Look ! west wind (squall) coming. | Makow ! angin balat narin |

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## Conversational Sentences

| English | Salon |
|---|---|
| Are you a Salon (Sea-Gypsy) ? | Bieng Mawkhen manoot na ka ? |
| Do you speak the Salon (language) ? | Bieng m'kao Mawkhen na ka ? |
| Certainly ! I speak the Salon (language). | Tawkaw ! chi m'kao Mawkhen |
| Do you understand ? .. | Chang engka bi-eng na ka ? |
| What is your name ? .. | Nanyan bi-eng hanong ka ? |
| Have you any children ? .. | Bi-eng anak na ka ? |
| Do not be afraid .. | Na nakoot ka |
| Why did you go away ? .. | Baley ba anawng ? |
| Why did you run away ? .. | Bieng kaboot ba anawng ? |
| Are you in good health ? .. | Badan engka bieng na ka ? |
| Yes ! I am quite well .. | Toko ! badan chi |
| Are you hungry ? .. | Klawn bieng na ka ? |
| No ! I have eaten rice .. | Ha ! chi makan chon |
| I have not eaten to-day .. | Inaloi chi na makan ka |
| Will you eat ? .. .. | Bi-eng makan na ka ? |
| Yes ! we will eat .. | Toko ! kamoi makan |
| Will you eat deer flesh ? .. | Bieng makan lawsat na ka ? |
| No ! we will not eat it .. | Ha ! kamoi na makan ka |
| I must go .. .. | Chi lakow |

| English | Mawkhen |
|---|---|
| You ! Salon, come here, do not be afraid. | Bieng Mawkhen naren iri na nakoot ka. |
| Sit here, the sun is very hot | M'dawk iri ! plang kawlat makeng. |
| Are you married ? .. | Bieng binai na ka ? |
| Have you any children ? .. | Bieng anak na ka ? |
| Have you a good boat ? .. | Bieng amon kabang na ka ? |
| Have you a house ? .. | Bieng awma na ka ? |
| Go ! call the Salons to come to-morrow and eat rice (cooked). | Lakow ! n'gahaung mawkhen naren iri makan chon chichaw. |
| Return soon .. .. | Balay wewai |
| Never mind I will go .. | A-twotha chi lakow |
| Will you come ? .. .. | Bieng naren na ka ? |
| Certainly, yes .. .. | Tawkaw, toko |
| I am your friend .. | Ja engka chi |
| I am your father .. | Apong engka chi |
| Are there tigers in this jungle ? | Kawtan ini p'noo na ka ? |
| Where ? .. .. | Bitam ? |
| Wait, we are going .. | Na-the-ang, kamoi lakow |
| I am going to-morrow .. | Chichaw chi lakow |
| I went yesterday .. | Chi lakow bubut |

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## Words

| English | Salon |
|---|---|
| Abdomen | La-ke |
| Above | Datah |
| Abuse (to) | Ma-kai |
| Afraid | Nakoot |
| Alligator | Kaiza |
| Anchor | La-baw |
| And | Koo |
| Anna (coin) | The-ĕ |
| 1 Anna | The-ĕ |
| 2 Annas | Achok |
| 4 Annas | Apin |
| 8 Annas | Twa-pin |
| Are (is) | Na |
| Arm | Jali |
| Ashes | Kaboh-e |
| Aunt (Genl. term) | Oo-ah |
| Aunt (elder) | Tawa-binai |
| Aunt (younger) | Wa-binai |
| Awning | Kajang |
| Axe | Kah-appa |
| Bad | Mecha-adoo (Adut) |
| Bamboo | Ka-oon |
| Basket | Chayth |
| Bathe | Main-awin |
| Bay (A) | Aw |
| Bay (sandy) | Pahnaht |
| Bazaar | Je |
| Beard | Boolooe-ch'maw |
| Beat | M'lon |
| Beche-de-mer (black) | Hymyaw net |
| ,, (Malay) | Hymyaw Pashu |
| ,, (red) | Hymyaw ni |
| ,, (white) | Hymyaw pyu |
| Belly | Klahn |
| Belong | Engka |
| Below | L'boo |
| Big | Ada |
| Bird | Chi-chom |
| Bite | Maw-kot |
| Black (species) | Net |
| Black (colour) | Kitam |
| Blind | Kaw-ton |
| Boat | Kabang |
| Boat (one) | Kabang lam |
| Boat (small) | Chapan |

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| English | Salon |
|---|---|
| Branch .. .. .. | Dah-kang |
| Brave .. .. .. | Katai-han |
| Bring .. .. .. | Bawa |
| Brother (elder) .. .. | Aka-kanai |
| Brother (younger) .. .. | Uui-kanai |
| Burman .. .. .. | Ta-nao |
| Bury (to) .. .. .. | Ma-nam |
| Call (to) .. .. .. | N'ga-haung |
| Canoe .. .. .. | Chapan |
| Cat .. .. .. .. | Me-ah-oh |
| Catch .. .. .. | Langkap |
| Certainly .. .. .. | Tawkaw |
| Chest .. .. .. | Dadu |
| Child .. .. .. | Anak |
| Children (youngsters) .. .. | Chanat |
| Chinese .. .. .. | Chin |
| Cloth .. .. .. .. | Chwat |
| Coat .. .. .. .. | Baji |
| Cock .. .. .. | Manok-ga-oh |
| Coconut .. .. .. | Nynon |
| Come .. .. .. | Narin |
| Cost (price) .. .. .. | Laka |
| Cove (sandy) .. .. .. | Pah-naht |
| Cow .. .. .. .. | L'moo |
| Crow (A) (bird) .. .. .. | Ah |
| Cry .. . .. .. | M'ngai |
| Dao (jungle-knife) .. .. | Padang (pet) |
| Day .. .. .. .. | Aloi |
| Day after to-morrow .. .. | Chichaw che |
| The day after the day after to-morrow .. | Chichaw achan |
| Day before yesterday .. .. | Bubut che |
| Day prior to the day before yesterday .. | Bubut achan |
| Daughter .. .. .. | Anak-binai (meh) |
| Daughter-in-law .. .. | Nyatoi-binai |
| Dead .. .. .. | Matai |
| Deep .. .. .. | Dalam |
| Deer .. .. .. .. | Lawsat |
| Devil .. .. .. | N'lao katoi |
| Doctor (Witch) .. .. .. | Micha-blen |
| Dog .. .. .. .. | Oi |
| Draw (water) .. .. .. | Bak |
| Drink .. .. .. | M'am |
| Drowned .. .. .. | L'maw |
| Duck .. .. .. .. | Adat |
| Ear .. .. .. .. | Te'nga |
| East .. .. .. .. | M'loi |
| Eat .. .. .. .. | Makan (m'nyam) |

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| English | Salon |
|---|---|
| Eight .. .. .. | Weh-leh |
| Elder .. .. .. | Aka |
| Elephant .. .. .. | Gaja |
| Eleven .. .. .. | Ch'paw chi |
| European .. .. .. | Inglit |
| Extract .. .. .. | Chabut |
| Eye .. .. .. .. | Mata |
| Fall (to) .. .. .. | D'hawk |
| Father .. .. .. | Ah-pong |
| Father-in-law .. .. .. | Tawka-kanai |
| Fell (to) .. .. .. | D'hawk |
| Fight .. .. .. | M'top |
| Finger .. .. .. | Me-tin |
| Finger-joint .. .. .. | Knup |
| Finger-nail .. .. .. | Ke-koh-eh |
| Finished .. .. .. | Katoikah (lehohkah) |
| Fire .. .. .. .. | Ahpoi |
| Fire (a gun or arrow) .. .. | M'nyein |
| Firewood .. .. .. | Toh-oong. |
| Fish .. .. .. .. | Ekan |
| Five .. .. .. .. | Lemah |
| Flint .. .. .. | Ba-twe-lipwi |
| Fly (to) .. .. .. | La-lai |
| Fly (a) .. .. .. | Shmoot |
| Forearm .. .. .. | Ahat |
| Forest .. .. .. | Kawtan |
| Forget .. .. .. | Long-kah |
| Foot .. .. .. .. | Ka-kai |
| Founder (to) .. .. .. | Kah-lam |
| Four .. .. .. | Paht |
| Fowl .. .. .. | Manok |
| Free (to) .. .. .. | Nawla |
| Friend .. .. .. | Ja |
| Gaff (boom) .. .. .. | Kawton-lak |
| Get up .. .. .. | Tahngu |
| Give .. .. .. .. | M'on |
| Glad .. .. .. .. | D'man |
| Go .. .. .. .. | Lakaw |
| Goat .. .. .. | Pey |
| God .. .. .. .. | Thida |
| Gold .. .. .. .. | Mahs |
| Good .. .. .. | Ahmon |
| Grace .. .. .. | Kakun |
| Grand-daughter .. .. .. | Chocho binai |
| Grandfather .. .. .. | Ibap |
| Grandmother .. .. .. | Ibum |
| Grandson .. .. .. | Chocho kanai |
| Great .. .. .. | Peku |

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| English | Salon |
|---|---|
| Green-snail No. 1 | O'chan |
| Green-snail No. 2 | O'chaw |
| Gun | Koophai |
| Hair | Boo-loe |
| Hand | N'ngan |
| Handcuff (a) | Kaché |
| Handcuff (to) | Madok-kaché |
| He | Aolan |
| Head | Awtak |
| Headman | Micha-ada |
| Hear (to) | Tenga-nah-ien |
| Help | Tawlawng |
| Here | Iri (Hti-ni) |
| Hill | Poongah |
| High | Datah (Ka-pein) |
| Hit | M'lon |
| Hole | Baw |
| Horse | Mah |
| Hot (Sun's heat) | Kawlat |
| House | Aw-mah |
| How much | Toom |
| Hundred (100) | Allatao |
| Hungry | K'lawn |
| Husband | Kanai |
| Husband of elder sister | Biai |
| Husband of younger sister | Ipan kanai |
| I (Me) | Chi |
| Iron | B'choe |
| Is (are) | Na |
| Island | Pawlaw |
| Jib-boom | Yong-lak |
| Jib-sail | Laiyar-mata |
| Jungle | Kawtan |
| Land | Tanak |
| Laugh | Nan-wah |
| Lightning | P'lep |
| Lip | K'le |
| Liquor | E'lap |
| Long | Deh-tah |
| Look | Makow |
| Loongi (skirt) | Lagang |
| Love | Lay-ahk |
| Main boom | Pekulak |
| Mainmast | Tihang-ada |
| Main sail | Laiyar-ada |
| Make | Buat |
| Malay (Trade term) | Pashu |
| Malay | Be-tak |

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| English | Salon |
|---|---|
| Man .. .. .. | .. Manoot |
| Marriage .. .. | .. Naem-binai |
| Mast .. .. .. | .. Tihang |
| Mat .. .. .. | .. Tekan |
| Me (I) .. .. | .. Chi |
| Mergui .. .. | .. M'lit |
| Mind .. .. .. | .. Kah-tai |
| Miserable .. .. | .. Chai-ka |
| Mizzen-mast .. .. | .. Tihang-nek |
| Mizzen-sail .. .. | .. Laiyar-nek |
| Monkey .. .. | .. K'la |
| Moon .. .. | .. Bulan |
| Mosquito .. .. | .. Nyamok |
| Mother .. .. | .. Enong |
| Mother-in-law .. .. | .. Tawka-binai |
| Mouth .. .. | .. Awkan |
| Mud .. .. .. | .. N'lawk |
| Murder .. .. | .. Ne-pong |
| Must .. .. .. | .. Bula |
| Name .. .. | .. Nanyan |
| Nephew .. .. | .. Kawman-kanai |
| Nest .. .. .. | .. Pong (Na-nook) |
| Never mind .. .. | .. A-twot-ha |
| N'gapi .. .. | .. Ba-chang |
| Niece .. .. | .. Kawman-binai |
| Night .. .. | .. Kaman |
| Nine .. .. .. | .. She-wai |
| North .. .. | .. Tali-eng |
| Nose .. .. .. | .. Yong |
| Not (no) .. .. | .. Hah |
| Oar .. .. .. | .. L'gom |
| Oh ! .. .. .. | .. Eh ! |
| Old .. .. .. | .. Paw-tao |
| One (single) .. .. | .. Abaw |
| One (numeral) .. .. | .. Aboolat |
| Opium .. .. | .. Ya-phen |
| Our, Us, We .. .. | .. Kamo-i |
| Oyster .. .. | .. Eh-at |
| Paddle .. .. | .. Piwa |
| Paddy .. .. | .. Pai |
| Pain .. .. .. | .. Maket |
| Pearl .. .. | .. J'lem |
| Pice .. .. .. | .. Ahong |
| Pig .. .. .. | .. Be-booi |
| Pleasure .. .. | .. Ch'nok |
| Possess (to) .. .. | .. Otan |
| Post (wooden) .. .. | .. Lak-aw-mak |
| Pound (to) .. .. | .. Maw-toi (Ka-oi) |

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| English | Salon |
|---|---|
| Prawn | Kaw-dang |
| Price | Laka |
| Pulsate | Pik |
| Quickly | Pana |
| Rain | Kujan |
| Reason | Anawng |
| Receive (to) | Lap |
| Red | Me-la |
| Residence | Punga |
| Rest (to) | M'ping |
| Return (to) | Balay |
| Rice (cooked) | Chon |
| Rice (raw) | P'lah |
| Rise (up) | L'bet |
| River | Menam |
| Road | Jalan |
| Rock | Ba-twe |
| Roof | Kajang |
| Rudder | Ch'koot |
| Run | Kaboot (N'boot) |
| Rupee | Acha |
| Sail | Laiyar |
| Salt | Ch'la |
| Sand | K'nai |
| Sandbank | Bh-hun |
| Sandfly | Nyamok |
| Sandy bay | Pah-nat |
| Sea | Pooga-t'aw |
| Sea (full of Islands) | Kawbung |
| Sea (open) | Klun |
| Search | Makow |
| Sea-slug | Ge-chi |
| Sea (strait) | T'ow |
| See (to) | P'nat |
| Seize (to) | Mu'ngap |
| Sell | Loo-phooi |
| Separate | Aching |
| Seven | Loojoo |
| Shadow | Theka-tong |
| Shallow | K'te |
| Shed (temporary) | Bagan |
| Sheep | Ba-ah |
| Shell | Law-moot |
| Shelter | Bagan |
| Siamese | Shem |
| Sick | Maket |
| Silver | N'gin |
| Similar | Ma-em-ploom |

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| English | Salon |
|---|---|
| Sing .. .. .. | Ji-ne |
| Single .. .. .. | Abaw (lam) |
| Sir .. .. .. .. | Micha |
| Sister .. .. .. | Lua |
| Sister (elder) .. .. .. | Aka-binai |
| Sister (younger) .. .. .. | Uui-binai |
| Sit .. .. .. .. | M'dawk |
| Six .. .. .. .. | Anam |
| Sky .. .. .. .. | Kamein |
| Sky (clear) .. .. .. | J'nge |
| Sleep .. .. .. | Me-roon |
| Slightly .. .. .. | Chio |
| Small .. .. .. | Nek |
| Smoke .. .. .. | Ka-hoi |
| Snake .. .. .. | Awlan |
| Son .. .. .. .. | Anak-kanai (Annan) |
| Son-in-law .. .. .. | Nyatoi-kanai |
| Soon .. .. .. .. | We-wai |
| Sorry .. .. .. | Ka-thai (Ch' nok ha) |
| South .. .. .. | Paiza |
| Span .. .. .. .. | Ch'gam |
| Speak .. .. .. | M'kao |
| Spirit (ghost) .. .. .. | N'law kahtoi |
| Spirit (shadow) .. .. .. | Theka-tong |
| Stand .. .. .. | Y'nan |
| Stars .. .. .. | Bitua |
| Stomach .. .. .. | Klan |
| Strengthen .. .. .. | Tanga |
| Stretch (both arms) .. .. | Adapa |
| Strike .. .. .. | M'lon |
| Sun .. .. .. .. | Plang |
| Sun's heat .. .. .. | Kawlat |
| Sunrise .. .. .. | Mata-aloi-l'bet |
| Sunset .. .. .. | Mata-aloi-nama-dalam |
| Swim .. .. .. | Man-'ngoi |
| Talk .. .. .. .. | K'lao (m'kao) |
| Teeth .. .. .. | Lepan |
| Ten .. .. .. .. | Ch'paw |
| Thatch .. .. .. | Don-ch'lah |
| Theft .. .. .. | Me-sha-gillat |
| There .. .. .. | Idi |
| Thick .. .. .. | Tiban |
| This .. .. .. .. | Ini |
| Thither .. .. .. | Idi (Idop) |
| Thoroughly .. .. .. | Machut |
| Three .. .. .. | T'loi |
| Thunder .. .. .. | T'goon |

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| English | Salon |
|---|---|
| Tical (weight) .. .. .. | Pawt |
| Ticals 50 ($\frac{1}{2}$ viss) .. .. | Bicha-aking |
| Tide (ebb) .. .. .. | Awin-akhoon |
| Tide (flood) .. .. .. | Awin m'je |
| Tiger .. .. .. | P'noo |
| To .. .. .. .. | Ti |
| Today .. .. .. | In-aloi |
| Tomorrow .. .. .. | Chi-chaw |
| Tongue .. .. .. | Klaik |
| Topsail .. .. .. | Laiyar-kamein |
| Totempole .. .. .. | Katoi-ka-eh |
| Tree .. .. .. .. | Kai-eh |
| Tremble .. .. .. | Guching |
| Trousers .. .. .. | Kha-ke-in |
| Twelve .. .. .. | Ch'paw dua |
| Twenty .. .. .. | Twaplaw |
| Two .. .. .. .. | Dua |
| Uncle (elder) .. .. .. | Tawha-kanai |
| Uncle (general) .. .. .. | Kamon |
| Uncle (younger) .. .. .. | Nyi-kanai |
| Understood .. .. .. | Chang |
| Up .. .. .. .. | Dauni |
| Us .. .. .. .. | Kamo-i |
| Very .. .. .. .. | Makeng |
| Viss .. .. .. .. | Bicha |
| Viss-half .. .. .. | Bicha-aking |
| Vomit .. .. .. | Naw-tak |
| Wait .. .. .. .. | Na-the-ang |
| Water (fresh) .. .. .. | Awin |
| Water (salt) .. .. .. | Awin-khen |
| We .. .. .. .. | Kamo-i |
| Weak .. .. .. | To-n'goha |
| Well .. .. .. .. | Badan |
| Well of water .. .. .. | Awin baw |
| West .. .. .. .. | Balat |
| What .. .. .. | Sipan, Hanong, Toom, bah |
| Where .. .. .. | Bitam, Mana |
| White .. .. .. | Paw-the-ak, Pyu |
| Who .. .. .. .. | Asao |
| Wife .. .. .. .. | P'lao, Binai |
| Wife (elder brother's) .. .. | Lua |
| Wife (second small) .. .. | Binai-nek |
| Wife (younger brother's) .. .. | Ipan binai |
| Wind .. .. .. | Angin |
| Witch doctor .. .. .. | Micha-blen |
| Woman .. .. .. | Binai |
| Yes .. .. .. .. | Toko |

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| English | Salon |
|---|---|
| Yesterday .. .. | .. Bubut |
| You .. .. .. | .. Bieng, Ka-yeh |
| Young .. .. | .. Boojang |
| Younger .. .. | .. Uui |
| Your own .. .. | .. Eng-ka |

## (B) Salon-English Vocabulary.

### Numerals

| Salon | English | Salon | English |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aboolat | 1 | Dua | 2 |
| Allatao | 100 | Lema | 5 |
| Allatao chi | 101 | Lemaplaw | 50 |
| Allatao ch'paw | 110 | Loojoo | 7 |
| Allatao lema | 105 | Loojooplaw | 70 |
| Allatao lemaplaw | 150 | Pat | 4 |
| Anam | 6 | Patplaw | 40 |
| Anamplaw | 60 | Shewai | 9 |
| Ch'paw | 10 | Shewaiplaw | 90 |
| Ch'paw anam | 16 | T'loi | 3 |
| Ch'paw chi | 11 | T'loi plaw | 30 |
| Ch'paw dua | 12 | T'loiplaw lema | 35 |
| Ch'paw lema | 15 | Twaplaw | 20 |
| Ch'paw loojoo | 17 | Twaplaw chi | 21 |
| Ch'paw pat | 14 | Twaplaw lema | 25 |
| Ch'paw shewai | 19 | Wele | 8 |
| Ch'paw t'loi | 13 | Weleplaw | 80 |
| Ch'paw wele | 18 | | |

### Words

| Mawkhen | Inglit | Mawkhen | Inglit |
|---|---|---|---|
| A-Twot-ha | Never mind | Aka | Elder (older) |
| Abaw | One (single) | Aka-binai | Elder sister |
| Aboolat | One (numeral) | Aka-Kanai | Elder brother |
| Acha | Rupee (coin) | Allatao | One hundred |
| Aching | Separate | Aloi | Day |
| Achok | Two annas | Amon | Good |
| Ada | Big | Anak | Child |
| Adapa | Stretch (both arms) | Anak-binai | Daughter |
| | | Anak-Kanai | Son |
| Adat | Duck | Anam | Six |
| Adut | Bad | Angin | Wind |
| Ah | Crow (bird) | Annan | Son |
| Ahat | Forearm | Aokan | Mouth |
| Ahong | Pice (coin) | Aolan | He |

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| Mawkhen | Inglit |
|---|---|
| Apin | Four annas |
| Apoi | Fire |
| Apong | Father |
| Asao | Who |
| Aw | A bay |
| Awin | Water |
| Awin-akhoon | Tide (ebb) |
| Awin-baw | A well (of water) |
| Awin-khen | Salt water |
| Awin-m'je | Tide (flood) |
| Awkhen | Sea (open sea) |
| Awlan | Snake |
| Awma | House |
| Awtak | Head |
| Ba-ah | Sheep |
| Ba-chang | N'gapi (dried fish) |
| Ba-chung | Depart |
| Ba-gan | Temporary shed |
| Bah | What |
| Bahun | Sandbank |
| Baji | Coat |
| Bak | Draw (pull up) |
| Balat | West |
| Balé | Return |
| Ba-twe | Rock |
| Ba-twe-lipwi | Flint |
| Baw | Well (hole) |
| Bawa | Bring |
| B'chœ | Iron |
| Be-booi | Pig |
| Be-tak | Malay |
| Bi-ai | Husband (eldest sister) |
| Bicha | Viss (a weight) |
| Bicha-aking | Half-a-viss |
| Bi-eng | You |
| Binai | Woman (wife) |
| Binai-nek | Wife (2nd or small) |
| Bitam | Where |
| Bitua | Stars |
| Boojhang | Young |
| Boolooe | Hair |
| Boolooe Ch'-maw | Beard |
| Buat | Make |
| Bubut | Yesterday |
| Bubut-achan | Day prior to the day before yesterday |
| Bubut che | Day before yesterday |
| Bula | Must |
| Bulan | Moon |
| Chabut | Extract |
| Chaika | Miserable |
| Chanat | Children (youngsters) |
| Chang | Understand |
| Chapan | Boat (small) |
| Chayth | Basket |
| Ch'gam | A span |
| Ch'koot | Rudder |
| Ch'la | Salt |
| Ch'nok | Pleasure |
| Ch'nok ha | Sorry |
| Ch'paw | Ten |
| Ch'paw chi | Eleven |
| Ch'paw dua | Twelve |
| Chi | I (me) |
| Chichaw | Tomorrow |
| Chichaw Achan | Day after the day after tomorrow |
| Chichaw che | Day after tomorrow |
| Chichom | Bird |
| Chin | Chinese |
| Chio | Slightly |
| Chocho binai | Grand-daughter |
| Chocho kanai | Grandson |
| Chon | Rice (cooked) |
| Chwat | Cloth |
| Dadu | Chest |
| Dah-kang | Branch |
| Dalam | Deep |
| Dauni | Up |
| Datah | Above (high) |
| Deta | Long |
| D'hawk | Fall, Fell, To |
| D'man | Glad |
| Don-ch'lah | Thatch |

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| Mawkhen | Inglit |
|---|---|
| Dua | Two |
| Ehak | Oyster |
| Eh | Oh |
| Ekan | Fish |
| Elap | Liquor |
| Eng-ka | Belong (your own) |
| Enong | Mother |
| Gaja | Elephant |
| Ge-chi | Sea-slug |
| Gu-ching | Tremble |
| Ha | No ! Not |
| Hanong | What |
| Hti-ni | Here |
| Hymyaw Net | Beche-de-mer black |
| Hymyaw Ni | do red |
| Hymyaw Pashu | do Malay |
| Hymyaw Pyu | do white |
| Ibap | Grandfather |
| Ibum | Grandmother |
| Idi | Thither (there) |
| Idop | There |
| In-aloi | To-day |
| Inglit | European (English) |
| Ini | This |
| Ipan-binai | Wife (young brother's) |
| Ipan-Kanai | Husband (young sister's) |
| Iri | Here |
| Ja | Friend |
| Jalan | Road |
| Jali | Arm |
| Je | Bazaar (market) |
| Ji-ne | Sing |
| J'lem | Pearl |
| J'nge | Sky (clear of cloud) |
| Kabang | Boat |
| Kabang-Lam | Boat, (a particular) |
| Kaboh-eh | Ashes |
| Kaboot | Run |
| Kache | Handcuff |
| Kahlam | Founder (to) |
| Kahoi | Smoke |
| Kah-Tai | Mind |
| Kai-eh | Tree |
| Kaiza | Alligator |
| Kajang | Roof |
| Kakai | Foot (a) |
| Kakun | Grace |
| Kaman | Night |
| Kamein | Sky (Genl.-term) |
| Kamoi | Our-us-we |
| Kamon | Uncle (Genl.-term) |
| Kanai | Husband |
| Kañe | You |
| Kahohi | Pound, to, |
| Ka-oon | Bamboo |
| Ka-pein | High |
| Kappa | Axe |
| Kathai | Sorry |
| Katai-han | Brave |
| Katoi-ka | Finished |
| Katoi-kaeh | Totem-pole |
| Kawbung | Sea full of islands |
| Kawdang | Prawn |
| Kawlat | Hot (heat of sun) |
| Kawman Binai | Niece |
| Kawman Kanai | Nephew |
| Kawtan | Jungle Forest |
| Kawton | Blind |
| Kawton-lak | Gaff-boom |
| Ke-ko-e | Finger-nail |
| Khakein | Trousers |
| Kitam | Black |
| K'la | Monkey |
| Klaik | Tongue |
| Klan | Belly |
| Klao | To talk |
| Klawn | Hungry |
| Kle | Lip |

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| Mawkhen | Inglit |
|---|---|
| Klun | Sea (open) ocean |
| Knai | Sand |
| Knup | Finger-joint |
| Koo-lah | Indian (Hindi) |
| Koophai | Gun |
| K'te | Shallow |
| Kū | And |
| Kujan | Rain |
| Labaw | Anchor |
| Lagang | Loongi (loin cloth) |
| Laiyar | Sail, A |
| Laiyar-ada | Mainsail |
| Laiyar-kamein | Topsail |
| Laiyar-mata | Jibsail |
| Laiyar-nek | Mizzen sail |
| Laka | Cost-price |
| Lakaw | Go |
| Lakaw-mak | A post (of wood) |
| Lakeh | Abdomen |
| Lalai | Fly (to) |
| Lam | Single |
| Langkap | Catch |
| Lap | Receive (to) |
| Law-moot | Shell |
| Law-sat | Deer |
| Lay-ahk | Love |
| L'bet | Rise, raise |
| L'boo | Below |
| Lema | Five |
| Le-o-kah | Finished |
| Lepan | Teeth |
| L'gom | Oar |
| L'maw | Drown (to) |
| L'mu | Cow |
| Longka | Forget |
| Loojoo | Seven |
| Loophoo | Sell |
| Lua | Wife (elder brother's) |
| Lu-ah | Sister |
| Ma | Horse |
| Ma-chut | Thoroughly |
| Madok-kache | Handcuff, to |
| Ma-em-ploom | Similar |
| Main awin | Bathe |
| Makai | Abuse |
| Makan | Eat |
| Makeng | Very |
| Maket | Pain, sick |
| Makow | Search |
| M'am | Drink |
| Mana | Where |
| Ma-nam | Bury |
| Man'ngoi | Swim |
| Manok | Fowl |
| Manok-ga-oh | Cock |
| Manoot | Man |
| Mas | Gold |
| Mata | Eye |
| Mata-aloi-l'bet | Sunrise |
| Mata-aloi-nama-dalam | Sunset |
| Matai | Dead |
| Mawkot | Bite |
| Mawtoi | Pound (to) |
| M'dawk | Sit |
| Me-aoh | Cat |
| Mecha-adoo | Bad |
| Meh | Daughter |
| Me-la | Red |
| Me-nam | River |
| Me-roon | Sleep |
| Me-sha-gil-lat | Theft |
| Me-tin | Finger |
| Micha | Sir |
| Micha-ada | Headman, chief |
| Micha-blen | Witch Doctor |
| M'kao | Speak |
| M'lan | Strike |
| M'lit | Mergui |
| M'loi | East |
| M'lon | Beat |
| M'ngai | Cry |
| M'nyam | Eat |
| M'nyein | Fire a gun |
| M'on | Give |
| M'ping | Rest |
| M'top | Fight |
| Mu'ngap | Seize |

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| Mawkhen | Inglit |
|---|---|
| Na | Is, are |
| Na-em-binai | Marriage |
| Nakoot | Afraid |
| Nanook | Nest |
| Nanwa | Laugh |
| Nanyan | Name |
| Narin | Come |
| Na-the-ang | Wait |
| Nawla | Free |
| Nawtak | Vomit |
| N'boot | Run |
| Nek | Small |
| Net | Black |
| N'ga-haung | Call |
| N'gin | Silver |
| Ni | Red |
| N'la katoi | Devil |
| N'lawk | Mud |
| N'law kahtoi | Spirit, ghost |
| N'ngan | Hand |
| Nyamok | Sandfly, mosquito |
| Nyatoi binai | Daughter-in-law |
| Nyatoi kanai | Son-in-law |
| Nyi kanai | Uncle (younger) |
| Nynon | Coconut |
| Ochan | Green Snail No.1 |
| Ochaw | Green Snail No.2 |
| Oi | Dog |
| Oo-ah | Aunt (Genl.-term) |
| Otan | Possess |
| Padang | Dao (jungle knife) |
| Pahnat | Sandy-bay |
| Pai | Paddy |
| Paiza | South |
| Pana | Quickly |
| Pashu | Malay (trade term) |
| Pat | Four |
| Pawlaw | Island |
| Pawt | Tical (weight) |
| Paw-tao | Old |
| Paw-the-ak | White (colour) |
| Peku | Great |
| Peku-lak | Mainboom |
| Pet | Dao (small knife) |
| Pey | Goat |
| Pik | Pulsate |
| P'lah | Rice (raw) |
| Plang | Sun |
| Plao | Wife |
| Plep | Lightning |
| P'nat | See |
| P'noo | Tiger |
| Pong | Nest |
| Ponga-taw | Sea |
| Punga | Residence |
| P'wa | Paddle |
| Pyu | White (trade term) |
| Shem | Siamese |
| She-wai | Nine |
| Sipan | What |
| Tali-eng | North |
| Tanak | Land |
| Ta-na-o | Burman |
| Tanga | Strengthen |
| Tangu | Get up |
| Tawa-binai | Aunt (elder) |
| Tawha-kanai | Uncle (elder) |
| Tawka-binai | Mother-in-law |
| Tawka-kanai | Father-in-law |
| Tawkaw | Certainly |
| Tawlawng | Help |
| T'ban | Thick |
| Tekan | Mat |
| Te'nga | Ear |
| T'nga na-i-en | Hear |
| T'goon | Thunder |
| The-e | Anna (coin) |
| Theka-tong | Spirit, shadow |
| Thida | God |
| Ti | To |
| Ti-hang | Mast |
| Ti-hang-ada | Main-mast |
| Ti-hang-nek | Mizzen-mast |
| T'loi | Three |
| Toom | How much (what price) |

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| Mawkhen | Inglit | Mawkhen | Inglit |
|---|---|---|---|
| To-n'goha | Weak | Wa-binai | Aunt (younger) |
| To-oong | Firewood | We-le | Eight |
| T'ow | Strait (sea) | We-wai | Soon |
| Uui | Younger | Ya-phen | Opium |
| Uui-binai | Younger-sister | Y'nan | Stand |
| | | Yong | Nose |
| Uui-Kanai | Younger-brother | Yong-lak | Jib-boom |

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# Yano Dafla Grammar and Vocabulary.

By N. L. Bor.

## INTRODUCTION.

The Daflas, or Bengni as they term themselves, occupy the mountainous region lying between the Bhorelli river on the west and the Subansiwi on the east, north of the districts of Darrang and Lakhimpur in Assam. Roughly speaking if the area be divided into two halves the western half is inhabited by the Yano Daflas and the eastern by the Tagen.

The Yano Daflas have little to do with the Akas and other hill tribes west of the Bhorelli, but to the east the Tagen are in contact with the Apa Tanang and Hill Miris.

To hear the two dialects of Dafla, Yano and Tagen, spoken, one would think that they were entirely different languages but when written down the relationship shows clearly. There is a certain difference in vocabulary but the difference lies mainly in pronunciation. This is due to the tendency of the Tagen Dafla to clip his syllables and elide vowels; and also to the substitution of 'kh' for the Yano 'f'. These tend to make the language staccato and guttural. The dialect can, however, be easily acquired by anyone who has first learnt Yano.

It is hoped that this grammar of Yano Dafla will enable future Political Officers of the Balipara Frontier Tract to become acquainted with a tribe whose manners and customs are not one whit less interesting than those of the better known Naga.

The Dafla is a truculent and suspicious individual but his confidence is readily given to one who can speak to him in his own language rather than through the medium of an interpreter.

My grateful thanks are due to Srijut Dwarika Nath Das, Superintendent of the Political Office, B.F.T., himself a Dafla scholar, who typed out the whole of the manuscript.

N. L. Bor.



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## THE ALPHABET.

### CONSONANTS.

(*a*) SIMPLE.

*B* as in English.
*D* Do.
*F* Do.
*G* always hard as in 'get', when preceded by 'n' in 'ng' the two are sounded as 'ng' in 'ringer'.
*H* as in 'hot'.
*J* as in 'joy'.
*K* as in English.
*M* Do.
*N* Do.
*P* Do.
*R* as in 'raw', 'rr' as in 'carry'.
*S* is always sibilant.
*T* as in Hindustani.
*V* as in English.
*W* Do.
*Y* as in 'yes', is always consonantal.

(*b*) ASPIRATED.

*Ch* as in 'church'.
*Kh* as in 'funk-hole'.
*Kh* very guttural, rare in Yano, but quite common in Tagen Dafla.
*Ph* as in 'tap-house', never 'f'.
*Sh* as in 'shall'.
*Th* as in 'pothouse'.
*Zh* French 'j'.

### VOWELS.

*A* may be long or short.
*Â* as in 'aw' in 'raw'.
*É* long as in 'été'.
*E* short as in 'pet'
*È* grave in French 'è'.
*I* short as in 'fit,' 'pit'.
*O* long or short, 'go' and 'got'.
*Ö* German 'ö'.
*U* long.
*Ü* French 'u', German 'ü'.

For the sake of euphony 'k' is changed to 'g' before a vowel. 'k' is dropped before 'p', 'm' and 't' and its place is indicated

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by a very definite glottal stop. Similarly 'g' is dropped before 'n'.

EXAMPLES.

*örök* nominative, *örögem* accusative.
*binlak*, but *binla'mâ, binla'to, binla'pa.*
*pagnè* pronounced *pa'nè.*

## NOUNS.

In the case of human beings sex is denoted (*a*) by the use of different words or (*b*) by adding '*nyega*' = 'male' or '*nyèmè*' = 'female' to the word.

EXAMPLES (*a*).

| Masculine. | Feminine. |
|---|---|
| *abo* = father. | *annè* = mother. |
| *abung* = brother elder. | *amè* = sister elder. |
| *buro* = brother younger. | *börrmè* = sister younger. |
| *nyakum* = old man. | *fungo* = old woman. |
| *yapa* = young man. | *nyemöm* = young woman. |
| *nyera* = male slave. | *pagnè* = female slave. |
| *tombo* = bachelor. | *fungmé* = spinster. |

EXAMPLES (*b*).

*nyega kao* = son. *nyemè kao* = daughter.

In the case of animals gender is indicated by the reduplication of the last syllable of the word and the addition of '*bo*', '*po*' in the case of the male and '*nè*' in that of the female. '*bo*' equals '*abo*' and '*nè*' obviously equals '*annè*' so that a 'bitch', '*iki kinè*', means 'dog dog's mother' and so on.

EXAMPLES.

| Masculine. | Feminine. |
|---|---|
| *sera rapo* = wild pig. | *sera ranè.* |
| *erek rekpo* = tame pig. | *erek regnè.* |
| *sebbe subo* = mithun. | *sebbe sennè.* |
| *iki kibo* = dog. | *iki kinè.* |
| *setöm tömbo* = bear. | *setöm tömnè.* |
| *sabin binbo* = goat. | *sabin binnè.* |
| *pörök rokpo* = fowl. | *pörök rognè.* |
| *södöm dömpo* = deer. | *södöm dömnè.* |
| *sachörr chörrbo* = sambar. | *sachörr chörrnè.* |

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When asking the sex of animals the plain '*nyega*' = male and '*nyemè*' = female are always used.

Is your dog a bitch ?
*Nâ ikiè nyèmè mâre* ?

## NUMBER.

The plural of nouns is formed by adding '*pam*', but this is very rarely used and is always dropped when the sense is apparent.

### Examples.

Whose children are these ?
*Sa hümeipamsi hiega* ? (*hümei*, child).

Did you see the men ?
*No bengni kâpâpanna* ?

## CASE.

(*a*) *Nominative.*—All nouns in the nominative case are distinguished by the addition of '*è*'.

### Examples.

The saheb came to see our village.
*Saheb***è** *ngoluga nampömem kânadebo chapena.*

The men ran away.
*Bengni***è** *kinéba.*

My wife gave food.
*Ngâ nyefung***è** *appinem bhipena.*

(*b*) *Accusative.*—The case is indicated by the addition of '*em*' or '*ne*' to the noun qualified.

Bulu killed a man.
*Buluè bengni***em** *mingpanna.*

He beat the dog.
*Aè iki***em** *jengpana.*

He ate his food.
*Aè maiga appin***em** *dopanna.*

Whom are you complaining against ?
*Hi***ene** *sardonna* ?

I called Gumno.
*Gumno***ne** *gâkpanna.*

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(*c*) *Genitive.*—To indicate the genitive '*ga*' is suffixed to the noun.

He cut off Bulu's hand.
*Bulu***ga** *lakem paritpanna.*

He stole Tajem's dao.
*Aè Tajem***ga** *örögem dutchâpanna.*

But, the '*ga*' is often omitted when there is no possibility of error.

He ate birds' eggs.
*Pörrök püpü dopanna.*

He ate pig flesh.
*Aè erek'sodin dopanna.*

He stole Tayo's money.
*Tayo'tangkem dutchâpanna.*

(*d*) *Dative.*—Same as for the accusative.

EXAMPLES.

Give it to your wife.
*Nyefung***em** *bhito.*

Tell it to your husband.
*Nyelo***em** *bintumto.*

(*e*) *Ablative.*—'From' is indicated by suffixing '*gam*' to the noun, or by suffixing this particle to the locative case (see below).

He drew his dao from the scabbard.
*Aè örögem sabok***gam** *selinpaku.*

'With' meaning 'to accompany' is translated by '*legabo*' and the corresponding particle '*ba*' must be added to the verb.

EXAMPLE.

I will go with him to the village.
*Ngo allâ* **legabo** *nampömbo cha***ba***tare.*

(*f*) *Locative.*—The position of all articles and places varies with the speaker's position relative to the Dafla Hills. '*tè*' is the particle indicating the locative, when the place is north of the speaker, '*bè*' means further to the south. The location close at hand is indicated by '*a*' or '*allo*'.

EXAMPLES.

He is staying at Pigerong. (Speaker in plains.)
*Ae Pigerong***tè** *dopa.*

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He is staying at Pigerong. (Speaker north of Pigerong.)
*Ae Pigerong***bè** *dopa.*

He is at Lokra. (Speaker at Tezpur.)
*Ae Lokra***tè** *dosu.*

He is at Tezpur. (Speaker at Lokra.)
*Ae Tezpur***bè** *dopa.*

It is in a box.
*Pira* **allo** *dopa.*

He is in his house.
*Ogu***a** *dosu.*

'Up there' and 'down there' are translated '*tèllâ*' and '*bèllâ*' respectively.

'From down there' and 'from up there' are *bèllâga(m)* and *tèllagâ(m)*.

I have come (to Lokra) from Tezpur.
*Ngo Tezpur bèllâga(m) chaékuna.*

I have come from Lokra (to Tezpur).
*Ngo Lokra tèllâga(m) iékuna.*

## ADJECTIVES.

Adjectives end in '*na*' and can be formed from verbal roots by the addition of this particle, e.g.

| Verbal root. | Adjective. |
|---|---|
| *min*, ripen. | *minna*, ripe. |
| *do*, eat. | *dona*, eaten. |

The adjective always follows the noun it qualifies and takes the case endings if any.

I saw a good man.
*Ngo bengni alena(e)m kâpâpana.*

The following are the usual degrees of comparison.

| | Comparative. | Superlative. |
|---|---|---|
| *alena*, good. | *aleyâ*, better. | *aleyâjija*, best. |
| *lakena*, big. | *lakeyâ*, bigger. | *lakeyâjija*, biggest. |

In comparative sentences the noun compared is placed in the accusative case and the comparative form of the adjective is used.

### EXAMPLES.

My dao is better than yours.
*Ngâ örögè nâ örögem aleyâpa.*

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His wife is better than Bulu's.
*Allâ nyefungè Buluga nyefungem aleyâpa.*

My son is taller than yours.
*Ngâ kao nâ kaoem lakeyâpa.*

Best of all, biggest of all, etc. are turned as follows:—
*Melengga bhitersâ aleyâpa*, i.e. among them all he is the best.

The way in which 'large' and 'small' are expressed in Dafla is peculiar. If it is desired to say a large cow, a large tiger or a large pig, the particle '*tè*' is suffixed to the generic prefixes peculiar to the noun (see below).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A large cow | .. | *se dartè.* |
| A large tiger | .. | *senyo dartè.* |
| A large necklace | .. | *tasseng sâtè.* |
| A big egg | .. | *püpü pütè.* |
| A big river | .. | *sâbung bungtè.* |

Similarly with *inchung* 'little'—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A small house | .. | *ogu pingchung.* |
| Little eggs | .. | *püpü püchung.* |

When numericals are used the generic prefix is added to adjective and numerical, as follows:—

Give him three large cloths.
*Am edji rumtè ruumgo bhito.*

I saw three large tigers.
*Ngo senyo dartè darumgo kâpâpana.*

## NUMERICAL ADJECTIVES.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | .. | *akhin.* | 20 | .. | *chamnyi.* |
| 2 | .. | *anyi.* | 21 | .. | *chamnyi akhin.* |
| 3 | .. | *um.* | 30 | .. | *chaam.* |
| 4 | .. | *appi, apli.* | 40 | .. | *champi.* |
| 5 | .. | *ango.* | 50 | .. | *chango.* |
| 6 | .. | *akke.* | 60 | .. | *chamke.* |
| 7 | .. | *kani.* | 70 | .. | *chamkanni.* |
| 8 | .. | *plönö.* | 80 | .. | *champlönö.* |
| 9 | .. | *kayo.* | 90 | .. | *chamkayo.* |
| 10 | .. | *rengcheng.* | 100 | .. | *lenggo.* |
| 11 | .. | *chamla akhin.* | 200 | .. | *lengnyi.* |
| 12 | .. | *chamla anyi.* | 1000 | .. | *lengrengcheng.* |
| 13 | .. | *chamla um.* | | | |

These numerical adjectives always follow the noun and are preceded by a generic prefix which denotes what kind or class the article belongs to. There are many of these particles and a list of the commonest is given here.

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *bar* | .. | rupees, flowers. |
| *dar* | .. | larger animals, buffaloes, cattle, deer, etc. |
| *pü* | .. | round articles like eggs, deoghantis. |
| *pâ* | .. | logs, trees, saplings, posts, etc. |
| *sâ* | .. | long thin things, cane, necklaces. |
| *pam* | .. | villages. |
| *ping* | .. | houses. |
| *tak* | .. | flat things, plates, planks, mats, etc. |
| *cherr* | .. | small round things, beeds, teeth, eyes. |
| *bla* | .. | roads. |
| *bung* | .. | rivers. |
| *ram* | .. | fires (hearths). |
| *rum* | .. | cloth. |
| *pâ* | .. | smaller animals such as otters, squirrels, dead pigs, etc. |
| *le* | .. | lorum,—the cane band worn on the leg by Daflas. |
| *pè* | .. | handful. |
| *yöm* | .. | fistful. |
| *ne* | .. | trees. |
| *da* | .. | daos, spoons, knives, etc. |

And many others.

EXAMPLES.

Give him as compensation two necklaces, three mithun, one dead pig, two daos, and a cloth.

*Pafé gabo am tasseng* **sâ***nyigo*, *sebbe* **dar***umgo*, *regmâ* **pâ***go*, *örök* **da***nyigo*, *edji* **rum***go bhito*.

It will be observed that the numerical is always followed by a particle '*go*'. This is never omitted.

'Two round things' is '*pünyigo*'.
'Three long things' is '*sâumgo*'.
'Four animals' is '*darpigo*'.

In the case of number 'one', '*akhin*', the number itself is often dropped, as

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| One mithun | .. | *sebbe dargo* instead of *sebbe darkhingo* |
| One necklace | .. | *tasseng sâgo* |
| One dao | .. | *örök dago* |

and so on.

For numbers above ten the generic prefix is placed before the second number and is dropped before the multiples of ten.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| I gave him twelve mithun | | *ngo am sebbe chamla* **dar***nyigo bhipena*. |
| Thirty-two rupees | .. | *tanka chaam* **bar***nyigo*. |
| Ten eggs .. | .. | *püpü chamgo*. |

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## ORDINALS.

There are no ordinals in Dafla.

## ADVERBS.

Adverbs are formed from adjectives by replacing '*na*' by '*bo*' and from nouns by simply adding '*bo*'.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *amena* | false. | *amebo* | falsely. |
| *alena* | good. | *alebo* | well. |
| *tatèk* | toad. | *tatèkbo* | toadlike. |

## PRONOUNS.

### Personal Pronouns.

*Singular.*

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nom. .. | *ngo* | I. | *no* | thou. | *a* | he. |
| Acc. and Dat. | *ngöm* | me. | *nöm* | thee. | *am* | him. |
| Gen. .. | *ngâ* | mine. | *nâ* | thine. | *allâ* | his. |
| Abl. .. | *ngâgala* | from me. | *nâgala* | from thee. | *allâ gala* | from him |

*Plural.*

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nom. .. | *ngolu* | we. | *nolu* | you. | *allâ kadie* | they. |
| Acc. and Dat. | *ngolum* | us. | *nolum* | you. | *allâ kadiem* | them. |
| Gen. .. | *ngoluga* | our. | *noluga* | your. | *allâ kadiga* | their. |
| Abl. .. | *ngolu-gala* | from us. | *nolu-gala* | from you. | *allâ kadigala* | from them. |

### Reflexive Pronouns.

The word '*mai*' expresses the idea of self, e.g.

I myself will go .. *ngo mai chatare* or *chasutare*.

The reflexive particle '*su*' in the verb is however far more commonly used.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Who did this work? | .. | *hie söm repanna?* |
| I myself did it | .. | *ngo re**su**panna.* |
| Don't blether, do something yourself. | | *jabbio, kam mego mego re**su**to.* |

### Relative Pronouns.

There are no relative pronouns in Dafla corresponding to the English who, which, what, etc.; relative participles are always used.

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| | |
|---|---|
| The man who fled .. | *kitna bengni* or the 'run-away man'. |
| I cannot take a dao which has killed a man | *ngo bengniem pananönna örögem nârem.* |
| He killed all those who were in the house. | *ogua dona meleng bengniem mingpaku.* |

'The place where' is expressed by suffixing '*ku*' to the root.

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't spit in front of me .. | *ngâ dungkuallo* (sitting place in) *tachörr cheflayo.* |
| The place where they get poison. | *umnoem nâku* (poison taking place). |

'The day on which' is expressed by adding '*diü*' or '*dium*' to the verbal root.

| | |
|---|---|
| The day on which I returned | *engkerrdiü.* |
| When I go to the hills .. | *nesengrengbo chadiü.* |
| The child will be born shortly | *kao bengdiü wâreku* (child-bearing day is about to come). |

RELATIVE CLAUSES.

The sentence must always be turned as in the following example :—

When you go there tell him to come.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *No* | *tèllabo* | *guitokulâ* | *sâbo* | *idebo* | *bintumto.* |
| you | there | having gone | hither | to come | say. |

## INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

'Who' is translated by '*hie*', which is declined as follows:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nom. .. | .. | *hie* | who. |
| Acc. and Dat. | .. | *hiene, hiem* | whom. |
| Gen. .. | .. | *hiega* | whose. |
| Abl. .. | .. | *hiegala* | from whom. |

What ? = *hogu* ?
What are you doing ?
*No hogu resudonna* ?

'How much ?' or 'how many ?' The general word used is '*hedigo*' and will be understood by all. It is however more elegant to use the generic prefix followed by '*kugo*', viz.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| How many cloths ? | .. | *edji rumkugo* ? |
| How many months ? | .. | *pâlo barkugo* ? |
| How many eggs ? | .. | *püpü pükugo* ? |
| How many daos ? | .. | *örök dakugo* ? |
| How many cows ? | .. | *sè darkugo* ? |

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## DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

'*si*', this person or thing near at hand.
'*a*', that person or thing a little distance away.
'*tèsa*', that person or thing far off to the north.
'*bèsa*', that person or thing far off to the south.

All these are declined regularly.

What do you call this? .. *söm hogu bindonna?*
Chase that one away .. *tèsaem rökfato.*

'*si*' is often suffixed to the noun for emphasis.

Who the devil is this man?
*Sa bengni***si** *hie?*

## VERBS.

Verbs do not vary for gender, person or number. The verb substantive is '*pa*' in Yano and '*do*' in Tagen.

### Present Tense.

This tense is formed by adding '*pa*' to the root and '*mâ*' for the negative, e.g.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I see | *ngo kâpa.* | I do not see | *kâmâ.* |
| I eat | *ngo dopa.* | I do not eat | *domâ.* |
| I strike | *ngo jengpa.* | I do not strike | *jengmâ.* |
| I drink | *ngo tengpa.* | I do not drink | *tengmâ.* |

The PRESENT DEFINITE tense is formed by suffixing '*donna*' to the root and '*mâ*' for the negative.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I am going | *ngo guidonna.* | I am not going | *guimâ.* |
| I am sitting | *ngo dungdonna.* | I am not sitting | *dungmâ.* |
| He is whistling | *aè chuchudonna.* | He is not whistling | *chuchumâ.* |

### Future Tense.

This tense has as its most frequent suffix '*bo*', which is sometimes preceded by '*ne*'. What additional meaning this signifies I am unable to say and enquiries have not thrown any light upon it.

The negative suffix is '*rem*.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I shall go | *guibo* or *guinebo.* | I shall not go | *guirem.* |
| I shall come | *ungbo* or *ungnebo.* | I shall not come | *ungrem.* |

There are two emphatic forms of the future which suffix '*tobo*' and '*tarebo*' to the root.

Of course I shall take an oath. *ding***tobo.**
I shall certainly go to the hills. *nesengrengbo cha***tareku.**
I will kill him for certain .. *am ming***tabo.**

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The suffix for the future is sometimes added to that for the present tense. The effect of this is to defer the act of the future.

| | |
|---|---|
| If he sits here he will see the mithun (i.e. after some time when it comes). | *si dungbanung sebbem kapâ-pabo.* |

The negative of '*binbo*', 'will speak', is *bérem*, 'will not speak', instead of *binrem*. This is the Tagen negative future of this verb.

PAST TIME.

The usual suffixes are '*penna*', '*panna*', '*nékuba*', '*néba*', the latter when the action is more recent.

| | |
|---|---|
| He hit me .. | *ae ngöm jengpenna.* |
| Last year I went to Pigerong | *münyeng ngo Pigerongbo chapenna.* |
| He died in the hills .. | *nesengtè sipanna.* |

But—

| | |
|---|---|
| My father died yesterday .. | *ngâ aboè mülo sinékuba.* |
| I have just lost my mithun | *ngâ sebbe ninéba.* |
| Has he gone? Yes, just .. | *guipenare? Öm, guinékuba.* |

The negative suffix is *mâpanna*.

| | |
|---|---|
| He did not say it .. | *binmâpanna.* |
| He has not gone to the hills | *nesengrengbo chamâpanna.* |
| Did you steal it? No .. | *no söm dutchâpannare? Mâ, dutchâmâpanna.* |

PERMISSION.

The verb '*bhi*', 'give', is suffixed and takes the inflexion.

| | |
|---|---|
| I allowed him to speak .. | *ngo am bin bhipaku.* |
| He is permitted to take away the mithun. | *sebbem bobhipaku.* |

PRESENT INCHOATIVE.

Suffix '*re*' or '*de*' to the root.

| | |
|---|---|
| He is about to come .. | *ungreku.* |
| He is about to die .. | *sideku.* |
| She is about to have a child | *kao bengdiü wâreku.* |

The supine is formed by suffixing '*debo*' to the root. It denotes 'for the purpose of'.

| | |
|---|---|
| He came here to work .. | *aè sâbo kam redebo ungpanna.* |
| How much has he to give? .. | *hedigo bhidebo dopa?* |

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| | |
|---|---|
| He went to the village to kill Bulu. | *nampömbo Buluem ming***debo** *chapena.* |
| Send a man to call him .. | *am gâna***debo** *bengniem bilekto.* |

Occasionally the future in '*bo*' or '*tobo*' is used for the supine.

| | |
|---|---|
| I will go to the village to buy eggs. | *ngo nampömbo püpü rètobo chatare.* |
| He has gone to draw water | *ishi bungbo guinena.* |

PARTICIPLES.

Present adjectival participle is formed by adding '*na*' to the root '*mâna*' for negative.

| | |
|---|---|
| The man who goes .. | *guina bengni* ('going man'). |
| The man who drinks .. | *opâ tengna bengni.* |
| The man who does not drink | *opâ tengmâna bengni.* |

Conditional participle is denoted by '*banung*' suffixed to the root; negative '*mâbanung*'. The future conditional is expressed by adding '*renung*'; '*kum*' or '*kumne*' is often added for emphasis.

| | |
|---|---|
| If he sits here he will die .. | *si dung***banung** *sitareku.* |
| If you do not work I will beat you. | *no kam re***mâbanung** *nöm jengtobo.* |
| If he will come here I shall beat him. | *sâbo wâ***rènung** *jengtareku.* |
| If you go to war many will die. | *nyemok pa***renungkumne,** *arökpönggo sitareku.* |
| If you see a thief, kill him | *dutchânam kapâ***banung-kum,** *mingto.* |

PRESENT MODEL PARTICIPLE. Suffix '*kuna*' and the participle is often reduplicated.

| | |
|---|---|
| He went away weeping .. | *aè kap***kuna** *guineba.* |
| While running on the road he fell dead. | *lamtebo farr***kuna** *farr***kuna** *sinekuba.* |

PAST ADVERBIAL PARTICIPLE. Suffix '*tolâ*' or '*tokulâ*' to the root.

| | |
|---|---|
| Having eaten his food he got up. | *appinem do***tokulâ** *göröp-panna.* |
| Having killed him he cut off his hand. | *am ming***tokulâ,** *lakem paritpaku.* |

POTENTIAL PRESENT.

In the positive the word '*pare*' is used with the future '*bo*' form of the verb. The negative is formed by adding '*nyomâ*' to the root. I was sceptical about '*pare*' at first, since it is the

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Assamese method of indicating the potential but as far as my investigations go the word is used far within the hills.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| He can walk | .. .. | *lebo ungbo* **pare***pa.* |
| He cannot walk | .. .. | *lebo ung***nyomâ.** |
| He can fight | .. .. | *nyemok pabo* **pare***pa.* |
| He cannot fight | .. .. | *nyemok pa***nyomâ.** |

'Know how to' is expressed by compounding the verb '*chin*', 'know', to the root.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| He can play the flute | .. | *aè pongli mit***chin***pa.* |
| He can swim | .. .. | *ja***chin***pa.* |

POTENTIAL FUTURE.

Positive '*parebo*' and negative '*nyârem*'.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| He will be able to go | .. | *ungbo* **parebo.** |
| He will not be able to go | .. | *ung***nyârem.** |

DESIDERATIVE.

This is indicated by suffixing the particle '*nang*' which takes all inflexions.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| I want to see him | .. | *am kâ***nang***pa.* |
| I want to eat | .. .. | *ngo appinem do***nang***pa.* |
| I want to go | .. .. | *ngo ung***nang***pa.* |

'Not yet' is expressed by suffixing '*mâda*' to the root.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| He has not come yet | .. | *ung***mâda.** |
| He has not eaten yet | .. | *ae appinem do***mâda.** |

Causative verbs are followed by suffix '*töm*' or '*mo*' to the root.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| See | *kâto.* | Show | *kâtöm***to.** |
| Do | *reto.* | Make to do | *re***töm***to.* |
| Beat | *jengto.* | Cause to be beaten | *jeng***töm***to.* |
| Call | *koto.* | Cause to be called | *ko***möto.** |

Imperative is indicated by the suffix '*to*' for the positive and '*io*' for the negative or '*yo*' when the root ends in a vowel.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Beat | *jengto.* | Don't beat | *jengio.* |
| Do | *reto.* | Don't do | *reyo.* |
| Give | *bhito.* | Don't give | *bhiyo.* |
| Cut | *pato.* | Don't cut | *payo.* |

In the 3rd persons '*moto*' is suffixed to the root.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Let him die | .. .. | *simoto.* |
| Let him come here first | .. | *sâbo ungchâmoto.* |

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Irregular are—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *binto* | speak. | *beo* | don't speak. |
| *pinto* | cut cane. | *peo* | don't cut cane. |

*Emphasis* is indicated by infixing or suffixing the particle '*ku*'; the position changes for the sake of euphony as is shown by the following examples :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| He has sat down | .. | *dung***ku***panna.* |
| | | *dungpa***ku**. |
| He will sit down | .. | *dung***ku***bo.* |
| | | *dungtare***ku**. |
| Sit.. .. | .. | *dungto***ku**. |
| If he only sits .. | .. | *dung***ku***banung.* |

Compound Verbs.

Several verbal roots may be joined together to make one verb.

Examples.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *khelibobhito* | bring in exchange | (*kheli*, exchange; *bo*, lead; *bhi*, give). |
| *nâbhito* | take give | (*nâ*, take; *bhi*, give). |
| *tunglinto* | drag out | (*tung*, pull; *lin*, emerge). |
| *kolinto* | call out | (*ko*, call; *lin*, out). |

The use of particles for the purpose of modifying the meaning of a root is very common and is one of the principal difficulties of the language.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *châ* | first. | *jög* | suddenly. |
| *su* | self. | *nyök* | learn. |
| *gè*, *ba* | together with | *töp* | completion (in cutting). |
| *ra* | idea of remaining | *bâ* | over. |
| *tèrr*, *pâ* | idea of completion. | *lak* | expert. |
| *nya* | finished. | *tök*, *fung* | defiance, emphasis. |
| *pu* | by mistake. | *si* | secrecy. |
| *kèrr* | return. | *rit* | sever. |
| *jök* | wound. | *ki* | eye witness. |
| *ke* | kill. | *mung* | from place to place. |
| *flak* | miss. | *min* | in jest. |
| *din* | second-hand. | *lök* | inside. |
| | | *lo* | downwards. |

Examples.

1. *châ* = first.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| He came first | .. | *aè atokbo ung***châ***paku.* |
| He was the first to do it | .. | *aè söm re***châ***paku.* |

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2. *su* = self.

| | |
|---|---|
| I did it myself .. | *ngo söm re***su***paku.* |
| He is the man who hit him | *aè jeng***su***paku.* |

3. *gè, ba* = together with.

| | |
|---|---|
| We will go together .. | *ngolu lekinchengbo ung***ba***rabo.* |
| I will live with him .. | *allâ legala seng***ba***tare.* |
| I will keep it .. .. | *am do***gè***tare.* |
| I will bring him .. | *am ung***gè***tare.* |

4. *ra* = remain.

| | |
|---|---|
| Stay here until I come back | *ngo ikerrmâdabo, si do***ra***to.* |
| Stay sitting .. .. | *dung***ra***to.* |

5. *terr, pâ* = completion.

| | |
|---|---|
| He ate up the rice .. | *appinem do***terr***paku.* |
| He had a good look at him | *am ka***pâ***panna.* |

6. *nya* = finished.

| | |
|---|---|
| I have finished my work .. | *kam re***nya***paku.* |
| It is all gone .. .. | *mö***nya***paku.* |

7. *pu* = mistake.

| | |
|---|---|
| I hit him by mistake .. | *ngo am jeng***pu***paku.* |
| I drank it by mistake .. | *ngo am teng***pu***paku.* |

8. *kerr* = return.

| | |
|---|---|
| When will you return? .. | *hedilam cha***kerr***tareku?* |
| Give it back .. .. | *bhi***kerr***toku.* |

9. *jök* = wound.

| | |
|---|---|
| I flung a stone and hurt him | *elung hörr***jök***panna.* |
| I wounded the deer with an arrow. | *södömem up***jök***panna.* |

10. *ke* = kill.

| | |
|---|---|
| I killed him with a dao .. | *am pa***ke***paku.* |
| The stones from a stone shute killed them | *elung bedungbo gittokulâ, allokadiem git***ke***panna.* |

11. *fla'* = miss, away from.

| | |
|---|---|
| Throw it away .. | *hörr***fla'***to.* |
| He fired and missed .. | *möbök uplâ up***fla'***paku.* |

12. *din* = second-hand.

| | |
|---|---|
| Bulu borrowed it second-hand (i.e. Bulu got it from somebody who had already borrowed it). | *Bulu nâ***din***panna.* |

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13. *jög* = suddenly (prefix).

| | |
|---|---|
| He jumped up .. | **jög***göröppanna*. |
| He suddenly came out .. | **jög***linpaku*. |

14. *nyök* = learning.

| | |
|---|---|
| He is learning Dafla .. | *bengni berrekem bi***nyök***donna*. |
| He is learning how to do it | *re***nyök***donna*. |

15. *töp* = completion.

| | |
|---|---|
| Cut it down with an axe .. | *teng***töp***to*. |
| Cut it down with a dao .. | *pa***töp***to*. |

16. *ba* = over.

| | |
|---|---|
| He crossed over the hill .. | *mlâdiannè* **ba***gâpanna*. |
| He jumped over the fence | *aè solungem re***ba***paku*. |

17. *lak* = expert.

| | |
|---|---|
| He knows Dafla well .. | *aè bengni berrekem binla'paku*. |

18. *tök, fung* = defiance.

| | |
|---|---|
| Even if you say don't go, I shall go. | *no guyo binbanung gui***tök***tare*. |
| Give it to me at once .. | *bhi***tök***to, bhi***fung***to*. |

19. *si* = secrecy.

| | |
|---|---|
| He is watching from ambush | *kâ***si***do*. |
| They are talking secretly .. | *bin***si***donna*. |
| He took the woman by stealth. | *nyemöm yo***si***panna*. |

20. *rit* = sever.

| | |
|---|---|
| He severed with a blow .. | *pa***rit***paku*. |

21. *ki* = eye witness.

| | |
|---|---|
| I went to see my cow sold | *ngo ngâ sem pog***ki***panna*. |
| Did you see it or not? .. | *kâ***ki***pannare*? |

22. *mung* = from place to place.

| | |
|---|---|
| He begs from door to door | *ko***mung***do*. |
| He is going from village to village. | *farr***mung***do*. |

23. *min* = in jest.

| | |
|---|---|
| I only said for a joke .. | *bin***min***paku*. |
| He is playing the fool .. | *sâ***min***donna*. |

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24. *lök* = inside.

| | |
|---|---|
| Put it in the box .. | *pira a arengo mo***lök***to.* |
| The lightning entered and killed him. | *mâglung ob***lök***kepaku.* |
| The arrow transfixed him | *öppökè am up***lök***paku.* |

25. *lo* = downwards.

| | |
|---|---|
| He brought down the mithun. | *sebbem bo***lo***panna.* |
| Call him down .. | *ko***lo***to.* |
| The fruit fell from the tree | *fée sengnetèla ho***lo***paku.* |

VERBAL NOUNS.

To form the verbal noun from the root suffix '*sa*'.

| | |
|---|---|
| What have you to say? | *hogu bin***sa**? |
| What work have you? Cutting cane. | *hogu kam dopa* ? *Ossâ pasa.* |

INTERROGATIVES.

The commonest interrogative particle is '*re*'.

| | |
|---|---|
| Is he here? .. | *si dopare* ? |
| Will he come to-morrow? | *aro ungnebore* ? |

When the answer is expected in the affirmative the verb is usually placed in the negative.

| | |
|---|---|
| Surely you will speak .. | *beremre* ? (Will you not speak ?) |
| Surely you are a chief .. | *no nyete mâre* ? |

Alternative questions are asked as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Will you go or not? .. | *no ungbore allamâ* ? / *no ungbo allamâre* ? |
| Did you have a good harvest or not? | *no umem ale pepa allamâre* ? |

NEGATION.

Simple negation is expressed by the suffix '*mâ*' (present) and '*mâpanna*' (past). The suffix can be added to nouns, adjectives and verbs.

EXAMPLES.

| | |
|---|---|
| He is not here .. .. | *si domâ.* |
| He did not come here .. | *sâbo ungmâpanna.* |
| It is not a cat, it is a dog .. | *asamâ, ikisu.* |

The future negative is indicated by adding '*rem*' to the verbal root.

| | |
|---|---|
| He will not go to the hills | *nesengrengbo charem.* |

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'Never' is expressed by suffixing '*kipinmâ*' to the root or by an adverb '*hedigolampé*' followed by the verb in the negative.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| I never see him | .. | *am kâkipinmâ.* |
| I never tell lies | .. | *ngo amebo binkipinmâ.* |
| He never comes | .. | *sâbo hedigolampé engmâ.* |

'Nothing' is translated by '*hogupé*' or '*hogugopé*' followed by '*mâ*' suffixed to the verb.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| He does nothing | .. | *hogupé remâ.* |

AFFIRMATION.

The simple 'yes' is '*öm*' or '*éku*', but to emphasize '*jija*' is suffixed to verb, noun or adjective.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| It certainly isn't a lie | .. | *amemâjija.* |
| He is an out and out blackguard. | | *karualajija.* |

INTERJECTIONS.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Assent | .. | *eku, öm, a.* |
| Approval | .. | *öm! öm!* |
| Disapproval | .. | *mâjija.* |
| Disgust / Anger | .. | *ikh* (Tagen). |
| Dissent | .. | *mâ.* |

ABUSE.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| You're a strumpet! | .. | *legrenidâjengjija.* |
| Fool! | .. | *mamsöm.* |
| Bastard! | .. | *yosikao.* |
| Fool, idiot! | .. | *patcha.* |
| Monkey slave! | .. | *nyera besörr.* |
| May a tiger kill you! | .. | *nöm senyoè chèkéguené.* |
| May a spirit kill you! | .. | *gürrü üyu nöm phatokdoguené.* |
| May an elephant kill you! | | *hatiè samkéguené.* |
| Are you a man or an afterbirth? | | *no bengnimâ, no kepüre?* |
| Sweeper! | .. | *ee mofla'na bengni.* |
| Pervert! | .. | *se yona.* |

REDUPLICATIONS.

The Dafla is very fond of reduplications and jingling sentences.

The following are a few examples:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *chèlkung béung binto* | .. | keep putting off. |
| *jabdum bölum binto* | .. | to chatter. |
| *redum chakumto* | .. | work industriously. |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *lópung bölung* | .. | all day. |
| *râdöm châdöm* / *râbo châbo* | .. | sometimes speaks the truth, sometimes lies. |
| *sünyeng yengpung* | .. | long time. |
| *kâtung kâsa* .. | .. | bent under a load. |
| *lamchin chindök* | .. | steep. |
| *tèdöp tènyöp* .. | .. | beating up and down. |
| *jagung japâ nâtungto* | .. | take a hostage. |
| *nyengpâ pâbumbo sito* | .. | die in childbirth. |
| *dânyi chada ching ching* | | midday. |
| *dânyi tabè deröng aröng* | | afternoon. |
| *södöm sera* / *sachörr södöm* | .. | game. |
| *nesengrengbo* .. | .. | to the hills. |
| *darrak sarrak* | .. | clean. |
| *kassem kayem* | .. | dirty. |
| *pogsitpogmit* .. | .. | sell from village to village. |
| *nyamting nyamling* | .. | bolting (food). |

ILLUSTRATIVE SENTENCES.

| | |
|---|---|
| He only knows a little .. | *alesale binchinmâ.* |
| Why were you late yesterday ? | *no hogugabo mülo aiyung-panna ?* |
| He is drunk and is staggering about. | *aè tengkumpaku, tapkâtablâ dopa.* |
| Whose are these mithun ? .. | *sâ sebbepamsi hiega ?* |
| The Daflas who live here have forgotten their own language. | *sâ bengni donaè ataboga berregem binchinkumâ.* |
| All the bamboos died .. | *ebbe siterrpâpa.* |
| I took the girl because she was willing. | *nyemè ga lagelâ, yokupanna.* |
| If you put the dhan in the sun it will dry. | *dânyi allo umem lobanung hutarena.* |
| What have you got in the chunga ? | *odunga hogu guèpa.* |
| I have a little modhu for you .. | *opâ mego nopo ungguèbeéna.* |
| Don't worry me, I have a lot of work to do. | *chefi binfayo, ngâ kam resa arökpönggo dopa.* |
| If you speak on the mountain, it will hail. | *nesengtèlo berrek binbanung tapumè yâktare.* |
| It is cloudy to-day so we cannot see the plains. | *sülo nyedâkulâte dâgumè gum-do, sükâ wakaso kânyarem.* |
| How big is the house ? .. | *ogu hedi pingtè ?* |
| How big is the mithun ? .. | *sebbe hedi dartè ?* |
| How big is the village ? .. | *nampöm hedi pamtè ?* |
| Against whom are you complaining ? | *hiene sardonna ?* |
| He talks all day and night .. | *sülo süyobo jabdum bölum donna.* |

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| | |
|---|---|
| Cut the tree low on the side you wish it to fall and high on the other side. | *sengne tapdakubo pöknyemto, tamâdakubo pagâto.* |
| I will go by the road I went last year. | *mönyeng engkubo lamtebo engtare.* |
| The roof of this deoghanti has no figures on it. | *sâ madje puro samtokulâ payek yekmâpanna.* |
| Perhaps I will go, perhaps not | *lokobanung chabo, lokobanung charem.* |
| The puja is over and the gods are appeased. | *üyu papintokulâ arölâ dungdonna.* |
| Cut up the flesh into cubits and smoke it over the fire. | *sodin dinkabo petokulâ, umè rabkétè rampugueto.* |
| The house fell down in the earthquake. | *mlâbi hektokulâ oguè taptâpaku.* |
| If you eat eggs that a hen has left, you will lose your memory. | *püpü pâfla'na dotokulâ, möngpâkumâ.* |
| Hang it in a forked stick .. | *take allo hakpato.* |
| Get up before daybreak .. | *dânyi chalinmâdabo hörratokulâ görröpto.* |
| What do you use this cane for? | *sa ossâè hogu bönem rènaguedonna.* |
| He lives in a different house .. | *bagobo dungsudonna.* |
| He lives in a different village .. | *nampöm pömsa doguedonna.* |
| We will meet at Semma .. | *Semma nampömte gueterrabo.* |
| He has a belly like a Kayah .. | *kopâtarrkukulupa.* |
| Sit down and wait for me halfway | *kadarabo dungrato.* |
| I am dying of thirst, give me modhu. | *ngo singke sideku, opâ bhito.* |
| Let the mithun die first, then I will bring a case. | *sebbe sichâmoto, koyungbo yalung bintare.* |
| He was the first man to bring the dysentery. | *aè atokchabo eecheng dâliem bagâpanna.* |
| He slipped and fell .. | *ae dolitlâ gitpanna.* |
| The elephant-apple fell from the tree. | *sengnetèla baofe porritlelâ hopanna.* |
| She has gone off for a walk to the Bhorelli. | *aè Kemin sâbung gamungtabo guinéba.* |
| Take it away carefully .. | *hofamömâbo adungbo nâtungguiné.* |
| If I get the damages first the 'pafe' will do later. | *ngo kâterr atok nachâbanung alepa, koyungbo pafemafenyungbanung alatare.* |
| The nyebu called the spirits so I got better. | *nyebuè üyu bintokulâ alepaku.* |
| A man died in the house of Chatum, it is genna, but he has not purified it and we are afraid. | *Chatumga ogua bengniè sinékuba, mörrilü dopa, federrmâku, bössodonna.* |

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| | |
|---|---|
| If you go by the round about way you will be late, but not if you go direct. | *kunkeyungebo guibanung aiyungtare, lamte dindabo engbanung, aiyungrem.* |
| The child is not born yet .. | *kao bengmâda, guepa.* |
| His house was burned down to the ground. | *allâ oguè umè guterrpâpa.* |
| His spleen is big; if he takes medicine it will get small. | *dâli tarpu pâtepaku; darrõp tengbanung püchengtare.* |
| He called up the spirits and sent them to kill me. | *aè sori dingdung umè gâkuna, belektokulâ bekertare.* |
| Surround your fields with a fence | *nâ regem lego lego solungem nekinegueto.* |
| Pound the paddy .. .. | *umem chengpörr allo patokulâ füto.* |
| I won't give any liquor after to-day. | *sülogalo opâ bhikurem.* |
| I will attach all guns .. | *melengga möbögem naritlâ doguetare.* |
| Why do you have relations with a woman of your own clan. | *hogugabo nyebu lungkin yorapanna.* |
| All the villagers collected and prevented me from taking him away. | *melenge engkumpâlâ enggue-mârem binpanna.* |
| Did you have good crops this year? | *sünyeng alepe allamâre?* |
| He will buy a cow and sacrifice it | *se reguedelâ, üyu patare.* |
| I will kill a pig and feed him .. | *erek dargo domotare.* |
| I think it will rain .. | *ngâ mönggömè nyedâ hotare.* |
| They put a log of wood on his foot. | *allâkadie allâ lèè sengpâ pâtena parrpanna.* |
| They cut off his hand and nailed it to a tree. | *allâkadie allâ lakem pakhuna, sengnetè nilaktinpanna.* |
| The smoke from the fire blows on my face. | *ume mükhü erüküpa.* |
| It is genna to use a grave dao .. | *suju örök gürü senyo dopa, nârem.* |
| I have not seen you for a long time, what have you been doing. | *ngo nöm senyeng yengpung kapâkumâ hogu resupanna.* |
| The roof is leaking, thatch it .. | *naköp tellâga dâdidüdonna, tapök sarlâ kapderrto.* |
| What have you got to say? .. | *hogu binsa?* |
| She does not know how to prepare her husband's food. | *nyelo dosa tengsa möchinkumâ.* |
| I don't think they will come out | *ilinrem möngpa.* |
| If the smoke of a jungle fire goes up a cloud sits on it. | *ume mükü örrenung damökbo sengdonna.* |
| Whenever there is a panchayat he is silent, or only speaks a word or two. | *nyele dungkuna aè choïkabo dungguedonna, aè gamnyi gamgo binguedonna.* |

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| | |
|---|---|
| He quarrels with everybody .. | *aè bengni akiem yalung dugue-donna.* |
| The girl fled to my house .. | *nyemömè ngâ ogubo mimâ farrâpanna.* |
| Make a basket to carry fowls in | *pörrök badebo paka poto.* |
| The tiger leaped on the cow and killed it. | *senyoè seem rebakuna cheke-panna.* |
| She has a very large goitre .. | *gengpu fedum fera.* |
| I will leave a mithun with him to look after. | *ngo allâgala sebbe dargo setintare.* |
| If you can't pay in cash, pay in paddy. | *tengkabo yeknyomâbanung umbo yekto.* |
| Pinji's pig is eating my crops, I want to shoot it. | *Pinji eregè ngâ umem doterrpa, ngo mingtabo möngpa.* |
| You must settle the case in panchayat. | *manu sarsa nyelè dungguedolâ puta.* |
| I have never eaten dog's flesh .. | *ngo hedigolampé iki sodinem domâpanna.* |
| You must not go to the hills without a pass. | *pass nâmâbanung nesengreng-bo chayo.* |
| When did you pay the marriage price ? | *no nyemè arem bhinai nyeng-kupaku ?* |
| He knows nothing, he is a fool.. | *binchinmâna, patchanna.* |
| I saw him in a dream .. | *ngo am nyemâbo kâpâpanna.* |
| All of you go down there (south) | *melengè böla bölin ito.* |
| All of you go up there (north) .. | *melenge tèla bölin chato.* |
| He fired at the tiger but didn't kill it. | *möbök uplâ upkenyomâ.* |
| They are always quarrelling .. | *bungmaradonna.* |
| We can't make hats with that cane. | *a ossâ legala bâpa monyomâ.* |
| My wife has had twins .. | *ngâ nyefungè kao anyigo bengpömrapanna.* |
| Where does he come out of the hills. | *hogula ilindonna.* |
| Ask for it from somebody else .. | *miga ogubo kogueto.* |
| We cannot eat food placed on a grave. | *dosa tengsa simipilöknanöna donyomâ.* |
| If you drink too much you will get sleepy. | *opâ arök tengbanung yemiyep-töpbo.* |
| He has a headache .. | *allâ dömpâ dömchipaku.* |
| He has a belly-ache .. | *alla köpâ atchipaku.* |
| The roads will dry up in the hot weather. | *nyedâ homâbanung, laonge potengtare.* |
| Cut all the trees on the top of the hill. | *nesengtèla mlâdiga sengne melengem tongtöpto.* |
| Clean the camp site .. | *darrak sarrak mâpinto.* |

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| | |
|---|---|
| He bought the land with borrowed money. | *kèdé renaguedonna.* |
| I saw him on the other side of the river. | *am sâbung allarego kâpâpanna* |
| His house is on this side of the river. | *allâ ogu sâbung sârego dopa.* |
| They sold him from village to village so that he became a slave and can never become a free man. | *pogsit pogmitguepanna, hâgabo nyera sengsupanna, akuda nyete sengnyokurem.* |
| Have mercy upon him and let him go. | *unya asörrmâ töfflyato.* |
| Clear away that fallen tree .. | *sengne derrnam pakâbhito.* |
| There are many dead trees in my field. | *ngâ reke sengne höna natè tökbo dopa.* |
| Press out the blood from a damdim bite. | *tamit ungno oi nekpitto.* |
| He saw a spirit with the naked eye. | *nyegre üyu kâpâpanna.* |
| We have a burning brand to frighten the spirits. | *sengdâ jenglâ, üyu jenglömguedonna.* |
| If you want to go to Semma from Pakke you must cross a big hill. | *Pakke nampömga Semma nampöm engkutè mlâdi annè dopa, guebotare.* |
| The mithun is lying down .. | *sebbe karlâ dopa.* |
| That is only heresay .. | *miga bengni berrek talâ bindonna.* |
| If you talk too much you will lose your case. | *berrek arökpöngo binkuâ binflayorem.* |
| Go a little way and sit down .. | *tesso mego engtoklelâ dungto.* |
| Others will get the disease .. | *miga bengnie nyâsitare.* |
| If you capture the woman for marriage will you pay the price ? | *no nyemöm sèrébung nyeme dömpâ bhibore ?* |
| The bird got stuck in the birdlime | *pöttaè tachörrè tingöppakuna jarnyokumâ.* |
| Throw a log across the river so that we may get over. | *sâbung rabdebo sengda pâtena fengdato.* |
| He is always drinking and making a row. | *ae opâ tenggaledonna hâgabo yalung dugaledonna.* |
| Cut a tree so that it falls across the river. | *sâbung rabdebo sengne tengdato.* |
| He eats slowly .. .. | *hâsâhâsâbo nyamlâ ilodonna.* |
| He bolts his food .. .. | *aè appinem nyamting nyamling dodonna.* |
| The monkey springs from branch to branch. | *shebbi guèsit guèmit engdonna.* |

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*Burial of a person who has died a natural death.*

*Ngolu bengniè sinam hâbo samaliguedonna. Lebolâ*
we Daflas dead man this bury. from feet
*shevéè toa'lelâ lengpabo ngerrfungna leguedonna;*
head band binding to neck bind together tie;
*leguetokulâ la'bok palebo gejedebo samalikuallo*
having tied on the right side to lie down in the grave
*liguedonna; habâ dânyi hâgobo gerekdebo, lamko dânyi*
bury; breast sunset towards to face, back sunrise
*chagobo liguedonna; dosatengsa pechenga löktokulâ*
towards bury; food and drink in a pot having placed
*dömpâ domterrbo topaguedonna simipilekna paguedonna,*
at the head put to feed spirits place,
*pörrök paba ako boradebo öröm lamte kâtumdebo lökguedonna,*
small fowl one alive spirit path to show place,
*litokulâ kèdé sarpiguedonna, tapiguedonna böngsöp*
having buried earth fill in, (fill in) grave erection
*sabguedonna, ramdung dunglökguedonna opâ lintare,*
erect, sacrifice modhu will come out,
*appinempe motare, sodinempe kengtare; samalibo atokbo*
rice also will boil, meat also will roast; burier first
*dobhinchâtare, dotokulâ melenge dotareku.*
will give to eat, having eaten all will eat.

We Daflas bury our dead in this wise. We tie the body squatting from feet to back of neck with a head rope. The body is then placed in the grave on the right side with breast towards the west and the back towards the east. Food and drink to feed the spirits are put in a pot which is placed at the dead man's head. A small fowl is buried alive in the grave to show the way to the abode of the dead. The earth is then filled in, a bamboo erection is placed over the grave and animals are sacrificed. Modhu, rice and meat are prepared. The bereaved persons will eat first after which all the villagers eat.

*Burial of a man who has died an unnatural death.*

*Ngolu bengniè mingnam hâbo samaliguedonna lapa*
we Daflas murdered man thus bury thigh
*leem leguedonna, lakempe leguedonna, pamlâ*
legs bind together, hands also bind together, squatting
*dungdebo samaliguedonna dânyi chagobo lamkoem gerrek*
to sit down bury eastwards back to face
*moguedonna. Hâgobo hâbâ gerrek moguedonna. Koyungbo*
place. sunset breast place afterwards

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*kèdéèm sarpiguedonna, sarpitokulâ kèdé autè rajöng*
earth fill in, having filled in on earth rajöng
*fudoktokulâ dosa tengsa simipilekna pabhiguedonna; nengkâpe,*
making food drink to feed spirits place, spear,
*örrokpe, narrape, bâpape paguedonna bongsop sabguedonna,*
dao basket hat also place erection erect,
*ramdung dunglökguedonna; pörrök sebbe, se*
sacrifice fowls mithun, bullock
*dunglökguedonna. Ebbè assona nekdâtokulâ nyektokem*
are sacrificed. bamboo long driven in ground at the top
*sakumbo figuedonna, hatè pörrök rokpo popung*
made like fish trap, there aloft fowl made small basket
*ako pâinguedonna, dânyipâlo sunyu chatare; pörrök pâinlâ*
place in, one month spirit will arise; fowl swinging
*dokuna dokuna kannolâ sitareku.*
being being starving will die.

We Daflas bury a murdered man as follows:

The body with thigh and legs bound together, and hands also tied, is buried sitting in the grave. The breast faces westwards and the back towards the east. The earth is then filled in and a 'rajöng' placed on the mound. In this are placed food and drink to feed the spirits. A spear, a dao, a man's basket, and a hat are also placed on the grave. The grave is covered with a roof and machang; fowls and bullocks are sacrificed. A long bamboo is stuck in the ground, the top is split like a fish trap and a small fowl is placed therein. The dead man's ghost visits the place for one month. The fowl starves to death.

*The poison tree.*

*Ngolu bengniè öppöka umnoem yeglökguedonna*
we Daflas arrows on poison smear
*Harengnekâ tèlâga umno nâku tèlâka pâlo bargo*
Assam plains therefrom poison taking place to month one
*laong addopa, Ngolu bengniè umno nâbo chamâ. Tèlâ*
road far, we Daflas poison to take go not. up there
*bengniè nâlâ poglogueedonna, ngolu renaguedonna. Umno sengne*
men taking sell down here, we buy. poison tree
*cha sengne bo redonna. Umno sengne mamibe pumbo*
tea tree like is. poison tree root at round fruit
*rélâ fefedonna, kèdé arengdonna. Umno sengne morung*
being fruits, earth inside is. poison tree flat
*kèdé allo elung putènaga goyu lego lego sengke sengguedonna.*
ground on stone large near around trees are growing.

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*Elung auatè tabbü arokpönggo dopa. Tabbü sâteyâna farrpâ*
stone on top snakes many are snake biggest thigh
*dopa. Tabbü tunggona keapa, tunggona jèvé tabbü fijung*
like. snake one end black, one end yellow snake fang
*cherrtè cherrtè cherrumgo dopa. Umno nâbo bengniè*
large large these fingers are poison taking men
*hârénungkumne elung auatèlâ tabbü holona chegöpdonna,*
if they come stone top from snakes descending bite,
*bengni chamnyigo charenungkum bengni plönö kannigo tabbü*
men twenty come if men eight seven snakes
*chekeguedonna.*
kill by biting.

*Umno nâbo bengniè opâpe, pörrökpe, sebbepe, sèpe, üyu*
poison take men modhu, fowls, mithun, bullock, spirit
*moguedonna. Üyu pamârenungkumne nyedâ arökpönggo hokuna*
propitiate. spirits not sacrificing rain much falling
*ishiè telintare telinkuna henglöktokuna kâpâkumâ bengniè*
flood emerge emerging overtopping cannot see men
*arökpönggo sitareku.*
many will die.

*Bengniga öppök oblekrenung, bengniè belachenggo sidokuna;*
men's body arrow transfixing, men rapidly dies;
*lak uprenung farr uprenung hotorebo silâmâpanna. Tèlâga*
hand hit if thigh hit if rapidly die not. up there
*bengniè daröp chinsupa, ngolu chinkumâ, kao nitina*
men antidote know, we don't know, child new
*bengjörrna nyemeè auobo karbâtokulâ simâdonna. Namche*
give birth to woman over stepping dies not. menses
*oi ishi moyomöchâtokulâ gambo talökguedonna,*
blood water mixing mouth by pour,
*melöktokulâ alatareku, hâlâ bindonna.*
swallowing will recover, thus say.

We Daflas smear poison on our arrows. The journey from the plains to where the poison can be got lasts one month. We Daflas don't go up to get the poison but the men who live there collect it and sell it to us. The poison tree is like the tea tree. At the root of the poison tree in the earth is a round fruit which contains the poison. The poison trees grow on level ground all around a huge rock which is covered with snakes which are as thick as a man's thigh. One end of the snake is black and the other yellow. The fangs of the snakes are large and three fingers long. When the men come to take the poison the snakes drop down and bite them. Out of 20 men they will kill seven or eight. The men sacrifice fowls, mithun, and bullocks to the

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spirits and if they don't, heavy rains fall and flood the country causing the death of many. A man shot in the body dies quickly, but those hit in the arm or leg die slowly. The poison-takers know of an antidote, we do not, but it is said that if a recent mother steps over a wounded man he recovers and also if he drinks blood mixed with water.

This is the Yano version of the Tagen story given on page 606, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III, Part I, Grierson.

## YANO TAGEN VOCABULARY.

| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| A, An .. | .. *akin, ago, -go* | *akin, ago, -go* |
| And .. | .. *-pe* | *-pe* |
| Abandon | .. *töfflyato* | *tökhyato* |
| Abdomen | .. *köpâ* | *kipa* |
| Abide .. | .. *doto, dungto* | *dâto* |
| About .. | .. *lego lego* | *lego lego* |
| Above .. | .. *au* | *o* |
| Abreast | .. *homindarabo ungbarato* | *homin éto* |
| Abscond | .. *kitto* | *kitto* |
| Abuse .. | .. *biruto, bincheto* | *birito, bécheto* |
| Accept | .. *nâto* | *nato* |
| Accidentally | .. *-pu-* | *-pu-* |
| Accompany | .. *legabo ungbato, chabato, ibato, guebato.* | *all'ébato* |
| Ache .. | .. *achito* | *ichito* |
| Acid .. | .. *katcha* | *katcha* |
| Acquaintance | .. *ajin* | *ajin* |
| Acquire | .. *nâto* | *nato* |
| Act .. | .. *resa* | *resa* |
| Adam's apple | .. *gungi* | *gungi* |
| Advance | .. *chato, guinéto* | *chato, guinéto* |
| Adult, man | .. *yapa* | *nya* |
| ,, woman | .. *nyèmöm* | *nijörr* |
| Adulterer | .. *nyèmè yosina* | *nyem yosinè* |
| Adulteress | .. *nyega yosina* | *nyega yosinè* |
| Afar .. | .. *addo* | *addo* |
| Affection | .. *unyasa* | *unyado* |
| Affray .. | .. *nyebo resa* | *nyebo yesa* |
| Afoot .. | .. *lebo ungto* | *albo èto* |
| Afraid .. | .. *bössoto* | *böss'to* |
| After .. | .. *koyungbo* | *koyube* |
| Afterbirth | .. *kepü* | *kipi* |
| Afternoon | .. *dânyi tabbum* | *lab' birrilotoku* |
| Afterwards | .. *koyungbo* | *koyung* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Again .. .. | *akuda* | *ak'da* |
| Aged, man .. | *nyakum* | *nyekum* |
| „ woman .. | *fungo* | *hâkh* or *hâkhü* |
| Agree .. .. | *menglekbo reto* | *melu nito* |
| Ague .. .. | *dâli* | *doli* |
| Aim .. .. | *kaguèto* | *kagueto* |
| Air .. .. | *dâri* | *dâri* |
| Alien .. .. | *nyén* | *nyin* |
| Alike .. .. | *akhinsu* | *akhinsu* |
| Alive .. .. | *börra* | *börra* |
| All .. .. | *meleng meseng, peng melengum* | *melu meseng* |
| Alone .. .. | *akhinchenggo* | *ekhinbo* |
| Aloud .. .. | *gamnyobo binto* | *gamnyobo binto* |
| Also .. .. | *-pe* | *-pe* |
| Alter .. .. | *legrato* | *li'lyato* |
| Always .. | *-kikere-* | *-kikere-* |
| Amass .. .. | *nâkumpâto* | *nakumto* |
| Ambush .. | *torato* | *toyato* |
| Among .. | *bhitersâ* | *bhiterâ* |
| Ancestor .. | *ayo atho* | *ay' atho* |
| Ancient .. | *kŭtchŭk* | *kŭtchŭk* |
| Angry .. .. | *hâfakto* | *hakhato* |
| Ankle .. .. | *lènyek* | *all' linyik* |
| Annoy .. | *chefi binfato* | *chekhi békhato* |
| Another .. | *miga, kego* | *mige, kègè* |
| Ant, white .. | *rugdi* | *rugdi* |
| „ red .. | *amoli tarup* | *ampori tarup* |
| Anthill .. | *rugdi putung* | *rug' putu* |
| Apart .. .. | *bagobo* | *bagobo* |
| Apartment .. | *ogu rengda* | *ogu eyenda* |
| Ape .. .. | *bésörr* | *bésörr* |
| Apiece .. | *akin akin* | *akin akin* |
| Appetite, have .. | *kannopa* | *kannodo* |
| Applaud .. | *lakem pitbökto* | *alla pebökto* |
| Arise .. .. | *gröpto* | *gorõpto* |
| Arm .. .. | *lakpâ* | *la'pâ* |
| Armpit .. | *kengrung* | *kero* |
| Around .. | *lègo lègo* | *lègo lègo* |
| Arouse .. | *engnè moto* | *egdèl moto* |
| Arrest .. .. | *nâtungto* | *natuto* |
| Arrive .. .. | *guechito, ungchito* | *uchito* |
| Arrow .. .. | *öppök* | *uppu* |
| „ shaft .. | *öppök sâe* | *uppu sâe* |
| „ feather .. | *öppök pogrâ* | *uppu polyi* |
| „ head .. | *öppök râ'tik* | *mörrto* |
| Artful .. .. | *dâjeng dâri* | *dâlyi nekhyi* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Ascend .. | *chato* | *chato* |
| ,, machang .. | *nambla chato* | *nambla chato* |
| Ash .. .. | *mobu tacho* | *moti tacho* |
| Ask .. .. | *taoto* | *takhta* |
| Ask for .. | *koto* | *koto* |
| Aslant.. .. | *pabbedebo nekdâto* | *pebbüdeto nekdâto* |
| Asleep.. .. | *yepdonna* | *yepdonna* |
| Assault, to .. | *jengmarato* | *jümüngsukto* |
| Assemble .. | *engkhumpâto* | *èkhumpâto* |
| At once .. | *nyerobo* | *ai inbe* |
| Auction (v.) .. | *pogmungto* | *pumuto* |
| Aunt, father's sister | *atte* | *ata* |
| ,, mother's sister | *mei* | *mei* |
| Autumn .. | *durupâlo* | *durupâlo* |
| Await .. .. | *dorato* | *dâlyato* |
| Awake, be .. | *baralto* | *chokhilto* |
| Awake (v.) .. | *haralto* | *hurato* |
| Awe .. .. | *bössosa* | *bössosa* |
| Axe .. .. | *öffè* | *èkhè* |
| Baby .. .. | *kao ajeng* | *ko edji* |
| Bachelor .. | *tombo* | *tombo* |
| Back .. .. | *lamko* | *langke* |
| Back door .. | *balung arep* | *boto ayep* |
| Bacon .. | *erek sodin* | *ili'èdin* |
| Bad .. .. | *alamona* | *dedip'alamâ* |
| Bag .. .. | *choku* | *chaku* |
| Bag for bowstrings | *aggit layem* | *loyum* |
| Baggage .. | *darröp karröp, sengdum böngpöng* | *darröp* |
| Bald .. .. | *dumpâ dumbin* | *dumpâ dumbin* |
| Bamboo .. | *èbbè* | *è* |
| Bar (v.) .. | *ogu arep chektumto* | *nam ayep chektumto* |
| Bar (n.) .. | *rabkâ* | *yapkâ* |
| Barefaced .. | *hanyengmâna* | *hanyemânè* |
| Bark (v.) (dogs) .. | *iki kèrrto* | *iki körrto* |
| Bark (of tree) .. | *sengne kuku* | *seng'kukhi* |
| Bark (v.) .. | *kukuem fafato* | *kukhi khakhato* |
| Barrel (of gun) .. | *bokâ* | *bokhâ* |
| Bashful .. | *hanyengpa* | *henyengdo* |
| Basin .. .. | *rora* | *béra* |
| Basket, men's .. | *narra* | *narra* |
| ,, women's .. | *égin* | *égin* |
| Bastard .. | *yosikao* | *yos'ko* |
| Bathe .. .. | *ga hörrsuto* | *ga hèrrsuto* |
| Battle.. .. | *nyebu pasa* | *nyemukpana* |
| Be .. .. | *doto* | *doto* |
| Bead .. .. | *tasseng cherrü* | *tessü èchèrr* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Beak .. | .. *pötta fibung* | *hibu* |
| Beam .. | .. *gabè* | *gabè* |
| Bear .. | .. *sèttöm* | *suttöm* |
| Bear (v.) | .. *kao bengto* | *ko bento* |
| Beard .. | .. *namö* | *nem'* |
| Beat .. | .. *jengto* | *jito* |
| Beautiful | .. *unyana* | *kayin* |
| Because | .. *'gabo* | *'gabo* |
| Beckon | .. *hâ'yepto* | *hâyepto* |
| Bed .. | .. *yepku* | *yupkè* |
| Bee .. | .. *tangu* | *tongè* |
| Beef .. | .. *sè sodin* | *sè édin* |
| Before.. | .. *bagobo* | *bagè* |
| Beg .. | .. *komungto* | *komoto* |
| Beggar | .. *kogana* | *kogana* |
| Begin .. | .. *-göp-* | *-göp-* |
| Begone | .. *guelintoku* | *guelinto* |
| Behead | .. *lengpâ parrito* | *lep' parrito* |
| Behind | .. *batungbo* | *botobo* |
| Behold | .. *kâto* | *kato* |
| Belch .. | .. *darto* | *dorrto* |
| Bell .. | .. *madje* | *madje* |
| ,, superior | .. *maku madje* | *mak'madje* |
| ,, inferior | .. *lama medje* | *lama madje* |
| Bellows | .. *sok* | *so'* |
| Belly .. | .. *köpâ* | *ayek* |
| Belly-ache | .. *köpâ atchi* | *ayek ètchi* |
| Beloved | .. *unyanöna* | *unyanöna* |
| Below .. | .. *ogu deköm, neköm* | *nam nikom* |
| Belt (metal) | .. *hokfi* | *hukdi* |
| Bend .. | .. *tèrrchèrrto* | *törrchörrto* |
| Bend down | .. *kâtungto* | *kotuto* |
| Bent, crooked | .. *könggörr* | *pögörr* |
| Bent with load | .. *kâtung kâsa* | *kâtu kâsa* |
| Best .. | .. *aleyâ* | *aleyâ* |
| Better.. | .. *alayâdonna* | *aleyâd'ne* |
| Between | .. *majora* | *majora* |
| Beware | .. *adungbo* | *adungbo* |
| Big .. | .. *lakhena* | *koyana* |
| Big-bellied | .. *köpâ tarkukulupa* | *ayetörr'pa* |
| Bind .. | .. *léto* | *léto* |
| Bind round and round | *léchepto* | *léchipto* |
| Bind on | | |
| Bird .. | .. *létinto* | *létinto* |
| Birdlime | .. *pötta* | *pötta* |
| Bird-nest | .. *tachörr* | *tachörr* |
| | .. *supè* | *supè* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Birth .. .. | *bengkua* | *binkhua* |
| Bitch .. .. | *iki kinnè* | *i'kinnè* |
| Bite .. .. | *chégöpto* | *chégöpto* |
| ,, (dog) .. | *gamto* | *gamto* |
| Bitter .. .. | *kapa* | *katcha* |
| Black .. .. | *keana* | *keana* |
| Blackguard .. | *karualapa* | *karual'do* |
| Blacksmith .. | *kamèrr nyebu* | *kemarr nyebu* |
| Bladder .. | *sarpü* | *sèrpü* |
| Blaze .. .. | *umè mero* | *um'moi* |
| Bleat (v.) .. | *binto* | *béto* |
| Blind .. .. | *nyegöp* | *nyigöp* |
| Blister .. | *bumrip* | *alla bumyi'* |
| Blister (v.) .. | *bumripto* | *alla bumyi'to* |
| Blockhead .. | *patcha* | *patcha, mamsum* |
| Blood .. .. | *oi* | *oi* |
| Blood poison .. | *takkit* | *takkit* |
| Bloom.. .. | *pung* | *opu* |
| Blow fire .. | *umè mikto* | *um mito* |
| Blow down .. | *rittöpto* | *litöpto* |
| Blunder .. | *repusa* | *repusa* |
| Blunt .. .. | *roktumpa* | *yatumpa* |
| Blush (v.) .. | *nyegmâ lengchito* | *nyöm luchuto* |
| Boar .. .. | *sera* | *seru* |
| Boast (v.) .. | *nyarömbo binto* | *nyeröm bèto* |
| Boat .. .. | *holung* | *holu* |
| Body .. .. | *ga* | *e* |
| Boil water (v.) .. | *ishi fudokmoto* | *ishi ogguto* |
| Boil (n.) .. | *helü* | *kapüil* |
| Bold .. .. | *bössomâna* | *bössmânie* |
| Bone .. .. | *solâ* | *allo* |
| Borrow .. | *narrto* | *chenamto* |
| Borrower .. | *narrna* | *chenamna* |
| Bosom .. | *hâbâ* | *habo* |
| Both .. .. | *anyi mani* | *anyimani* |
| Bother (v.) .. | *chefi binfato* | *binsi binfato* |
| Bottom .. | *koyung* | *kachin* |
| Boundary .. | *re'ra* | *ringâ örè* |
| Bow .. .. | *uri* | *iliü* |
| Bowstring .. | *uri ara* | *iliü éyé* |
| Bowstring guard .. | *lakvè* | *la'e* |
| Bowels .. | *lèkhi* | *ikhi* |
| Boy .. .. | *nyega kao* | *nyegako* |
| Burier beetle (scarab) | *chungkipani* | *chungkipani* |
| Bracelet .. | *kâji* | *kojé* |
| Brains.. .. | *poknié* | *pognié* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Branch .. | *sengne hakbè* | *sen' ha'bè* |
| Bramble .. | *tanyöm* | *tönyöm* |
| Brass .. .. | *nyesin* | *nyesin* |
| Breast .. .. | *atchu* | *ötchè* |
| Breeze .. .. | *dâri* | *dâlyi* |
| Brethren .. | *abung börroyar* | *èbu börr* |
| Bridge, to, (bamboo) | *logo negröpto* | *logo negröpto* |
| ,, (single cane) | *salagem rengröpto* | *salagem rengröpto* |
| ,, (cane) .. | *sam amröpto* | *sam amröpto* |
| Bring .. .. | *unggèto* | *è' to* |
| Bring up .. | *soto* | *sato* |
| Broad .. .. | *taktè* | *taktè, tattè* |
| Brook .. .. | *ishi samtek* | *ishi komtek* |
| Brother, elder .. | *aböng* | *èbung* |
| ,, younger .. | *burro* | *börre* |
| Bubble .. | *föpik, fopit* | *fupik* |
| Buffalo .. | *mendek* | *mindek* |
| Bug .. .. | *taje* | *taje* |
| Build .. .. | *ogu rèto* | *nam moto* |
| Bulbul .. | *bétöm* | *nilyü betöm* |
| Bullet .. .. | *guli* | *gule* |
| Burden .. | *bagsa* | *ba' sè* |
| Burial place .. | *samaliku* | *samalikè* |
| Burn, (tr. v.) .. | *ume relökto* | *em'reluto* |
| ,, (intr. v.) .. | *ume guto* | *em'guto* |
| Burier .. .. | *samalina* | *semaline* |
| Bury .. .. | *samalito* | *semalito* |
| Busy .. .. | *kam resa arökpöngo* | *bönnissa éköta* |
| Butterfly .. | *pâbörr* | *börrbinsa* |
| Buttock .. | *kachung kâdin* | *akha khardin* |
| Buy .. .. | *rèto* | *rèto* |
| Bye-and-bye .. | *koyungbo* | *koyu* |
| Bypath .. | *laong* | *lamta* |
| Calculate .. | *kito* | *kito* |
| Calf of leg .. | *lètü* | *alletü* |
| Call .. .. | *gâkto* | *gâ'to* |
| Call, go and .. | *jökajökpito* | *jökajökpito* |
| Call away .. | *gâktato* | *gâ'tato* |
| Cane .. .. | *ossâ* | *ossâ* |
| Cane, cut .. | *ossâ pinto* | *ossâ pinto* |
| Cane, split .. | *ossâ sâminto* | *ossâ sâminto* |
| Capture .. | *nâritto* | *naritto* |
| Carefully .. | *adungbo* | *adubo* |
| Carry on shoulder .. | *jâguineto* | *jâguineto* |
| ,, on back .. | *bagto* | *bato* |
| ,, in hand .. | *bungto* | *beto* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Carry child .. | *kao kömörlâ bagto* | *kokömör ba'to* |
| Cast spear .. | *chitto* | *chitto* |
| Cat .. .. | *asa* | *asa* |
| Catch .. .. | *nâtungto* | *nātungto* |
| Catch hold of .. | *gato* | *gato* |
| Cataract, suffer from | *nyegluto* | *inyi nyuluto* |
| Catterpillar .. | *tayep* | *tayep* |
| Cattle .. .. | *sè* | *sè* |
| Centipede .. | *tabbü taje* | *tebbü tèjé* |
| Certain .. | *jija* | *jija* |
| Chain .. .. | *râderr hikuli* | *gai* |
| Chair .. .. | *dungtum* | *dâtum* |
| Change (clothes) .. | *edji lengrato* | *edji lökmingsuto* |
| Channel .. | *lor* | *lor* |
| Charcoal .. | *mèrré, taja* | *mèrré, taja* |
| Chase .. .. | *rökfato* | *rukhato* |
| Cheat .. .. | *dâjeng dâribo reto* | *dâlyi'iship beto* |
| Cheek .. .. | *nyegma râgdin* | *nyom rogdin* |
| Chest .. .. | *hâbâ* | *habâ* |
| Chew cud .. | *oklinlâ kigmökguèto* | *ö'linlâ ki'mè'guèto* |
| Chicken .. | *rochung* | *pochong* |
| Chicken-pox .. | *tabum bumpung* | *tabum bumpu* |
| Chief .. .. | *gora nyaga* | *gora nyada* |
| Child .. .. | *kao* | *ko* |
| Childhood .. | *kao düo* | *kodüo* |
| Childbirth .. | *kao bengsa* | *ko bengsa* |
| Childbirth, die in .. | *pâbum sito* | *pâbum sito* |
| Chilli .. .. | *yamdök* | *térrü* |
| Chilly .. .. | *sökörrpa* | *sökörrpa* |
| Chin .. .. | *châtok* | *choto* |
| Cicada, big .. | *perâ dumdin* | *perâ dumdin* |
| ,, small .. | *bepotagung* | *bepotagung* |
| Circuitous .. | *kungké yungébo* | *kugörrméga* |
| Clan .. .. | *nyebu* | *nyebu* |
| Clap (v.) .. | *lakem pitbökto* | *alla piboto* |
| Claw .. .. | *lepu* | *lepu* |
| Clay .. .. | *kèdè* | *kèdé* |
| Clean .. .. | *darrak* | *dörrü* |
| Clean (v.) boots .. | *fungkakto* | *fukhato* |
| ,, nails .. | *kofato* | *kokhato* |
| Clever .. .. | *kaje* | *kaji* |
| Cliff .. .. | *bèdung* | *beda'* |
| Climb tree .. | *sengne gèchato* | *sen'chaoto* |
| Close (v.) .. | *motumto, chektumto* | *chutumto* |
| Cloth .. .. | *edji* | *edji* |
| Clump (of bamboo) | *èbbè renggo* | *è renggo* |
| Cobweb .. | *takché saam* | *chech'saam* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Cock .. .. | *rökpo* | *râ'pu* |
| Cockroach .. | *tabapira* | *tabapira* |
| Cohabit .. | *yepbato* | *yubato* |
| Collar bone .. | *lengulâ* | *legulâ* |
| Collect .. | *nâkumpâto* | *nakumto* |
| Cold in head .. | *nyepum nyang* | *nyepum yungè* |
| Cold (body) .. | *sökörr* | *sökörr* |
| ,, (liquids, food, etc.) | *hörrök* | *hörrök* |
| Cold weather .. | *dörâ pâlo* | *dera pâlo* |
| Comb (n.) .. | *tafi* | *tekhi* |
| Comb (v.) .. | *fikapto* | *khikapto* |
| Comb, bees' .. | *rabpè* | *ayep* |
| Come .. .. | *wâto* | *hâto* |
| Companion .. | *ajin* | *ajin* |
| Compassion .. | *unyasa* | *unyasa* |
| Compensation .. | *pafé, mafé* | *pafé* |
| Complaint .. | *sarsa* | *sarsa* |
| Confine .. | *tumlâ dogueto* | *tumlâ dâgueto* |
| Conflict (n.) .. | *nyebu pasa* | *nyeb'pasa* |
| Converse (v.) .. | *binmarato* | *béminsuto* |
| Cook (v.) rice .. | *appinem moto* | *échin moto* |
| ,, flesh .. | *sodin kengto* | *edin kéto* |
| Copulate (v.) .. | *yoto* | *yoto* |
| Cord .. .. | *poga* | *ekhya* |
| Cork .. .. | *tungfa* | *tukha* |
| Cork (v.) .. | *tungfato* | *tukhato* |
| Corner.. .. | *chöngkit* | *chukit* |
| Corpse.. .. | *sina* | *sina* |
| Cost .. .. | *dam* (Ass.) | *dam* (Ass.) |
| Cotton.. .. | *tanu* | *tanè* |
| Cover (v.) .. | *hörrputo* | *pamto* |
| Cover with cloth .. | *edji hörrputo* | *edji pamto* |
| Cough .. .. | *essek* | *issuk* |
| Count .. .. | *kito* | *kito* |
| Countenance .. | *nyegmâ* | *nyom* |
| Country .. | *gungda* | *mako* |
| Courageous .. | *bössomâna* | *bossomânie* |
| Cow .. .. | *sè hennè* | *sè hennè* |
| Cowherd .. | *sè rakina* | *sè nyegetha* |
| Coward .. | *bössena* | *bössoduna bolumna* |
| Crab .. .. | *tachié* | *tachié* |
| Crack fingers .. | *la'cheng terrpökto* | *lechi terrputo* |
| Crawl .. .. | *ngamlâ ungto* | *ngam èto* |
| Crazy .. .. | *rupa* | *rupa* |
| Creeper .. | *tarü* | *tèrrü* |
| Crimson .. | *lengchi* | *lèchi* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Cripple .. | *lèkum, lechana* | *lukum, lechana* |
| Crooked .. | *kunggörr* | *kugurmèa* |
| Crow .. .. | *pak* | *poak* |
| Crow (v.) .. | *binto* | *béto* |
| Cock crow .. | *pörrök lögö sengseng* | *pörrök loga* |
| Cross, river .. | *rabto* | *rabto* |
| Cross over .. | *bato* | *boto* |
| Cross-eyed .. | *nyegrè* | *nyegrè* |
| Cry (v.) .. | *kapto* | *khapto* |
| Cry, about to .. | *nabgum kapto nabsum* | *gomgom kapto gomsum* |
| Cry (n.) .. | *sâgâsa* | *sâgâsa* |
| Crybaby .. | *kapjitna* | *kèpjitna* |
| Cubit .. .. | *ladu* | *ladu* |
| Cucumber .. | *mèkung* | *mèkung* |
| Cuff (v.) .. | *pikto* | *pitto* |
| Cultivate .. | *rekem reto* | *ringâ nyèto* |
| Curl .. .. | *dömö egörrhelana* | *dömö higurheyana* |
| Custom .. | *renyem* | *ninyem* |
| Cut across .. | *petungto* | *patuto* |
| Cut away by pressing thumb on back of guechi | *guetungto* | *gituto* |
| Cut cane .. | *pinto* | *pi'to* |
| ,, hair .. | *domö pepokto* | *dumö pekhato* |
| ,, hole in .. | *gitkâto* | *gékâto* |
| Cut in pieces .. | *pemökpâto* | *pemüto* |
| Cut off ends .. | *peflato* | *pekhato* |
| Cut off ends smoothly | *perömto, narömto* | *nârumto* |
| Cut off shavings of betel nut | *nâmökto* | *namökto* |
| Cut off thin strips.. | *fitto* | *fétto* |
| Cut with dao .. | *pato* | *peto* |
| Daft .. .. | *rupa* | *rupa* |
| Daily .. .. | *lokhiputti* | *lokhiputti* |
| Dam (v.) of water .. | *sâbung föktumto* | *pâbu futumto* |
| Damages .. | *kâtèrr* | *kotèrr* |
| Dao .. .. | *örök, rögri* | *olyök, roru* |
| ,, back of .. | *râgöng* | *olyök yâgo* |
| ,, blade .. | *blapè* | *olyök aböp* |
| ,, point .. | *nyektok* | *olyök nyutu* |
| ,, cutting edge of | *râörr* | *ölyök yâörr* |
| ,, handle of .. | *nalè* | *nalè* |
| Damp .. .. | *jöja* | *juja* |
| Dance (v.) .. | *nasi sâto* | *nasito* |
| Dandle .. | *kao jâto* | *ko jâto* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Dark .. .. | *kanapa* | *ayek kanopa* |
| Daughter .. | *nyeme kao* | *nyem' ko* |
| Dawn .. .. | *kamchi dâli* | *kamchidâli* |
| Day .. .. | *lo* | *lâ* |
| Daybreak .. | *kamchidâli* | *kamchidâli* |
| Daylight .. | *allo* | *alle* |
| Day and night .. | *lopung bolung* | *lopu bolu* |
| Decapitate .. | *dömpâ parrito* | *lugu perrito* |
| Dead .. .. | *sipa* | *sipa* |
| Deaf .. .. | *rungbepa* | *rutörr* |
| Dear (costly) .. | *arökhyábo* | *oroyabo* |
| Deep .. .. | *ishi aröng pa* | *ish' errudo* |
| Deer, barking deer | *södöm* | *södöm* |
| ,, sambar .. | *sachörr* | *sachörr* |
| Deity .. .. | *dânyi* (Sun) | *dânyi* |
| Delay .. .. | *aiyungto* | *oyuto* |
| Deliver .. | *kao bengto* | *ko bèto* |
| Demon .. | *üyu* | *üi* |
| Denki .. .. | *chengpörr* | *chengpörr* |
| Deoghanti .. | *madje* | *madji* |
| Descend .. | *guè loto* | *ipa' to* |
| Desire (v.) .. | *-nang-* | *-nang-* |
| Destiny .. | *senggo* | *senggo* |
| Detour .. | *lamtè kungké yungébo* | *lokuki yoi* |
| Dew .. .. | *sogum* | *sugum* |
| Dewlap .. | *memi mâbök* | *but'memi* |
| Dhan .. .. | *um* | *am* |
| Diarrhœa .. | *ishibo éjökto* | *ish'éjuto* |
| Die .. .. | *sito* | *sito* |
| Dig .. .. | *duto* | *duto* |
| Dig hole .. | *ong rökto* | *ong râ'to* |
| Dirty .. .. | *karo katcho* | *kusumkayom* |
| Discharge (from nose) | *pömsi, tannöp* | *pömsi, tannöp* |
| Discord .. | *yalung* | *yulu* |
| Dish .. .. | *alung* | *olu* |
| Disobedient .. | *tamâna* | *tamâna* |
| Dispute .. | *yalung* | *yelu* |
| Distant .. | *addo* | *addo* |
| Distribute .. | *harrto* | *hörrto* |
| Ditch .. .. | *lor* (Ass.) | *lor* (Ass.) |
| Dive .. .. | *ishi pâlökto* | *ish' pâlökto* |
| Divide .. | *mâpinto* | *mèpinto* |
| Do .. .. | *reto* | *nito* |
| Dog .. .. | *iki* | *iki* |
| ,, wild .. | *sècha* | *secha* |
| Door .. .. | *ogu arep* | *nam ereng* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Door space .. | *rabgo* | *yabgè* |
| Dove .. .. | *pükhü yabörr* | *pukhu yöjo* |
| Dowry .. | *guèmine* | *güjè* |
| Drag .. .. | *séto* | *séto* |
| Dream .. | *nyemâ* | *mâna* |
| Dress .. .. | *edji* | *edji* |
| Drink .. .. | *tengto* | *tüto* |
| Drip .. .. | *dâdidüto* | *dâdüdüto* |
| Drive .. .. | *rökfato* | *rukhato* |
| Drop (of water) .. | *ishi cherrü* | *ishi chirr'* |
| Drown .. | *ishiallo sito* | *ish'lo sito* |
| Drum .. .. | *dungdum* | *dudum* |
| Drunk .. | *tengkumpa* | *tukhumpa* |
| Dry (clothes) .. | *potengpa* | *pütüpa* |
| ,, (wood) .. | *höna* | *höna* |
| Dry, to, in sun, dhan | *loputo* | *loputo* |
| ,, ,, cloth | *tarputo* | *törrputa* |
| ,, over fire | *ramputo* | *rumputo* |
| ,, with cloth | *néputo* | *nipüto* |
| Dumb.. .. | *gammapa* | *arü yomma* |
| Dung .. .. | *é* | *é* |
| Dust .. .. | *kèdé* | *kèdé* |
| Dwell .. .. | *dungto* | *doto* |
| Dye, red .. | *nelung* | *nilü* |
| ,, black .. | *nèkha* | *nèkhé* |
| ,, yellow .. | *nèjé* | *nèjé* |
| Dysentery .. | *écheng dâli* | *ichi dâli* |
| Each .. .. | *tenggo* | *tügo* |
| Ear .. .. | *nyerung* | *nyeru* |
| Ear of rice .. | *umreng* | *emlyü* |
| Early .. .. | *kamchibo* | *kamchibo* |
| Ear-ring .. | *rungnoni* | *runoni* |
| Earwad .. | *rungbin* | *rubin* |
| Earth .. .. | *kèdé* | *kèdé* |
| Earthquake .. | *mlâbi* | *mâbi* |
| East .. .. | *dânyi chagobo* | *dânyi chagè* |
| Eat .. .. | *doto* | *doto* |
| Eat up .. | *gamgöpto* | *gamgöpto* |
| Echo .. .. | *berreng* | *biübema* |
| Eclipse .. | *tamü mena* | *tem'mena* |
| Edge .. .. | *gambi* | *gumbi* |
| Effigy .. .. | *morung momato* | *muill' mömato* |
| Egg .. .. | *püpü* | *püpè* |
| ,, shell .. | *püku* | *pukhu* |
| ,, white of .. | *kuku* | *kukhi* |
| ,, yoke of .. | *ramü* | *rèmè* |
| Elbow .. .. | *laböng* | *la' de* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Elephant .. | *hati* | *sètè* |
| Elsewhere .. | *bagobo* | *bagobo* |
| Embankment .. | *pagöm* | *ragam* |
| Embrace .. | *guèbungto* | *gubuto* |
| Employment .. | *resa* | *rissa* |
| Empty .. | *asörrpa* | *assörpa* |
| Encircle .. | *hékèrrto* | *hikarrto* |
| End .. | *tungo* | *tugo* |
| Enemy .. | *chengblâra nyebu parana* | *chèblosue nyemuk parana* |
| Enlarge .. | *lakhe moto* | *lakhe moto, koïbo moto* |
| Enough .. | *-tetèk* | *-tü* |
| Enslave .. | *nyera bengguèto* | *nyera beg'to* |
| Enter .. .. | *hânéto* | *hânéto* |
| Entice .. | *kedungto* | *lèvinto* |
| Entire .. | *pengpa* | *jütèpa* |
| Entirely .. | *-terr-* | *-törr-* |
| Epileptic .. | *samit tabna* | *shemit tabna* |
| Equal .. .. | *homin* | *homin* |
| Erect .. .. | *dâdin* | *da'din* |
| Err .. .. | *mungpâmâto* | *müpamâto* |
| Escape .. | *keâto* | *keato* |
| Espouse .. | *nyemè nâto* | *nyem'nato* |
| Evening, this .. | *serem* | *suriōm* |
| Everyone .. | *melenge* | *moleng* |
| Everywhere .. | *gengdatapung* | *güdatèpung* |
| Exchange (v.) .. | *bhikorato* | *jikorato* |
| Explain .. | *tamsörrto, binbökto, bintumto* | *tumsörrto, bibü'to, betumto* |
| Extinguish .. | *ume momitto* | *um'momitto* |
| Extremity .. | *tunggo* | *tutusa* |
| Eye .. .. | *nyek* | *enyi'* |
| ,, open (v.) .. | *nyek bâto* | *enyi'nyikbâto* |
| ,, shut (v.) .. | *nyek chengto* | *enyi'nyikchuto* |
| Eyeball .. | *nyegmö tasseng* | *nyi'umtesseng* |
| Eyebrow .. | *nyektum* | *nyi'sintombè* |
| Eyelash .. | *nyegmö* | *enyi'nyigöm* |
| Eyelid .. | *nyekpin* | *enyi'nyekpin* |
| Eyesore .. | *nyekdâli* | *enyi'dâli* |
| Face .. .. | *nyegmâ* | *nyekmiè* |
| Faint (v.) .. | *sumulâ taptâto* | *sumil'taptâto* |
| Fair (a.) .. | *ponglu* | *pulu* |
| Falcon .. | *pemü* | *pümü* |
| Fall (v.) .. | *gitto* | *guèto* |
| False .. .. | *amè* | *mè* |
| Family .. | *nyem'nyega kao* | *nyem'nyega ko* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Famine .. | *dopengmâ* | *düpümâ* |
| Fan .. .. | *mayep* | *méyep* |
| Fan (v.) .. | *yapkato* | *yapkato* |
| Far .. .. | *addopa* | *addâdo* |
| Fart (v.) .. | *èppè pèto* | *ip'püto* |
| Fasten .. | *leto* | *leto* |
| Fat .. .. | *dèjèjèngre* | *dejüjürè* |
| Fate .. .. | *senggo* | *siggoal'na* |
| Father .. | *abo* | *abè* |
| Father's father .. | *atho* | *athè* |
| Father's brother : | | |
| ,, elder .. | *abong* | *phedi* |
| ,, younger .. | *tettè* | *phailyo* |
| Father's sister : | | |
| ,, elder .. | *amma* | *mhei* |
| ,, younger .. | *amma* | *mhei* |
| Father's brother's wife | *nyete* | *nyekhe* |
| Father's sister's husband | *makte, machung* | *mabo* |
| Father's brother's son : | | |
| ,, elder .. | *tettè* | *atchi* |
| ,, younger .. | *börro* | *bōrre* |
| Father's brother's daughter : | | |
| ,, elder .. | *ame* | *ami* |
| ,, younger .. | *börme* | *börme* |
| Father's sister's son | *yao* | *ko nyaga* |
| Father's sister's daughter | *mao* | *ko nyem'* |
| Father's mother .. | *ayo* | *ai* |
| Fatigue .. | *afi* | *èkh'* |
| Fault, commit (v.) .. | *karuto* | *karuto* |
| Fear (v.) .. | *bössoto* | *böss'to* |
| Feather, tail .. | *genglung* | *güilü* |
| ,, wing .. | *labu, langni* | *lobè, lünü* |
| Feeble .. | *bara alemâ* | *bara mâ* |
| Feed .. .. | *appin bhito* | *èchin jito* |
| Feel .. .. | *nyemkito* | *nyem'kagneto* |
| Fell (v.) with axe .. | *tengtepto* | *tütapto* |
| ,, with dao .. | *patepto* | *patapto* |
| Female .. | *nyèmè* | *nyemm* |
| Fence .. .. | *solung* | *solu* |
| Fence, to (v.) .. | *solungem nekto, solungem fökto* | *solum ne'to, solum khüto* |
| Fern (Asplenium) .. | *gapolabung* | *gapilolebü* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Fetch .. .. | *bungeengto* | *na'ito* |
| Fever .. .. | *dâli* | *doli* |
| Fever, to have .. | *dâli karto* | *doli karto* |
| Few .. .. | *kego* | *mego* |
| Field .. .. | *rek* | *ringâ* |
| ,, facing south .. | *mlâbla* | *mâbla* |
| ,, ,, north .. | *mlâri* | *mâri* |
| Field-house .. | *rektabo* | *ringâtabo* |
| Fiend .. .. | *üyu* | *üi* |
| Fig .. .. | *mibafé* | *mebangfé* |
| Fight (v.) .. | *nyebo pato* | *nyemuk pato* |
| Fill .. .. | *yerrtekelè pelekto* | *bürrdebe pülito* |
| Fin, back .. | *mengblâ* | *müblâ* |
| ,, tail .. | *méblâ* | *mèblâ* |
| ,, breast .. | *lablâ* | *lablâ* |
| Find (v.) .. | *nâto* | *nato* |
| Fine (a.) .. | *alepa* | *alapa* |
| Fine (v.) .. | *rengto koto* | *yüt'koto* |
| Finger, thumb .. | *lacheng lakne* | *alak'la'ne* |
| ,, fore .. | *lacheng chengda* | *lüchü chüdang* |
| ,, middle .. | ,, ,, | ,, ,, |
| ,, ring .. | *lacheng chengi* | *lüchü chüyè* |
| ,, little .. | ,, ,, | ,, ,, |
| Finished .. | *monyapaku* | *munyapoku* |
| Fire .. .. | *umè* | *umè* |
| Firefly .. | *upcheng* | *upcheng* |
| Fire (v.) .. | *umè relökto* | *um'reluto* |
| ,, off a gun .. | *upto* | *apto* |
| Fireplace .. | *ume maram* | *um'möröm* |
| Firewood .. | *eseng* | *ishü* |
| First .. .. | *atok* | *ötu* |
| Fish (n.) .. | *ngai* | *ngui* |
| Fish (v.) with line | *ngai akerrpâlâ nâ-tungto* | *ekarrhörrto* |
| ,, with ederr | *ederr gato* | *ödörr gato* |
| ,, with sakum | *sakum gato* | *takhum gato* |
| Fish-hook .. | *akerr* | *akörr* |
| Fishing line .. | *akerr karfa* | *ekörrkörrfa* |
| Fishing rod .. | *akerr karlâ* | *ekörrkörrlâ* |
| Fistful .. | *yömgo* | *yömgo* |
| Flame .. | *um'mero* | *um'moye* |
| Flat .. .. | *morung* | *mâlyü* |
| Flay .. .. | *supin duto* | *epin düto* |
| Flee .. .. | *kitto* | *kétto* |
| Fleet .. .. | *nyerona* | *herrinna* |
| Flexible .. | *nyenyak* | *nenyak* |
| Flint .. .. | *tenggeri* | *mödü* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Flood (v.) | *této* | *této* |
| Flow .. | *farrâto* | *ishi pobu polu farto* |
| Flower | *pung* | *opo* |
| Fly (n.) | *tayeng* | *tüyü* |
| Fly (v.) | *jarto* | *jarto* |
| Foam .. | *föpik* | *föpi* |
| Fog .. | *dâmök* | *dâmö'* |
| Fold .. | *cherrto* | *chirrto* |
| Follow | *koyung koyung* | *koya koya* |
| Food .. | *dosa* | *des'* |
| Fool .. | *patcha* | *pötcha* |
| Foot .. | *lecho* | *all'löch'* |
| Footpath | *lamtè* | *lamta* |
| Footprint | *lalem* | *lelam* |
| Forbid | *binterrto* | *flâterrto* |
| Forefathers | *athoayo* | *ath'ayo* |
| Forefinger | *lacheng lakne* | *lüchü chudang* |
| Forehead | *tokta* | *tutta* |
| Forest | *mlâro* | *mlâro* |
| Forget | *mungpâmâto* | *me'pâmâto* |
| Forgive | *yeflato* | *yekhato* |
| Fork, of trees | *paböng* | *pebbü* |
| ,, of stick | *také* | *také* |
| Formerly | *atokbo* | *uttu* |
| Forsake | *yeflato* | *yekhato* |
| Foul .. | *karo katcho* | *kössöm kayem* |
| Fowl .. | *pörrök* | *pöyök* |
| Fresh .. | *lena* | *lena* |
| Friend | *ajin* | *ajin* |
| Frighten | *bösso belemto* | *böss' belemto* |
| Frog .. | *tatek* | *titek* |
| Front .. | *bago* | *bago* |
| Frost .. | *tapum* | *toppum* |
| Froth .. | *föpik* | *fupik* |
| Fruit .. | *fé* | *akh* |
| Fruitstone | *mümü* | *èmmè* |
| Fuel .. | *useng* | *esü* |
| Full .. | *yerrtè* | *yerrtè* |
| Fullmoon | *harböng* | *hörrbü* |
| Gale .. | *dâgum dâri* | *dugum dâri* |
| Game, deer | *södöm sera, sachörr södöm* | *sudum serü, sachörr sudum* |
| ,, fowl | *pötta kobung* | *potta kobung* |
| ,, monkey | *shebbe sekkit* | *sheb'sekit* |
| ,, snakes | *tabbü tayi* | *tab'tayi* |
| ,, fish | *ngai kobung* | *ngaikubu* |
| Garden | *oh balung* | *oh bolung* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Gate .. .. | *arep* | *ayep* |
| Gather .. | *nâkumpâto* | *na'kumpâto* |
| Genna, to be .. | *aröto* | *aröto* |
| Gently .. | *hâsâ hâsâbo* | *hâsâbo* |
| Get .. .. | *nâto* | *nato* |
| Ghost .. .. | *orum* | *aram* |
| Gift .. .. | *bhisa* | *jisa* |
| Girl .. .. | *nyemöm* | *nyemöm* |
| Give .. .. | *bhito* | *jito* |
| Glad .. .. | *munglökna* | *mülekna* |
| Gloom .. | *kenapa* | *kenopa* |
| Gnat .. .. | *tarrung* | *torru* |
| Gnaw .. .. | *nafingueto* | *nakhingueto* |
| Go .. .. | *guito* | *èto* |
| Go on foot .. | *lèbo ungto* | *lebung eto* |
| Goat .. .. | *sabin* | *sabin, yabin* |
| ,, male .. | *sabin binbo* | *sabinbinpo* |
| ,, female .. | *sabin binnè* | *sabin binnè* |
| Gods .. .. | *üyu* | *üye* |
| Goitre .. | *gengpu* | *gupè* |
| Good .. .. | *alepa* | *alapa* |
| Good fortune .. | *senggo alena* | *sego allè* |
| Goods .. .. | *darröp karröp* | *darröp korröp* |
| Gourd, (for drinking) | *ojök* | *uju* |
| ,, white .. | *tabba* | *tabbü* |
| Gradient .. | *laonge pâpéna* | *lamta pâpéna* |
| Granary .. | *umnasung* | *am'nasu* |
| Grass .. .. | *eng* | *ing* |
| Grasshopper (green) | *takum kamèrr* | *kemèrr* |
| ,, (brown) | *takum regnè* | *takum rennè* |
| Grass land .. | *chengbin* | *chübin, bèbin* |
| Grave .. .. | *samalikhu* | *nisa semalikhè* |
| Grave dao .. | *suju örök* | *suju olyök* |
| Graze (v. tr.) .. | *se rakhito* | *se rakhito* |
| Great .. .. | *lakhena* | *koiya* |
| Green .. .. | *jèvé* | *jèvé* |
| Grey (hair turn) .. | *nyelâ pa* | *nyelopa* |
| Grid .. .. | *rá'rè* | *yeârè* |
| Grief .. .. | *afi* | *ekh* |
| Grind .. .. | *fumökto* | *fumü'to* |
| ,, .. .. | *ritto* | *ri'to* |
| Groan .. .. | *séginto* | *siginto* |
| Ground .. | *kèdé* | *kèdé* |
| Grow (v.) .. | *lakheto* | *koito* |
| Growl (v.) .. | *selinto* | *silinto* |
| Guide (n.) .. | *laong kâtumna* | *lamta kâtumna* |
| Gum .. .. | *tachörr* | *tachörr* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Gun .. .. | *möbök* | *möbök* |
| Gunpowder .. | *khar* (Ass.) | *khar* (Ass.) |
| Habit, of doing .. | *renyem* | *niem* |
| ,, of speaking | *binyem* | *bényem* |
| Hail .. .. | *tapum* | *töppöm* |
| Hair, on head .. | *dömö* | *dume* |
| ,, on body .. | *mömö* | *mömö* |
| Hair band .. | *dömchik* | *dömchik* |
| Hair knot .. | *pöddöm* | *pöddöm* |
| Hair thread .. | *dömsâ* | *dömsâ* |
| Half .. .. | *tungnyâyâ* | *tunyâyâ* |
| Halt (v.) .. | *littü dungto* | *lit' dâto* |
| Hammer .. | *kampa* | *kâmpü* |
| Hammer, to .. | *kampa pato* | *kapüpato* |
| Hamstring, (v) .. | *ladöp pato* | *lafin pato* |
| Hand .. .. | *lak* | *allak* |
| Handful .. | *-pego* | *ablö'pe* |
| Handsome .. | *unyapa* | *anyapa* |
| Hang up .. | *hakpato* | *ha'pöto* |
| Hard .. .. | *larrpa* | *larrdo* |
| Hardship .. | *afi* | *afi* |
| Harelip .. | *nabjapa* | *gomja pa* |
| Harvest time .. | *umem pena* | *am'pena* |
| Hat .. .. | *bâpa* | *bopang* |
| Hawk .. .. | *pemü* | *pemü* |
| Hawk, phlegm (v.) | *takka kafato* | *takka kakhato* |
| He .. .. | *a* | *a* |
| Head .. .. | *dömpâ* | *dömpâ* |
| Head rope .. | *shèvé* | *shé* |
| Headache .. | *dömpâ dömchisa* | *dömpâ dömchi* |
| Healthy .. | *garammâ* | *gara'mâ* |
| Hear .. .. | *tato* | *tato* |
| Heart .. .. | *hâpök* | *hopök* |
| Hearth .. | *ume maram* | *imik'* |
| Heat .. .. | *agguna* | *ogguna* |
| Heaven .. | *nyedâkolâ* | *dânyipâl'* |
| Heavy .. | *ai* | *ei* |
| Heel .. .. | *ludu* | *all'dè* |
| Hen .. .. | *rogne* | *rogne* |
| Hence .. .. | *sukâ* | *sâke* |
| Hen-roost .. | *pörrök putörr* | *pörrö' putèrr* |
| Here .. .. | *sâ, si* | *sâ* |
| Hereafter .. | *koyungbo* | *koyungbo* |
| Hiccup .. | *jekökto* | *jikü'to* |
| Hide (v. intr.) .. | *dungsito, dosito* | *dâ'sito* |
| ,, (v. tr.) .. | *pasito* | *pésito* |
| High .. .. | *au* | *ao* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Hill .. .. | *mlâdi* | *mlâdi* |
| Hillwards .. | *nesengrengbo* | *nisürübo* |
| Hip .. .. | *kâpilâ* | *kâpilâ* |
| Hoarse .. | *lengsa* | *lengsa* |
| Hoe (n.) .. | *koro* | *hâye* |
| Hold .. .. | *nâtungto* | *nâtuto* |
| Hole .. .. | *ong* | *ung* |
| Honey .. | *tanguti* | *tong'etté* |
| Honey-comb .. | *rabpè* | *tong'ayeppè* |
| Hoof .. .. | *lèpi* | *allèpi* |
| Hook .. .. | *raki* | *reki* |
| Horn .. .. | *reng* | *eringè* |
| ,, tip of .. | *rengtok* | *erirutu* |
| ,, base .. | *rengum* | *eri rü* |
| Horn (v.) .. | *nekto* | *nekto* |
| Hornbill, giant .. | *paga* | *pöga* |
| ,, rufous-necked | *garré* | *garre* |
| ,, hill .. | *puyo* | *poyè* |
| ,, white-billed | *puè* | *puè* |
| Hornet .. | *yötök* | *ilè* |
| ,, steel .. | *yotok isip* | *ilè isip* |
| ,, red-banded | *pâga* | *hichi pâga* |
| Horse .. .. | *ghora* | *ghora* |
| Hostage, hold .. | *jagung japâ nâtungto* | *jégü japo natuto* |
| Hot .. .. | *aggu* | *âgu* |
| Hot season .. | *durupâla* | *duruè* |
| House .. | *ogu* | *nam* |
| How .. .. | *hoguarengbo* | *hâgueliubè* |
| How long .. | *hedilam* | *hedilâm* |
| How much, How many | *hedigo* | *hèdugo* |
| How often .. | *lèkugo* | *lukugâ* |
| Hundred .. | *lenggo* | *lügo* |
| Hunger .. | *kanno* | *kanno* |
| Hunt (v.) .. | *mâro gato* | *mâtum gato* |
| Hurricane .. | *dâgum dâri* | *dogum dâri* |
| Husband, 1st .. | *nyelo lochâ* | *nyole lochâ* |
| ,, 2nd .. | *nyelo lonyörr* | *nyole lonyörr* |
| ,, 3rd .. | *nyelo lonyung* | *nyole lonyung* |
| Husbandry .. | *regem resa* | *ringâ nissa* |
| Husk .. .. | *umpè* | *ampè* |
| I .. .. | *ngo* | *ngo* |
| Ice .. .. | *tapum* | *toppum* |
| Idiot .. .. | *patchana* | *mamsum* |
| Idle .. .. | *jamma* | *jamme* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| If .. .. | *-banung* | *-banilâ* |
| Ignite .. .. | *umè parrgöpto* | *umè parrgöpto* |
| Ill, be .. .. | *atchi karto* | *etchi karto* |
| Immediately .. | *ungkhinchenggo* | *ukhinchengo* |
| Immodest .. | *hanyengmâ* | *henyimâ* |
| Imprison .. | *pattokbo lekto* | *putti'luto* |
| In .. .. | *allo* | *alla* |
| Indian corn .. | *toppu* | *töppuè* |
| Indigo.. .. | *daidasa* | *daidasü* |
| Infancy .. | *kao bengku* | *ko bengkè* |
| Infant.. .. | *engaka* | *ko ajupa* |
| Inform .. | *bintumto* | *bétumto* |
| Insane .. | *rupa* | *rukado* |
| Insect.. .. | *tapum* | *toppum* |
| Inside.. .. | *arenga* | *erü* |
| Intellect .. | *poknie* | *punie* |
| Internode .. | *habum* | *è habum* |
| Intestine .. | *kekhi* | *ékhé* |
| Into .. .. | *arengo* | *èröngo* |
| Invert (v.) .. | *tungfungto* | *tukhuto* |
| Iron .. .. | *râkderr* | *yâ'derr* |
| Island.. .. | *ishi pachem* | *ish'pöchöm* |
| Itchy .. .. | *afa' paku* | *akha paku* |
| Ivory .. .. | *hati fibung* | *seti eru* |
| Jaw .. .. | *pabbè* | *pabbè* |
| Jhum .. .. | *dépürek* | *mlâdi ringâ* |
| Join (v.) .. | *patörrato* | *patörrato* |
| Joke .. .. | *sâsa* | *sâsa* |
| Joke (v.) .. | *sâminto* | *sâminto* |
| Juice .. .. | *sengne ishi* | *seng'ishi* |
| Jump over .. | *rebâto* | *jubâto* |
| ,, across .. | *jabdato* | *redato* |
| Jungle.. .. | *mlâro* | *mlâro* |
| Jungle fowl .. | *regleng* | *parrsin* |
| Keep .. .. | *doguèto, reguèto* | *dâguèto* |
| Kernel .. | *rayeng* | *rayeng* |
| Kick (v.) .. | *lega duto* | *duto* |
| Kid .. .. | *sabin kao* | *shibbin ko* |
| Kidneys .. | *kéè* | *kéè* |
| Kill .. .. | *mingto* | *minto* |
| ,, (dao) .. | *paketo* | *pakhito* |
| ,, (spear) .. | *nekketo* | *nukhito* |
| ,, (beating) .. | *jengketo* | *jukhito* |
| ,, (bee's) .. | *poketo* | *pakhito* |
| Kind, be (v.) .. | *unyato* | *unyato* |
| Kind (n.) .. | *lung* | *lung* |
| Kiss (v.) .. | *mopuprato* | *mopuprato* |

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|---|---|---|
| Kitten .. | *asa kao* | *asa ko* |
| Knee .. | *leböng* | *lebü* |
| Kneel .. | *kötömto* | *kotömto* |
| Knife .. | *guèchi* | *yâ'chi* |
| Knock .. | *kedinto* | *kedinto* |
| Knot .. | *-yek* | *-yek* |
| Knot, to .. | *yek chengto* | *yek chengto* |
| Knuckle .. | *töbrege* | *tobru* |
| Know .. | *kâchinto* | *kachinto* |
| Labour .. | *kam resa* | *bön nissa* |
| Lad .. | *yapa* | *yapa* |
| Ladder .. | *sobla* | *sobla* |
| Lake .. | *sèlé* | *sèlé* |
| Lame man .. | *lajalajalâ ungna* | *laja èna* |
| Land .. | *kèdé* | *kèdé* |
| Land-slip .. | *ratchi* | *rètchi* |
| Language .. | *berrek* | *birrèk* |
| Lard .. .. | *erek dinbörr* | *ilyek sâbörr* |
| Large .. .. | *lakhe* | *koi* |
| Last .. .. | *koyungga* | *koyuga* |
| Laugh .. .. | *nyerto* | *nyirrto* |
| Law-suit .. | *sarsa* | *sorsé* |
| Lay (eggs) .. | *püpü püto* | *pupü püto* |
| Lazy .. .. | *jamma* | *jamma* |
| Lead .. .. | *hie* | *nie* |
| Lead (v.) .. | *bogueto* | *bo'èto* |
| Leaf .. .. | *nabörr, oko* | *nabörr, okè* |
| Lean, to .. | *yèdaldâto* | *tabdaldato* |
| Learn, (speak) .. | *binyökto* | *benyökto* |
| ,, (do) .. | *renyökto* | *ninyökto* |
| Leech .. .. | *tappit* | *teppik* |
| Left hand .. | *la'che* | *alla la'che* |
| Leg .. .. | *lè* | *lè* |
| Lemon .. | *nayo fe* | *nayo khe* |
| Lend .. .. | *dodo bhito* | *dâd'jito* |
| Leopard .. | *senyo takhörr* | *sönyo takhörr* |
| Leprosy .. | *lörrök* | *lörrök* |
| Level .. .. | *morung* | *moyu* |
| Liar .. .. | *amebo binna* | *amebo bena* |
| Lick .. .. | *darrakto* | *dolyayagato* |
| Lie down .. | *karto* | *karto* |
| Lift .. .. | *nâchato* | *nachato* |
| Lightning .. | *dârak rakto* | *dâlya yakto* |
| Limp .. .. | *lajalajalâ ungto* | *lejalejalâ eto* |
| Lip, upper .. | *napchi* | *nèpchè* |
| lower .. | *nabörr* | *gombörr* |
| Liquor .. | *opâ* | *opâ* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Listen .. .. | *tato* | *tato* |
| Little .. .. | *inchung* | *inchu* |
| Little finger .. | *la'cheng chengi* | *le'chu chuye, lüchü chüye* |
| Liver .. .. | *hâru* | *hâre* |
| Living .. .. | *barapa* | *châkhipa* |
| Lizard, gecko .. | *kako* | *kako* |
| ,, monitor .. | *babuligungi* | *babuli guyè* |
| ,, tree .. | *sâpin* | *sâpin* |
| ,, house .. | *sâmöp* | *sâmöp* |
| Load .. .. | *baksa* | *ba'se* |
| Loan .. .. | *dodo* | *dâd'* |
| Lofty .. .. | *au* | *au* |
| Log .. .. | *sengpa* | *sèpungè* |
| Long .. .. | *assopa* | *ass' do* |
| Look .. .. | *kâto* | *kato* |
| Look after .. | *sorato* | *sâroto* |
| Looking glass .. | *arsi* (Ass.) | *ersiè* |
| Loose .. .. | *arröpa* | *orrdo* |
| Loot (v.) .. | *nârrito* | *naritto* |
| Lose .. .. | *nyeto* | *nyeto* |
| Love .. .. | *unyato* | *unyato* |
| Lovely .. | *kayin* | *kadèangdo* |
| Low .. .. | *auma* | *oma* |
| Lower arm, to (v.) .. | *lakem itumto* | *alla'itumto* |
| Luck .. .. | *senggo* | *süguè* |
| Luggage .. | *darröp karröp* | *darröp karröp* |
| Lungs .. .. | *hâpo* | *hâpe* |
| Mad man .. | *runa* | *runa* |
| Maid .. .. | *nyemöm* | *nijörr* |
| Machang, front .. | *bago chabin* | *bago* |
| ,, rear .. | *batung chabin* | *batung* |
| Machang, build .. | *saga kago reto* | *saga reto* |
| Make .. .. | *moto* | *nito* |
| Male .. .. | *nyega* | *nyega* |
| Man .. .. | *bengni* | *nie* |
| ,, old .. | *nyakum* | *nyekum* |
| ,, very old .. | *nyakum kangotarröp* | *nyekum kunggotörröp* |
| ,, young .. | *yapa* | *nyâ* |
| Mango, wild .. | *tagung fe* | *tegu akhi* |
| Manner .. | *renyem* | *ninyem* |
| Manure .. | *sè'é* | *sè'é* |
| Many .. .. | *arökpönggo* | *éikötago* |
| Marriage, ask in .. | *nyeddâ berrek binto* | *nyeddâ birrek bélo* |
| ,, given in | *nyèmè bhifungto* | *nyem'jikhuto* |
| Marrow .. | *lâchin* | *lâchin* |
| Marry .. .. | *nyèmmèrèto* | *nyèm'rèto* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Marry, without paying price | *yochato* | *yèchato* |
| Mat .. .. | *uppit* | *appikè* |
| Matches .. | *solai* | *solai* |
| Meal .. .. | *dosa* | *dosse* |
| Meat .. .. | *sodin* | *edin* |
| Medicine .. | *darröp* | *darröp* |
| Meet (v.) .. | *gueterrato* | *gueterrato* |
| Melon .. .. | *mèba* | *mèba* |
| Melt (v.) .. | *döllā moto* | *dōllā moto* |
| Mend .. .. | *mödörr moto* | *midorr moto* |
| Merciful, be (v.) .. | *unya assörmâ töfflyato* | *unya assörrmâ tokhyato* |
| Messenger, herald | *botora farrna* | *botora kharrna* |
| Metal .. .. | *sodin* | *èdin* |
| Meteor .. | *takkörr nimâ farrto* | *tökkör nimâ farrto* |
| Methinks .. | *mungpa* | *müpa* |
| Middle .. | *lapa* | *lapa* |
| Midnight, at .. | *nyengrengra* | *nyüyülèpa* |
| Midday, at .. | *chatè kilè* | *dânyi chat'keldâ* |
| Middle-aged .. | *dennèpa* | *dennèpa* |
| Midwife .. | *huchinâna* | *chinchinâna* |
| Mildew, to get .. | *üto* | *tepinputo* |
| Milk (n.) .. | *sè atchu* | *sè otchu* |
| Milk (v.) .. | *gasin gayinto* | *gèsi geinto* |
| Millipede .. | *takum lilung* | *ainonukumnulo* |
| Mind (n.) .. | *hâpök* | *hanghâpü* |
| Mire .. .. | *boka* (Ass.) | *boka* (Ass.) |
| Mirror .. .. | *arsi* (Ass.) | *arse* (Ass.) |
| Mithun, male .. | *sebbe* | *sebbe* |
| ,, female .. | *sennè* | *sennè* |
| ,, male, big .. | *böttè* | *böttè* |
| ,, female, big .. | *nyerung* | *nyerrung* |
| Miscarriage .. | *köpakao jakpasa* | *köpakojakhasa* |
| Miscarry .. | *köpa kao jakpato* | *kopako jakhato* |
| Miss (v.) (gun) .. | *möbök öflato* | *möbök akhato* |
| ,, (bow) .. | *öpök öflato* | *upök akhato* |
| ,, (spear) .. | *nengka cheflato* | *nakha chikhato* |
| ,, (stone) .. | *elung hörrflato* | *elung hörrkhlyato* |
| Mist .. .. | *dâmök* | *dâmök* |
| Mistake (be) .. | *-pu-* | *-pu-* |
| Mithun .. | *sebbe* | *sebbe* |
| Mix .. .. | *moyo möchâto* | *moyo michato* |
| Moan (v.) .. | *seginto* | *seginto* |
| Moist .. .. | *jöja* | *jöja* |
| Mole (on skin) .. | *oi marem* | *oi marem* |
| Money .. .. | *tengka* | *töka* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Monkey (Bengal) .. | *shibbi* | *shebbi* |
| ,, (Honuman) | *besörr* | *besörr* |
| Month.. .. | *pâlo* | *pâlo* |
| Moon .. .. | *pâlo* | *pâlo* |
| Morning .. | *kamchi* | *sèrr kamché* |
| Mosquito .. | *tarrung* | *tarrung* |
| Moss .. .. | *tapung* | *tüpü* |
| Mother .. | *annè* | *annè* |
| Mother-in-law .. | *aio* | *ai* |
| Mother's father .. | *atto* | *atte* |
| Mother's mother .. | *aio* | *ai* |
| Mother's brother .. | *küi* | *akke* |
| Mother's sister .. | *mhei* | *mhei* |
| Mother's brother's wife | *aio* | *nyekhe* |
| Mother's sister's husband | *matchung* | *mapa* |
| Mother's brother's : | | |
| son .. | *yao* | *nyebbe* |
| daughter | *mao* | *nyennè* |
| Mother's sister's : | | |
| son .. | *henyeng* | *nyebbe* |
| daughter | *ammo* | *nyenni* |
| Mountain .. | *mlâdi* | *nyâdi* |
| Moustaches .. | *gamö* | *nemö* |
| Mouth.. .. | *gam* | *agöm* |
| Much .. .. | *arökpönggo* | *eikötago* |
| Mud .. .. | *boka* (Ass.) | *boka* (Ass.) |
| Murder (v.) .. | *mingto* | *mingto* |
| Murderer .. | *bengnimingna* | *nyi mingna* |
| Mushroom .. | *uïtaïn* | *uitain* |
| Muzzle (gun) .. | *böktok* | *boto* |
| Naked.. .. | *rigmakaka* | *rigma, taloringko* |
| Name .. .. | *mungmin* | *èmin* |
| Narrow .. | *ta'chung* | *téchü* |
| Navel .. .. | *kenö* | *kinè* |
| Near .. .. | *goyu* | *kâtch'* |
| Neck .. .. | *lengpâ* | *lâpâ* |
| Necklace .. | *tasseng* | *tassü* |
| ,, wear .. | *tasseng gèto* | *tassü gèto* |
| Needle .. | *paksi* | *pési* |
| Needy.. .. | *hama appin* | *yema yeppin* |
| Negligent .. | *adungmâbo* | *adungmâbo* |
| Nest .. .. | *pötta supè* | *pötta ossup* |
| Nest (v.) .. | *supto* | *supto* |
| Net (fishing) .. | *essek* | *issek* |
| Net, cast .. | *essek hörrto* | *issek hörrto* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Nettle (tree) .. | *pudurengtè* | *pudurrungtè* |
| ,, (small) .. | *pössöp puyo* | *pössöp puyo* |
| New .. .. | *nittina* | *nittina* |
| Night .. .. | *kenapao* | *kanopo* |
| Night and day .. | *yepkiloki* | *yekhilokhi* |
| Night jar .. | *pötta pottâk* | *pottâk* |
| Nipple .. .. | *chucherr* | *chirr* |
| Nipple of gun .. | *mlâchung* | *mlâchung* |
| No .. .. | *mâ* | *mâ* |
| Nobody .. | *bengniakope . . . mâ* | *nyiaka . . . mă* |
| Nod (v.) .. | *pakito* | *pakito* |
| Node .. .. | *hateng* | *è hètü* |
| Noise .. .. | *duna* | *duna* |
| None .. .. | *neku, monyapaku* | *dokumâ, monyapoku* |
| Nonsense .. | *patcha berrek* | *patcha berrek* |
| Noon .. .. | *dânyi chatèkelè* | *dânyichatèkelè* |
| North .. .. | *addumphale* | *odumphale* |
| Nose .. .. | *nyepöm* | *nyepöm* |
| Nose-flute .. | *pongli* | *polé* |
| Nostril .. | *nyepöm ong* | *nyepöm ong* |
| Not .. .. | *-mâ* | *-mâ* |
| Nothing .. | *hogupe* | *hogupe* |
| Now .. .. | *kedja* | *séja* |
| Nowhere .. | *neku* | *neku* |
| Nowadays .. | *serem sero* | *söyem sorr* |
| Numerous .. | *arökpönggo* | *eiköta* |
| Nurse (n.) .. | *nèbung* | *nèbö* |
| Oath, take (v.) .. | *dingdung dingto* | *dindu dinto* |
| ,, hear (v.) .. | *dingdung tato* | *dindu tato* |
| Obey .. .. | *binam tato* | *bename tapâto* |
| Obtain .. | *nâto* | *nato* |
| Odour .. .. | *nampa* | *namdo* |
| Offspring .. | *kao* | *ko* |
| Oil .. .. | *telle* | *tele* |
| Old (things) .. | *kutchuk* | *kutchu* |
| ,, man .. | *nyakum* | *nyekum* |
| ,, woman .. | *fungo* | *hâkh* |
| Omen, take .. | *pachung kâto* | *rochu heto* |
| On .. .. | *au* | *au* |
| Once .. .. | *lego, lekgo* | *lökgo* |
| One .. .. | *akin* | *akin* |
| One-eyed .. | *nyekcha* | *inyi nyicha* |
| Onion .. .. | *noru* | *noru* |
| Open .. .. | *mokâto* | *mokâto* |
| ,, eye .. | *nyek bâto* | *enyi'nyik boto* |
| ,, mouth .. | *gam kato* | *agöm gumkato* |
| Orphan .. | *hapinka* | *hopinko* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Other .. .. | *kego* | *kegi* |
| Otter .. .. | *sarram* | *sarram* |
| Outside .. | *lalin* | *laline* |
| Overtake .. | *guèchito* | *yâchikto* |
| Overturn .. | *lèköpto* | *likupto* |
| Owing to .. | *-gabo* | *-gabo* |
| Owl .. .. | *hudu* | *hudu* |
| Own .. .. | *maiga* | *müga* |
| Own (v.) .. | *-ga dopa* | *-ga do* |
| Owner .. .. | *rebo atho* | *rèbüathè* |
| Paddy .. .. | *um* | *am* |
| Pain, to .. | *achito* | *ichito* |
| Pair .. .. | *anyigo* | *enyigo* |
| Palatable .. | *dodebo alepa* | *dèdèbo al'pa* |
| Pale .. .. | *ponglu* | *pulu* |
| Palm .. .. | *la'cho* | *alla la'ché* |
| Panchayat, to .. | *nyèlè dungto* | *nyèlè duto* |
| Panji .. .. | *oor* | *âr* |
| Pant (v.) .. | *samitto* | *samitto* |
| Paper .. .. | *pötta* | *pötta* |
| Paradise .. | *orum-nampöm* | *orum nampöm* |
| Parents .. | *atho'ayo* | *ath' aye* |
| Parrot .. .. | *pu* | *pu* |
| Pat (v.) with hand | *pesengto* | *pisüto* |
| Path .. .. | *lamtè* | *lamta* |
| Pauper .. | *jengungpaku* | *yammado* |
| Pay .. .. | *yekto* | *yüto* |
| Peacock .. | *mirapötta* | *mirapötta* |
| Penis .. .. | *mlaak* | *amlaak* |
| People .. | *bengni* | *niè* |
| Perceive .. | *kâpâto* | *kapato* |
| Perform .. | *réto* | *nito* |
| Perfume .. | *nam* | *nam* |
| Petty .. .. | *inchung* | *inchu* |
| Porter .. .. | *baksa bagna* | *bas'ba'nè* |
| Phlegm .. | *takka* | *takka* |
| Pheasant (kalij) .. | *pörrök neka* | *lyikya* |
| ,, (peacock) | *pokâ* | *pâkhâ* |
| Picture .. | *noksa* (Ass.) | *noksa* (Ass.) |
| Piece .. .. | *bago* | *namba* |
| Pierce (arrow) .. | *uppitto* | *uppito* |
| ,, (dao) .. | *papitto* | *papito* |
| ,, (spear) .. | *nekpitto* | *nekpito* |
| Pierce ear .. | *nyerung üto* | *nyiru üto* |
| Pig, tame .. | *erek* | *ili'* |
| ,, wild .. | *sera* | *seru* |
| ,, dead .. | *regma* | *yi'mâ* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Pigeon .. | *pükü pötta* | *kungü'* |
| Pilfer .. .. | *dutchâto* | *dụtchâto* |
| Pinch .. .. | *ingöpto* | *inġöpto* |
| Pine tree .. | *taru sengne* | *passa sennè* |
| Pipe .. .. | *kamcheng* | *silü* |
| Place .. .. | *gungda* | *gungda* |
| Place (v.) .. | *pato, pabhito* | *puchito* |
| Place hand on .. | *mamkito* | *mamkato* |
| Plains .. .. | *wakaso, rengkâ* | *mâlyü* |
| Plank .. .. | *sengta* | *seta* |
| Plant .. .. | *sengne* | *sennè* |
| Plantain .. | *kapök* | *kopak* |
| Plate (leaf) .. | *kakum oko* | *kokham ok* |
| Play (v.) .. | *sâto* | *sâto* |
| Pleased .. | *lage alepa* | *lagepa* |
| Pluck fruit .. | *fe püto* | *akhi puto* |
| Point .. .. | *nyektok* | *nyutu* |
| Point (v.) panji .. | *yar sukto* | *ar yörrsu'to* |
| ,, stake .. | *pa sukto* | *pasu'to* |
| Point out .. | *kâtumto* | *katamto* |
| Poison.. .. | *umno* | *unè* |
| Poison, river, to .. | *tamu jengto* | *tam jéto* |
| Polish .. .. | *rékato, mâkato* | *mökhato* |
| Pool .. .. | *lötum inchung* | *lötum inchü* |
| Poor .. .. | *jengung, hama appin* | *jügü, yemayeppin* |
| Porcupine .. | *shefi* | *shikhi* |
| Pork .. .. | *erek sodin* | *ili èdin* |
| Portion .. | *bago* | *namba* |
| Post (wooden) .. | *rengda* | *sürrü* |
| Pot (metal) .. | *to pecheng* | *to püchü* |
| ,, (earthen) .. | *takum pecheng* | *tokum püchü* |
| Potter.. .. | *pecheng tablakna* | *püchü tabla'na* |
| Pounder (v.) .. | *füto* | *khüto* |
| Pounder .. | *fungi* | *khönya* |
| Pour .. .. | *pelekto* | *pilökto* |
| Pour over .. | *dâpupto* | *dâpöpto* |
| Prawn.. .. | *tassem* | *tössem* |
| Precipice .. | *bedung* | *bedung* |
| Pregnant, be (v.) .. | *kaoguèto, ga asermâ* | *koguèto, ga assermâ* |
| Prepare .. | *jötinto* | *jötinto* |
| Press against .. | *nengtinto* | *nütinto* |
| Press out .. | *nekpitto* | *nöpitto* |
| Pretty.. .. | *koyinpa, unyapa* | *gayindo* |
| Prevaricate .. | *amebo binto* | *ume beto* |
| Previously .. | *kolo atokbo* | *kolo atubo* |
| Price .. .. | *hedigo* | *hedigo* |
| Prick .. .. | *nèguèto* | *nigto* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Prison .. .. | *phatok* (Ass.) | *phatok* (Ass.) |
| Private parts (male) | *tompü* | *tömpü* |
| Prop, to .. | *fungbhito* | *khüjito* |
| Property .. | *sengdum böngpöng* | *sun melenga* |
| Proprietor .. | *rebo atho* | *reb'athe* |
| Prostitute .. | *legrenidâjeng* | *legrenidâjeng* |
| Pull .. .. | *seto* | *seto* |
| Pull, trigger .. | *hâbitto* | *hobitto* |
| Pumpkin, long .. | *parrö* | *pörrö* |
| ,, round .. | *tapa* | *tapü* |
| Punch .. .. | *nekto* | *alla nekpüto* |
| Puppy .. | *iki kao* | *ikiko* |
| Purchase .. | *rèto* | *rèto* |
| Purse .. .. | *choku* | *chuku* |
| Pursue .. | *rökfato* | *rukhato* |
| Push .. .. | *tungto* | *tuto* |
| Put .. .. | *pato* | *pato* |
| Put on clothes .. | *koto* | *koto* |
| ,, lid .. | *pöttöp kafato* | *putup kakhato* |
| Put out of .. | *tunglinto* | *tulinto* |
| Putrid .. .. | *yana* | *yana* |
| Putrefy .. | *yato* | *yato* |
| Quagmire .. | *sapla* | *sapla* |
| Quail .. .. | *pongom* | *pongom* |
| Quake .. .. | *hökto* | *hüto* |
| Quarrel .. | *yalung bungto* | *yolu beto* |
| Quench .. | *umè momitto* | *em momito* |
| Quick, be (v.) .. | *nyerobo reto* | *hering nito* |
| Quickly .. | *chuikabo* | *uchukabo* |
| Quiver .. | *aggit* | *égé* |
| ,, lid .. | *aggit pötöp* | *égé putup* |
| Rafter .. | *rèbé* | *yobi* |
| Railing (of fence) .. | *lungung* | *lugü* |
| Rain .. .. | *nyedâ* | *nyedâ* |
| Rain, to .. | *nyedâ hoto* | *nyedâ hoto* |
| Rainbow .. | *aruvègogo* | *arigogo* |
| Rain coat .. | *tassè narra* | *tassinarra* |
| Rainy season .. | *durupâlo* | *durpâlo* |
| Rain shield .. | *obâ* | *ebâ* |
| Raise .. .. | *nâchato* | *nachato* |
| Raise arm .. | *lakem iripto* | *alla iripto* |
| Rake .. .. | *tâfé* | *tâkhi* |
| Rake (v.) .. | *hakato* | *hakhato* |
| Ramble (v.) .. | *ga mungto* | *gemingtato* |
| Rap, to .. | *padinto* | *padinto* |
| Rape (v.) .. | *yosito* | *yosito* |
| Rapids .. | *sopung solung* | *sopu solu* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| | *kebung* | *kubu* |
| Rat .. .. | *lelakna* | *edin lelakna* |
| Raw .. .. | *ichito* | *ichito* |
| Reach (v.) with hand | *gechito, chachito,* | *gichito, chichito,* |
| ,, (arrive) .. | *ichito, ungchito* | *ichito* |
| | *jötinpa* | *jötindo* |
| Ready .. .. | *umtü tüto, um peto* | *em'tuto, em'peto* |
| Reap .. .. | *hukum tamâna* | *hukum tamâna* |
| Rebellious .. | *nâto* | *nato* |
| Receive .. | *kadjo* | *kaj'* |
| Recently .. | *kito* | *kito* |
| Reckon .. | *karto* | *karto* |
| Recline .. | *kâchinto* | *kâchinto* |
| Recognize .. | *mungpâto* | *mupâto* |
| Recollect .. | *pürato* | *pürato* |
| Reconcile .. | *ajinrato* | *ajinsuto* |
| Reconciled, be .. | *lengchi* | *luchu* |
| Red .. .. | *mungto* | *mungto* |
| Reflect .. | *töfflyato* | *tökhyato* |
| Release (v.) .. | *dorato* | *dolyato* |
| Remain .. | *akuda moto* | *akuda moto* |
| Remake .. | *munggöpto* | *munggöpto* |
| Remember .. | *addo* | *addo* |
| Remote .. | *nâguineto* | *nâguineto* |
| Remove .. | *mödörr moto* | *mödörr moto* |
| Repair (v.) .. | *akuda bintumto* | *akuda betumto* |
| Repeat .. | *kheli bhito* | *khelibo jito* |
| Replace .. | *bajörr* | *bojörr* |
| Report .. | *litü dungto* | *litü dato* |
| Repose .. | *tabbü* | *tebbü* |
| Reptile .. | *litü dungto* | *litü dato* |
| Rest .. .. | *chakerrto* | *chökörrto* |
| Return to hills .. | *ikerrto* | *ikörrto* |
| ,, to plains .. | *nyemuk sengjâ* | *nyema' senjâ* |
| Reward .. | *gungro* | *gurrè* |
| Rhinoceros .. | *umbin* | *embin* |
| Rice .. .. | *gora nyaga* | *gora nyega* |
| Rich man .. | *farrdatato* | *kharrdatato* |
| Ride (v.) .. | *mlâdiannè, yèrrda* | *mâdiannè, yèrrda* |
| Ridge .. .. | *möbök* | *möbök* |
| Rifle .. .. | *lak la'bök* | *alla lebok* |
| Right hand .. | *lakchi* | *alla lakchi* |
| Ring .. .. | *minpa* | *mindo* |
| Ripe .. .. | *görröpto* | *görröpto* |
| Rise .. .. | *sâbung* | *pobu* |
| River .. .. | *sogung* | *sogü* |
| ,, up the .. | *sodöm* | *södöm* |
| ,, down the .. | | |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Road .. .. | *laong* | *lamta* |
| Roar .. .. | *sâgâkto* | *sâgâkhto* |
| Rock .. .. | *elung* | *ilü* |
| Roof .. .. | *naköp* | *naköp* |
| Root .. .. | *mami* | *mémé* |
| Rope .. .. | *poga* | *èkya* |
| Rotten .. | *yapanna* | *yapena* |
| Round (like ball) .. | *luma* | *lumna* |
| ,, (like rupee) | *barröp* | *barrè* |
| Round about .. | *kungke yungébo* | *kunggörmega* |
| Rub .. .. | *mègueto* | *méto* |
| Rubber .. | *sengkeng* | *sükhü* |
| Run .. .. | *farrto* | *kharrto* |
| Rupee.. .. | *tengka* | *toka* |
| Rust, to .. | *ékumto* | *ekhato* |
| Saliva .. .. | *tachörr* | *töchörr* |
| Salt .. .. | *allo* | *alye* |
| Salt, hill .. | *allo lötum* | *alye lötum* |
| Salute .. .. | *manito* | *manito* |
| Sambhar .. | *sachörr* | *söchörr* |
| Same .. .. | *akinsu* | *akinsu* |
| Sand .. .. | *bali* (Ass.) | *bali* (Ass.) |
| Sandfly .. | *misi* | *misye* |
| Sap .. .. | *sengne ishi* | *sen' ishi* |
| Satisfied, sated .. | *dejeto* | *dejeto* |
| Say .. .. | *binto* | *béto* |
| Scabbard .. | *sabök* | *söbök* |
| Scald (v.) .. | *tâblato* .. | *ish' tâblato* |
| Scar .. .. | *pai* | *pai* |
| Scorch .. | *famblato* | *im' khambato* |
| Scratch (v.), tiger .. | *hakto, hâdum hachato* | *hakto, hâjök hâto* |
| Scream .. | *sâgâkto* | *sogâkto* |
| Search .. | *méto* | *méto* |
| Seat .. .. | *dungku* | *dake* |
| Security, give .. | *pöto pato* | *pot'pato* |
| See .. .. | *kâto* | *kato* |
| Seed .. .. | *fe* | *akhi* |
| Seize .. .. | *nâtungto* | *nâtuto* |
| Self .. .. | *mai* | *mai* |
| Sell .. .. | *pokto* | *puto* |
| Sell from village to village | *pögsit pögmitto* | *pögsi pomi'to* |
| Send .. .. | *belekto* | *bilikto* |
| Separate .. | *tèpin terrato* | *tèpin terrato* |
| Serow .. .. | *sibbi* | *sibbi* |
| Servant, male .. | *nyera* | *nyera* |
| ,, female .. | *pagne* | *pa'ne* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| | *hamto* | *hamto* |
| Sew .. .. | *denyum* | *dunyum* |
| Shade .. .. | *yalobabo* | *yalobabe* |
| Shadow .. | *hekto* | *hito* |
| Shake .. .. | *aröngmâ* | *iru mâ* |
| Shallow .. | *hanyung* | *henyeng* |
| Shame .. | *ba* | *ba* |
| Share .. .. | *arikpa* | *ari'pa* |
| Sharp, edged .. | *yarkipa* | *yörrkipa* |
| ,, pointed .. | *namö likto* | *nam li'to* |
| Shave (v.) .. | *püku kafato* | *pükhu kekhato* |
| Shell (v.) .. | *tabo* | *tabungè* |
| Shelter (lean to) .. | *dânyi nyito, dânyi dâbato* | *dânyi nyito, dânyi dâbato* |
| Shine (sun) (v.) .. | *pöjörrto* | *pujörrto* |
| Shiver .. | *lakum* | *lakum* |
| Shoe .. .. | *upto* | *apto* |
| Shoot .. .. | *tongdung* | *todü* |
| Short .. .. | *garbung* | *görrbü* |
| Shoulder .. | *sâgâkto* | *sâgâkto, sâgakhto* |
| Shout (v.) .. | *kâtumto* | *katumto* |
| Show (v.) .. | *dajem daröm râlâ engta* | *dajem daröm rolâ eto* |
| Shuffle (v.) .. | *motumto* | *motumto* |
| Shut (v.) .. | *ga rampa* | *garampa* |
| Sick, be (v.) .. | *tengka* | *toka* |
| Silver .. .. | *akhinsu* | *akin* |
| Similar .. | *binminto* | *beminto* |
| Sing .. .. | *akhinchenggo* | *akinchègo* |
| Single .. .. | *ponglökto, horumlökto* | *puluto, horumluto* |
| Sink (v.) .. | *amé* | *emmè* |
| Sister, elder .. | *börrmè* | *börrmè* |
| ,, younger .. | *dungto* | *dato* |
| Sit .. .. | *binti* | *binté* |
| Site, for house .. | *namcheng* | *namchü* |
| ,, for village .. | *mâku* | *mâkè* |
| ,, for fields .. | *supin* | *èpin* |
| Skin .. .. | *supin duto* | *èpin duto* |
| Skin (v.) .. | *dömpâ dömkulâ* | *dömkulâ* |
| Skull .. .. | *nyedâ kulâ* | *dânyi pâlo* |
| Sky .. .. | *nyera* | *nyera* |
| Slave, male .. | *pagne* | *pa'ne* |
| ,, female .. | *rutömto* | *rutömto* |
| Slander (v.) .. | *pikto* | *pi'to* |
| Slap (v.) .. | *mingto* | *mingto* |
| Slay .. .. | *yepto* | *yepto* |
| Sleep (v.) .. | | |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Sleepy, be (v.) .. | *yemi yeptöpto* | *yemi yeptöpto* |
| Sleepiness .. | *yemipa* | *yemido* |
| Sleeping place .. | *boyeng* | *boyü* |
| Slightly .. | *mego mego* | *mego mego* |
| Sling for dao .. | *râfa* | *yâkha* |
| Slip (v.) .. | *dolitto* | *duli'guèto* |
| Slip (hillside) .. | *ratchi chi'to* | *rètchi chèto* |
| Slow .. .. | *hâsâ hâsâ* | *haso haso* |
| Slowly .. | *hâsâ hâsâbo* | *haso hasobo* |
| Smack (v.) .. | *pikto* | *pi'to* |
| Small .. .. | *inchungna* | *inchuna* |
| Smallpox .. | *tabum bumka* | *tabum bumka* |
| Smell (v.) .. | *sugato* | *namgato* |
| Smell (n.) .. | *nampa* | *namdo* |
| Smith .. .. | *kamörr nyebu* | *kemirr nyebu* |
| Smoke (n.) .. | *umè mükhü* | *umè mükhü* |
| Smoke (v.) .. | *kamcheng tengto* | *sitü tengto* |
| Smut .. .. | *chöyök* | *chuyu* |
| Snail .. .. | *nokora* | *nokora* |
| Snail-shell .. | *nokorapü* | *nokorapü* |
| Snake .. .. | *tabbü* | *tèbbü* |
| Snare (v.) .. | *gâkto* | *gâkmoto* |
| Snatch .. | *nâtungto* | *natuto* |
| Sneeze (v.) .. | *kajito* | *kèjéto* |
| Snipe .. .. | *kèdé pössör* | *kèdé pössör* |
| Snow .. .. | *tapum* | *töpum* |
| Snore .. .. | *yèfèrto* | *yökhörrto* |
| Soap .. .. | *sabin* | *sibin* |
| Soft .. .. | *nyengna* | *ninyak* |
| Soil .. .. | *kèdé* | *kèdé* |
| Soil (v.) .. | *katcho karo moto* | *katchükanya moto* |
| Sole of foot .. | *lècho* | *all'lutchü* |
| Sometimes .. | *loko loko* | *lok loko* |
| Son .. .. | *nyega kao* | *nyega ko* |
| Song .. .. | *binminsa* | *béminsa* |
| Soon .. .. | *nyerobo, belachengo, belago* | *herinbo, belachügo* |
| Soot .. .. | *chöyök* | *chuyu* |
| Sorrow .. | *afi* | *âkhi* |
| Soul, of dead men .. | *orum* | *orum* |
| ,, of living person | *yalo* | *yalè* |
| South .. .. | *kappök phale* | *kèpük phale* |
| Sour .. .. | *kungsukpa* | *kusukdo* |
| Sow (n.) .. | *erek fungè* | *ili'khune* |
| Sow (v.) .. | *lito* | *lito* |
| Span .. .. | *lakso, lakdung* | *gapso, göbdü* |
| Spark .. .. | *möjörr* | *mijörr* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Sparrow .. | *pöjök* | *puli'* |
| Speak .. .. | *binto, bintumto* | *beto* |
| Spear (n.) .. | *nengkâ* | *nâkhâ* |
| Spear (v.) .. | *nekto* | *nikhto* |
| Spectacles .. | *nyeglak* | *enyi ni'lak* |
| Spell, cast .. | *pajök pato* | *pojü pato* |
| Spider .. | *takche* | *takche* |
| Spider's web .. | *takche saam* | *tach' sam* |
| Spine .. .. | *henkü* | *henkü* |
| Spirit .. .. | *üyu* | *uyi* |
| Spit .. .. | *tachörr cheflato* | *tacho chukhato* |
| Spittle .. | *tachörr* | *tacho* |
| Spleen.. .. | *dâli törrpu, dâli tarpü* | *dâli törrpè* |
| Split, (guechi) .. | *pacheto* | *pechito* |
| „ (dao) .. | *pacheto* | *pachito* |
| Spoil (n.) .. | *nâritnamal* | *narena* |
| Spoil (v.) .. | *nâritto* | *nareto* |
| Spoon .. .. | *fittakè* | *fittakè* |
| Spring (water) .. | *ishi linku, ishi lötum* | *ishi linku, ishi lötum* |
| Squat (v.) .. | *pamlâ dungto* | *pom'dâto* |
| Squint-eyed .. | *nyegrè* | *nyegrè* |
| Squirrel .. | *shefi* | *sekhi* |
| Stammerer .. | *bengakna* | *benga'na* |
| Stammer, to .. | *bengakto* | *benga' to* |
| Stamp (v.) .. | *dusengto* | *dusengto* |
| Stand .. .. | *dögto* | *dögto* |
| Stand up .. | *görröpto* | *görröpto* |
| Star .. .. | *takhörr* | *takhörr* |
| Starve .. | *kannolâ sito* | *kannâ sito* |
| Steal .. .. | *dutchâto* | *döchâto* |
| Steep .. .. | *lamchin chindok* | *lamta lamchin chindre* |
| Stick .. .. | *tangin* | *tangin* |
| Stick on (v.) .. | *tingöpto* | *tingöpto* |
| Sting (n.) .. | *letta'* | *letta'* |
| Sting (v.) .. | *ponuto* | *ponuto* |
| Stock (gun) .. | *möbök leteng* | *möbö lètü* |
| Stomach .. | *lait'* | *aiyek* |
| Stone .. .. | *elung* | *ilü* |
| Stone shute, build.. | *elung lengpomlâ pato* | *ilü lupum apto* |
| Storm .. .. | *püdü dâri* | *püd'dâri* |
| Story .. .. | *botora batumna* | *böttörbatumna* |
| Stream .. | *ishi kamtek* | *pobu kamtek* |
| Straight .. | *dinda* | *dinda* |
| Stranger .. | *nyén* | *nyin* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Straw .. .. | *umkâ* | *amkhâ* |
| Strike .. .. | *jengto* | *jito* |
| String .. .. | *poga* | *poga* |
| Strong .. .. | *bara alepa* | *atörr alepa* |
| Suck .. .. | *bunglâ tengto* | *bül' tèto* |
| Suckle .. .. | *atchu tengdebo bhito* | *otch' tèdo jito* |
| Suffice .. .. | *pengto* | *pōto* |
| Sugar cane, red .. | *balung taba* | *bolü taba* |
| ,, ,, white .. | *bapa taba* | *bapa taba* |
| Sun .. .. | *dânyi* | *dânyi* |
| Sunrise, at .. | *kamchi dâli* | *komchi* |
| Sunset, at .. | *dânyi chefayera* | *dânyi hakhayera* |
| Swallow .. | *dalinto* | *dalinto* |
| Surety, to stand .. | *gagèto* | *gagèto* |
| Swear .. .. | *dingdung dingto* | *dindu dinto* |
| Sweep .. .. | *sampök pekto* | *sömpi püto* |
| Sweet .. .. | *tipa* | *tipa* |
| Swell .. .. | *gâto* | *gâto* |
| Swim (v.) .. | *ishi jato* | *ish' jato* |
| Swoon .. | *sitabo* | *sitabo* |
| Sword .. | *chegrü* | *chegrü* |
| Tail .. .. | *meung* | *ame* |
| Take .. .. | *nâto* | *nato* |
| Talk .. .. | *bintumto* | *betumto* |
| Tall .. .. | *au* | *a* |
| Tapeworm .. | *tassör sorrta* | *tassör surta* |
| Tattoo (v.) .. | *nabrü moto, gamrü moto* | *nèbrü moto, gomrü moto* |
| Teach, to speak .. | *binnyökto* | *benyökto* |
| ,, to do .. | *renyökto* | *nyinyokto* |
| Tear (v.) .. | *pumokpâto* | *pumoto* |
| Tears (n.) .. | *nyeksi* | *nyiksi* |
| Tell .. .. | *bajör bintumto* | *böjörr jörrtumto* |
| Testicle .. | *tompü* | *tompü* |
| That .. .. | *a* | *a* |
| Thatch .. | *tapök* | *tapök* |
| Thatch (v.) .. | *tapök sarlâ kapderrto* | *naköp kapderrto* |
| Them .. .. | *allâkadie* | *allokadie* |
| There .. .. | *a* | *a* |
| Therefore .. | *hâgabo* | *hogabo* |
| Thief .. .. | *dutchâna* | *dutchâna* |
| Thigh .. .. | *farrpâ* | *akhar kharpâ* |
| Thin .. .. | *kongpa* | *ko donna* |
| Think .. .. | *mung gumto* | *mogumto* |
| This .. .. | *sâ, si* | *si, sâ* |
| Thirst .. .. | *hârr* | *hörr* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Thorn .. .. | *tar* | *tirrü* |
| Thou .. .. | *no* | *no* |
| Thousand .. | *lengrengcheng* | *lülichü* |
| Thread .. | *tanü* | *tano* |
| Threaten .. | *yalung bungto* | *yolo buto* |
| Thresh (v.) .. | *um sekto* | *am sü'to* |
| Throw (v.) .. | *hörrto* | *hörrto* |
| Throw away (things) | *hörrflato* | *hörrkhato* |
| ,, ,, (water) | *dâflato* | *dâkhato* |
| Thrust .. | *chitto* | *jitto* |
| Thumb .. | *lacheng la'ne* | *alla la'ne* |
| Thunder .. | *dâgume dumto* | *dâgume duto* |
| Thus .. .. | *hâbo* | *hebi* |
| Tie (v.), cattle .. | *rengto* | *reto* |
| ,, knot .. | *yek chengto* | *yi' cheto* |
| Tiger .. .. | *senyo* | *sonyi* |
| ,, (very large) .. | *dolu namra* | *dulu numra* |
| Tiger-cat .. | *senyo haka* | *senyo haga* |
| Tigress .. | *senyo nyonnè* | *sonyi nyommè* |
| Tin, cigarette .. | *taktung* | *tâtu* |
| Tin, small .. | *tuma* | *tuma* |
| Tobacco .. | *doa* | *mökhü* |
| To-day .. | *sülo* | *sâlo* |
| Together .. | *lekhinchenggo* | *lèkingo* |
| Toe .. .. | *lecheng lenne* | *all'lennè* |
| Toilet, perform .. | *kâpörr tekato* | *kâpörr tikhato* |
| Tomb .. .. | *samalikhu* | *semalikè* |
| To-morrow .. | *aro* | *arlo* |
| Tongue .. | *roh* | *ayè* |
| To-night .. | *serem* | *sülyo* |
| Too .. .. | *-pe* | *-pe* |
| Tooth .. .. | *fi* | *èkhé* |
| Top .. .. | *autè* | *autè* |
| Torn .. .. | *putchépa* | *putchido* |
| Torch .. .. | *moru* | *morè* |
| Tortoise .. | *rakop* | *raköp* |
| Toucan .. | *paga* | *paga* |
| Touch .. .. | *mösitto* | *mösi'to* |
| Track .. .. | *lamtè* | *lamta* |
| Trade (v.) .. | *poksa pogto* | *pos'po'to* |
| Trance, go into .. | *nyek chengtokilâ üyu barto* | *nyichütogöluyu neto* |
| Transfix (dumla) .. | *kèglökto* | *khilökto* |
| Trap .. .. | *kama* | *kömla* |
| Tree .. .. | *sengnè* | *sènnè* |
| Tree fern .. | *röpka* | *röpka* |
| Trigger .. | *hâbitnanöna* | *hâbitnanöna* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Tripod .. | *chungjung* | *chuju* |
| Trouble .. | *afi* | *èkhé* |
| True .. .. | *jajejabo* | *jètokkilü* |
| Turmeric .. | *takhe* | *takhe* |
| Turn, upside down | *lèköpto* | *liköpto* |
| Twins .. .. | *bengpumra* | *bepumsü* |
| Twist .. .. | *apa keto* | *ikha kheto* |
| Unawares .. | *chinmâgabo* | *chimâgabo* |
| Unclean .. | *kassem kayem* | *katch'kayem* |
| Understand .. | *tachinto* | *tachinto* |
| Undo .. .. | *pakfato* | *pakhato* |
| Unripe .. | *minmâda* | *lemâda* |
| Untie .. .. | *töflyato* | *tokhato* |
| Untrue .. | *amè* | *èmmè* |
| Up .. .. | *au* | *au* |
| Up, get .. | *görröpto* | *görröpto* |
| Urine .. .. | *sishim* | *sishum* |
| Vagabond .. | *gakdumbolumna* | *gâ'dumbolumna* |
| Valley .. .. | *sokum* | *sokum* |
| Valuable .. | *lakena* | *lakena* |
| Vegetables .. | *oh* | *oè* |
| Vein .. .. | *hofo* | *akhü* |
| Venom .. | *umno* | *umniè* |
| Verandah, front .. | *chabin bago* | *bago* |
| ,, back .. | *chabin batung* | *botung* |
| Very .. .. | *aröng* | *aröng, irü* |
| Vex (by word) .. | *binkato* | *bekhato* |
| ,, (by deed) .. | *rekhato* | *nyikhato* |
| Village .. | *nampöm* | *nampöm* |
| Virgin .. .. | *tombo* | *tombo* |
| Vomit .. .. | *bato* | *bato* |
| Vomit (n.) .. | *basa* | *basa* |
| Vulture .. | *hogun* (Ass.) | *hogun* (Ass.) |
| Wade .. .. | *sengto* | *süto* |
| Waist .. .. | *lèpa* | *lèpa* |
| Wait .. .. | *dorato* | *tolyato* |
| Wake .. .. | *moto* | *nito* |
| Walk .. .. | *lebo ungto* | *alöb'engto* |
| Wall .. .. | *chökpi* | *chichè* |
| Want (v.) .. | *-nangto* | *-nüto* |
| War .. .. | *nyebo pasa* | *neb'pasa* |
| War, make .. | *nyebo pato* | *nyeb'pato* |
| Warm .. .. | *aggu* | *ogu* |
| Warrior .. | *nyebopana* | *nyeb'pana* |
| Wash, mouth .. | *gam kakto* | *gom kha'to* |
| ,, hands .. | *lakem la'sukto* | *alla lakhs'to* |
| ,, body .. | *ga hörrsuto* | *ga hörrsuto* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Wash, face .. | *nyegmâ momitto* | *nyogmi momitto* |
| ,, clothes .. | *edji nuto* | *edji nuto* |
| ,, feet .. | *lè hörrsuto* | *all' hörrsuto* |
| ,, head .. | *dömpâ fikakto* | *dömpâ kikhakto* |
| Watch .. .. | *kârato* | *kalyato* |
| Water .. .. | *ishi* | *ishi* |
| Waterfall .. | *ishi châlâku* | *ishi châlâku* |
| Wax (ear) .. | *rungpuk* | *rupuk* |
| ,, (bee's) .. | *ngokin* | *ngokin* |
| Way .. .. | *laong* | *lamta* |
| We .. .. | *ngolu* | *ngolu* |
| Weak .. .. | *bara alemâ* | *atörrmâ* |
| Wear .. .. | *koto* | *edji kâ'to* |
| Weave .. | *chemto* | *chubto* |
| Weed (v.) fields .. | *réu ugèto* | *hulu luto* |
| Weep .. .. | *kapto, kamingèto* | *kapto* |
| Well .. .. | *ishi kunga* | *ishi kunga* |
| Westwards, West .. | *dânyi hâgobo* | *dânyi hag'bo* |
| Wet (a.) .. | *jöjapa* | *jujapa* |
| Wet (v.) .. | *pamto* | *pamto* |
| What .. .. | *hogu* | *hogu* |
| When .. .. | *hedilam* | *hedilo* |
| Whence .. | *hoguloga* | *hoguloga* |
| Where .. .. | *hogula* | *hogula* |
| Which .. .. | *hogu* | *hoge* |
| Whisper .. | *binsito* | *besito* |
| Whistle .. | *chuchuto* | *kokhâto* |
| White .. .. | *ponglu* | *pulè* |
| Who .. .. | *hiè* | *hiè* |
| Why .. .. | *hogugabo* | *hogugabo* |
| Wide .. .. | *takte* | *ta'to* |
| Widow .. | *fungmé* | *khumé* |
| Widower .. | *tombo* | *tombü* |
| Wife .. .. | *nyefung* | *nyikhü* |
| Wild animals .. | *södöm sera* | *södöm sera* |
| Wind .. .. | *dâri* | *dalyé* |
| Wing .. .. | *lapè* | *allapè* |
| Wink .. .. | *nyegèpto* | *nyi'nyepto* |
| Winter .. | *dörâ pâlo* | *dera pâlo* |
| Wipe .. .. | *telöpto* | *tilöpto* |
| Wipe (away tears) | *nyeksi tikato* | *nyisi tikhato* |
| Wish .. .. | *nangto* | *nangto* |
| Witch .. .. | *nyèmè nyebu* | *nyèm' nyebu* |
| With .. .. | *lagabo* | *all'* |
| Within .. | *arengo* | *iruno* |
| Woman .. | *nyèmè* | *nyèmè* |
| ,, old .. | *fungo* | *hâkhü* |

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| | Yano. | Tagen. |
|---|---|---|
| Woman very old .. | *fungo fököpfayo* | *hâkhü khaköpkhayo* |
| ,, young .. | *nyemöm* | *nijörr* |
| Wood .. .. | *sengne* | *sennè* |
| Wood-pecker .. | *perrin* | *perrin* |
| Word .. .. | *binsa* | *besa* |
| Work .. .. | *reto* | *nito* |
| Work (v.) .. | *resam reto, bundeto* | *nisam nito* |
| World .. .. | *kèdé, secheng nyedâ* | *kèdé, sichi nyedâ* |
| Worm .. .. | *tadörr* | *tadörr* |
| Worry (v.) .. | *chefi binfato* | *chefi bekhato* |
| Worship .. | *üyu pato* | *uyi pato* |
| Wrestle .. | *gèbungto* | *gèbungto* |
| Wrist .. .. | *laknyek* | *alla le'nyi* |
| Write .. .. | *fitto* | *fitto* |
| Wrong .. | *alamâ* | *alamâ* |
| Yawn (v.) .. | *gamsato* | *gomsato* |
| Year .. .. | *nyeng* | *nyeng* |
| Yearly, Year by year | *nyengkeputti* | *nyekhiputti* |
| Yellow .. | *jèvé* | *genya'* |
| Yes .. .. | *um* | *e* |
| Yesterday .. | *mülo* | *moi* |
| You (plural) .. | *nolu* | *nolu* |
| Young .. .. | *ajengpa* | *ejido* |
| Zigzag, to go .. | *gèkégé chato* | *gikigi chato* |

## APPENDIX.

*A Comparative List of Miri, Apa Tanang and Dafla Words.*

| | Miri. | Apa Tanang. | Tagen. | Yano. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| hat .. | *duntop* | *bropa* | *bopang* | *bâpa* |
| dömchek .. | .. | *dinchi* | *dömchek* | *dömchek* |
| dömla .. | .. | *parrtu* | *dömlâ* | *dömlâ* |
| pöddöm .. | .. | *püding* | *pödöm* | *pödöm* |
| water .. | *asi* | *yasi* | *ishi* | *ishi* |
| fire .. | *umu* | *yamu* | *umè* | *umè* |
| house .. | *ekom* | *udé* | *nam* | *ogu* |
| village .. | *dalung* | *lemba* | *nampöm* | *nampöm* |
| father .. | *babü* | *aba* | *abè* | *abo* |
| mother .. | *nana* | *ama* | *annè* | *annè* |
| rice .. | *ambuin* | *emo* | *um* | *um* |
| cooked rice .. | *apin* | *appin* | *apin* | *apin* |
| dao .. | *matshik* | *ilyök* | *olyök* | *örök* |
| spear .. | *geding* | *dangkâ* | *nâkhâ* | *nengkâ* |
| eye .. | *amik* | *ami* | *anyi* | *nyek* |
| nose .. | *yebung* | *yapin* | *nyepöm* | *nyepöm* |
| ear .. | *yerung* | *yaru* | *nyeru* | *nyerung* |
| mouth .. | *rapang* | *agong* | *agom* | *gam* |
| head .. | *dömpöng* | *adin* | *dömpâ* | *dömpâ* |
| arm .. | *alak* | *lapa* | *la'pâ* | *la'pâ* |
| leg .. | *ale* | *alli* | *le* | *le* |

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| | Miri. | Apa Tanang. | Tagen. | Yano. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| hand | *lakpo* | *lachi* | *alla lacho* | *la'cho* |
| foot | *lepo* | *lechi* | *alla licho* | *le'cho* |
| basket (men's) | .. | *lera* | *narra* | *narra* |
| ,, (women's) | *egin* | *yagü* | *egin* | *egin* |
| bow | *i* | *ali* | *iliü* | *uri* |
| bow-string | .. | *lia* | *iliü éyé* | *uri ara* |
| arrow | *epuk* | *apu* | *upu* | *ōpōk* |
| liquor | *apong* | *oè* | *opá* | *opá* |
| man | *milong* | *melebo* | *nie* | *nyega* |
| woman | *mima* | *nyimu* | *nyèmè* | *nyèmè* |
| cow | .. | *su* | *se* | *se* |
| mithun | .. | *sube* | *sebbe* | *sebbe* |
| dog | *eki* | *aki* | *iki* | *iki* |
| cat | *mendari* | *ase* | *asa* | *asa* |
| deer | *sidom* | *südi* | *sōdōm* | *sōdōm* |
| pig | *é'èk* | *alyi* | *ili'* | *erek* |
| field | *arig* | *aji* | *ringá* | *rek* |
| tree | *ursing amuing* | *sennü* | *sénnè* | *sengne* |
| stone | *urling* | *yalung* | *ilu* | *elung* |
| river | *asi abung* | *kélé* | *pobu* | *sábung* |
| pine tree | .. | *pasa* | *pasa* | *taru* |
| cloth | .. | *pulye* | *edji* | *edji* |
| firewood | .. | *yassung* | *ishü* | *useng* |
| warm | *gunama* | *ogu* | *águ* | *agu* |
| cold | *sekira* | *lakōrr* | *sōkōrr* | *sōkōrr* |
| sun | *danyi* | *dungé* | *dányi* | *dányi* |
| moon | *polo* | *pōlo* | *pálo* | *pálo* |
| stars | *takar* | *takōrre* | *takōrr* | *takōrr* |
| tiger | *simyá* | *poatü* | *sonyi* | *senyo* |
| give | *bitoka* | *bhito* | *jito* | *bhito* |
| come | *giatoka* | *into* | *wáto* | *wáto* |
| go | *gitoka* | *chato* | *éto* | *guito* |
| do | *itoka* | *aji into* | *nito* | *reto* |
| cut | *patoka* | *pato* | *pato* | *pato* |
| say | *emtoka* | *luto* | *béto* | *binto* |
| lift | *jashatoka* | *lacheto* | *nachato* | *náchato* |
| mat | *empü* | *puplung* | *appikè* | *uppit* |
| one | *ter* | *kung* | *akhin* | *akhin* |
| two | *nyi* | *anyi* | *anyi* | *anyi* |
| three | *um* | *hing* | *um* | *am* |
| four | *pi* | *pulyi* | *èpi* | *appi* |
| five | *ngá* | *hiango* | *ang* | *ango* |
| six | *keng* | *khü* | *akhé* | *akké* |
| seven | *kinit* | *kanno* | *kènnü* | *kanni* |
| eight | *pinyi* | *pingi* | *plōnè* | *plōnō* |
| nine | *kánang* | *alyung* | *kea* | *kayo* |
| ten | *eing* | *mikhrai* | *iliüchü* | *rengcheng* |

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Article No. 10.

# A new and rare type of Mughal-Pathān found near Calcutta.

By Jatindra Mohan Datta.

The village of Dakhineswar, on the east bank of the Bhāgirathi, is some 7 miles north of Calcutta. On the cemented floor of an old house there I saw the diagram of Mughal-Pathān, given here, traced. In Belghurriah, another village some 3 miles to the north-east of Dakhineswar, some Muhammadan masons, who appear to be descendants of Hindu converts and mostly have Hindu names, play the game. This variety of Mughal-Pathān is almost exclusively confined to them. This diagram is used for playing the game of Mughal-Pathān. Two players are necessary for the game; and each one has 20 distinctive pieces. At the commencement each player arranges his pieces in his half of the board; and the 3 central horizontal lines are left vacant. It is played like draughts, and the usual rules of capture by jumping over a piece to an empty point opposite in a straight line apply; and two or more successive captures are permitted at a time. The standard diagram of the game of Mughal-Pathān is described in *Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XXIX, p. 169 (1933); and it is usually played with 16 pieces each; 19 pieces each are used in a variant of the game. The present game is more difficult to play and requires greater ingenuity than the standard game with 16 pieces each, or its variant with 19 pieces each.

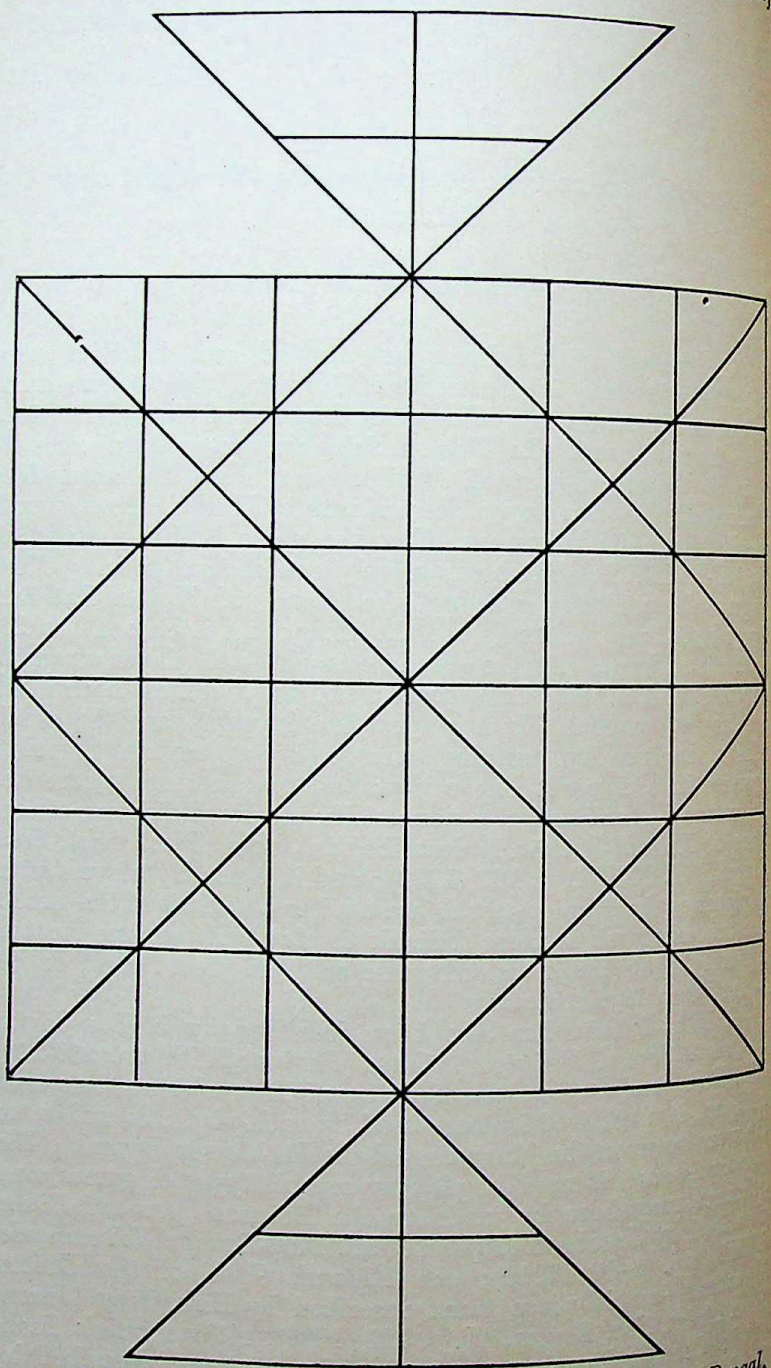
Mughal-Pathān has also been described by B. Das-Gupta in *Quart. Journ. Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat*, XIV, pp. 239-240, 1314 B.S., under the title of *Sola-guti Mangal Pata*, in which reference is made to 16 pieces used by each player as well as to the wars between the Mughals and the Pathāns in Bengal. The standard board is used in playing several types of games, and reference may here be made to the Bornean game of *Rimoe* described by Jacobson (*Tijdsch. Ind. Taal-Landen Volkenkunde*, LVIII, pp. 8–10, 1919); the *Ahtarah Guthi* of the United Provinces—an 18-piece game described by Humphrey (*Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, II, p. 121, 1906); *Athara gutiala Teora* of the Central Provinces—also an 18-piece game described by H. C. Das Gupta (*Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, XX, p. 166, 1924); *Lam Pusri* or *Sipahi Kat* of the Teesta Valley—an 18-piece game described by S. L. Hora (*Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, XXIX, p. 10, 1933); and a new type of *Bagh-Bandi*



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or Tiger-play described in the *Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 407-408, 1935).

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Article No. 11.

# Interesting side-light on Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq's expedition to Tatta.

By N. B. Ray.

## Introduction.

The Inshā-i-māhrū is a rare Persian manuscript[1] containing letters written by the eminent grandee 'Ain-ul-mulk Māhrū who served both Sulṭān Muḥammad and Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq. These letters throw light upon many aspects of the reign of Sulṭān Fīrūz and are of first-rate importance for a reconstruction of the history of his reign.

The letter printed here with English translation reveals the circumstances that necessitated the expedition to Tatta.

According to the court historian Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf, Fīrūz Shāh undertook the expedition with the two-fold motives of conquest and vengeance. 'It is particularly laudable amongst Kings,'[2] says 'Afīf, 'that they should be zealous in avenging the oppressions caused to their illustrious relations; again, it is befitting that they should exert all their strength in storming fortresses every year; for as Sa'dī says, "If a King conquers the seven worlds, he will seek another world to conquer".'

This statement of 'Afīf has perhaps influenced some historians who have ascribed this expedition either to an attempt of Sulṭān Fīrūz to recover the imperial prestige that had suffered 'on account of the enforced retreat from Sind and the insolence of Sindīs (that) had rankled in the mind of Fīrūz ever since his accession' (Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 180) or to a desire to 'avenge the wrongs done by the people of Tatta to the late Sultan' (History of Medieval India by Ishwari Prashād, p. 268).

This letter written by 'Ain-ul-mulk Māhrū to the Chief Minister of the Kingdom (Malik-ush-Sharq wa'l Wazrā) is of far greater historical importance than the panegyrics of 'Afīf.

Herein is revealed for the first time the fact that Banābanah,[3] a chief of Sind, allying himself with hordes of Mughals made raids into the rich provinces of the Punjab and Gujrāt and seized

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[1] The importance of this MS. was drawn to my notice by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Abdul Wali, K.S., noticed it in *JPASB.*, 1923.

[2] Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī, *Bib. Ind.*, p. 192.

[3] The name Banābanah is variously spelt in the different texts of 'Afīf, Yaḥyā, Niẓāmuddīn, Badāūnī and Firishta.



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men and their wealth. His daring and audacity had surpassed all bounds and 'Ain-i-Māhrū was compelled to seek the help and protection of Sulṭān Fīrūz for repelling his cruel raids.

That the Tatta expedition originated in a desire to suppress the rebels is also supported by Sīrat-ī-Fīrūz Shāhī,[1] another contemporary Persian account which states that the Sulṭān undertook this expedition to extirpate the rebels who had remained engaged in hostility for years having secured a safe abode in the islands of Damrilah. It may, therefore, be asserted that the Tatta expedition was the necessary sequel to Babiniya's aggressions and did not spring from either ambitious schemes of conquest or motives of vengeance as stated by 'Afīf.[2]

## English Translation.

This letter was also written to Malik Mulūk-ush-Sharq (who is) the glory of the Kingdom and the Auditor-General of the Imperial Finances[3] (Dīwān-i-Istīfā-i-Mamālik). The help and rescue of the Zamīndārs—who are adorned with the jewel of submission and obedience and who are dispersed and scattered in different directions of the world like the constellation of the Bear by the violence of the oppressors—(would be) applauded in all religions; and the extermination of the wicked—who have made strife and mischief their established practice, would be appreciated by all, the humble and the great, the strong and the weak.

Endowed with angelic qualities, the glory of the dominion, the extirpator of the infidel, the destroyer of the sinner, the helper of the Musalmāns, the exterminator of strife-mongers and rebels, the protector of the pious, the uprooter of the adulterer, the

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[1] Persian text, Sīrat-ī-Fīrūz Shāhī (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's copy).

[2] As this letter bears neither any date nor the name of the reigning Sulṭān, Babiniya's aggressions may be supposed to have occurred towards the closing years of the reign of Muḥammad Tughlaq as well. But certain facts mentioned in this letter do not warrant such a conjecture.

Amīr Ḥasan is mentioned in this letter as the Governor of Gujrāt and the younger brother of the *Chief Minister* (*Ṣāḥib-i-Dīwān-i-Istīfā'*). According to 'Afīf also he was the son of the late Amīr Mīrān, Mustawfī of the Kingdom, and the Governor of Gujrāt at the time of Sulṭān Fīrūz's expedition to Tatta but later on dismissed for his negligence to send supplies to the army in its distress ('Afīf, Pers. text, p. 219). Thus Amīr Ḥasan of this letter was the Governor of Gujrāt during the reign of Sulṭān Fīrūz about 1362-3. Again, the Mughal incursions referred to in this letter are probably no other than those mentioned by Baranī to have taken place in the early years of Fīrūz Shāh's reign (Baranī, Pers. text, *Bib. Ind.*, pp. 401-2).

Thirdly, Babiniya was the ruler of Sind during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh. *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, *Tārīkh-i-Ma'ṣūm* all bear this out.

[3] This has been so rendered by Mr. Ishwari Prashād (History of the Qarauna Turks, p. 262).

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master of the sword and pen, of knowledge and royal banner, the uprearer of the flag of justice and bounty, the implanter of the banner of gifts and favour, unequalled in wealth and religious faith, His Lordship Malik Mulūk-ush-Sharq wa'l Wazarā, the Auditor-General of the Imperial Finances, who combines the above-mentioned great qualities is the resort of the saints (of the religion) and the terror of the bands of the wicked. 'May he live long and be helped.'

'Ain-i-Māhrū, who is the servant of this court, whose eyes of faithfulness are anointed with the antimony of the welfare of mankind and the prosperity of the kingdom; who has caused the spring of service and obedience to flow into the receptacle of loyalty, submits that the young plant of his existence, sorely afflicted and withered by the strong hand of calamity, has begun to revive by the sweet water of the kindness of His Lordship Malik Mulūk-ush-Sharq and it is expected that it would bear fruit by the flow of graciousness of this court.

The tree which you plant with your own hands;
Pour water always as much as you can;
Water, it will grow;
Neglect, it will wither away.

The object of submitting this petition which is clear and transparent to every one is that Banābanah has so fomented strife and sedition in the kingdom as to reach the sky; he has turned his face away from the *qibla* of submission, has made it his business to ruin the country and invite the Mughals and has pinned his faith and conscience on this object; e.g. once he entered the wide realm of the Punjab with hordes of Mughals but when by divine grace, the attack on him was led by the soldiers of Multān, they took to their heels, casting away the pride of valour on the field of flight. This fact was already submitted to Malik Mulūk-ush-Sharq; on several occasions before and after this (incident), depredations were made in the province of Gujrāt and this state of things is not unknown to His Lordship.

His Majesty's best efforts have been directed to two things—the extirpation of the vainglorious wicked (Banābanah) and the improvement and stability of the affairs (of the kingdom).

He (His Lordship Malik Mulūk-ush-Sharq) is distinguished by high rank and fixed allowances; the secret of all favour is that his (the former's) recommendation was made for Ruknuddīn Amīr Ḥasan, Malik-ul-umrā. It was for this reason that the country of Gujrāt was entrusted to the care of His Lordship Malik Mulūk-ush-Sharq.[1]

Malik Ruknuddīn Ḥasan[1] is the younger brother, reared up by bounty and brought up by the generosity of His Lordship

[1] It appears that according to the contemporary practice, Amīr Ḥasan governed Gujrat as the deputy of his brother Malik Mulūk-ush-Sharq.

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Malik Mulūk-ush-Sharq, and one held in esteem in the royal court and rendered eminent by Malik Mulūk-ush-Sharq and at the time of recommendation, His Majesty's gracious orders were issued in favour of Malik Mulūk-ush-Sharq. When the affair was thus arranged and settled by His Majesty, the generosity of this *majlis* (court) was placed on Malik Ruknuddīn Ḥasan. This servant of the court ('Ain-i-Māhrū) expects that this thing will be accomplished by him (Ruknuddīn Ḥasan) under the wise guidance of Malik Mulūk-ush-Sharq (in such a way that) the splendour of the affair of this court would be made visible, and through this the stability of the two affairs which is desired by the royal court (Darghāh-i-A'lā) will be achieved and the two countries, Multān and Gujrāt, be freed from the oppression of Banābanah.

It is all the more disgraceful to them that a handful of accursed men of Multān should always bring the infidels into the country of Islām, plunder, imprison and carry away the people and Dhimmies of the territory of Musalmāns. By the favour and grace of God and the good fortune of His Majesty, it is expected that His Lordship Malik Mulūk-ush-Sharq would see through the work in such a way as it might remain a memorial on the face of the earth, and nothing nobler than this can be achieved inasmuch as this mischievous Banābanah always oppresses the headmen of Gujrāt, imprisons and carries away people by violence. The obstinacy of the Gujrātīs prefers fire to disgrace and is more conspicuous than the sun but they implore the help and protection of His Lordship.

If His Lordship Malik Mulūk-ush-Sharq pleases to encourage them by saying '—you are the true Gujrātīs and deem the sacrifice of life to be a pastime which you boast of and glorify; how have you become so weak and prostrate before a handful of despicable Bānhbanīyāns? If you all unite and firmly gird up your loins to retaliate, I shall send the soldiers of Islām to your assistance—', it is expected that these strife-mongers will be destroyed thereby to the very root and the bitterness of disgrace caused by their oppression will be washed away from their brow by the water of valour and this good name will remain a memorial in this world.

I seek good name because the body perishes;
If I die for the sake of good name, it will be fitting.

This is a specimen of what is submitted to His Lordship. I hope that His Lordship Malik Mulūk-ush-Sharq will be able to devise a thousand propositions better than this. Notwithstanding, attention should be fixed on the mercy of God, the protection of the territory of Islām and help to the religion of Muḥammad (May peace be on him) should be deemed obligatory and in accordance with the saying 'If you help God, God will help you' one should remain in expectation of victory so that the bride of desire would shine bright in the mirror of victory.

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این مکتوب نیز بجانب ملک ملوک الشرق افتخار الملک صاحب دیوان استیفاء ممالک در قلم آمد - تا اعانت و اغاثت زمین داران که بحلیهٔ اطاعت و مطاوعت متوشح بوده اند و از دست تغلّب زبردستان چون بنات نعش در اطراف جهان متفرق و پراگنده گشته در جمیع ادیان محمود خواهد بود - و قلع و استیصال دعّار نابکار که فساد را شعار و تهیّج فتنه را دثار خود ساخته اند نزدیک وضیع و شریف و قوی و ضعیف مستحسن خواهد نمود - ذات ملک صفات خداوند ملک ملوک الشرق و الوزراء افتخار الملک قالع الکفرة قامع الفجرة ناصر الموحّدین کاسر المفسدین قاتل البغاة قاطع الطغاة حامی ارباب الصلاح ماحی اولاد السفاح صاحب السیف و القلم والی العَلَم و العِلم رافع رایات العدل والاحسان ناصب آیات الفضل و الامتنان فرید الدولة والدین صاحب دیوان استیفاء ممالک که مستجمع معالی سابقه است بمیلات اولیاء دین و معادات احزاب شیاطین موید موبّد باد - بحق من قال - و تعاونوا علی البر و التقوی و لا تعاونوا علی الاثم و العدوان - بندهٔ درگاه عین ماهرو که عین اعتقاد او بکحل ترفیهٔ عباد و تعمیر بلاد مکحول است عین خدمت و عبودیت در مورد اخلاص جاری گردانید و نمود که نهال وجود همین درد آلوده؟ از تندباد حوادث ذبول یافته بود بذلال شفقت خداوندی ملک ملوک الشرقی آغاز نشو و نما گرفته - متوقع آنکه

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بفیضان رافت آن مجلس مثمر و برومند گردد ✡ ✡ بیت ✡

نهالی کان بدست خود نشانی ✡ همیشه میده آبی تا توانی

اگر آبش دهی پیوسته ماند ✡ اگر ترکش کنی سربسته ماند

غرض ازِ ترتیب آن مقدمات آنست همگنان را روشن و مبرهن است که بانبهنیه علمِ فساد و بغی را بعیوق رسانیده است و از قبلهٔ اطاعت روی گردانیده - و تخریب بلاد و در آوردن مغل عادت ساخته - و دین و نفس خود را بدین هوا درباخته چنانچه یک کرت با هجوم مغل در ولایت و سعه پنجاب در آمده بود - چون از عون حق دست‌بردی از لشکر ملتان برو رسیده پای کشان بگریخت - و آبروی مردانگی و جلادت در ساحت فرار بریخت - و این معنی پیش ازین ببندگی ملک الشرق باز نموده شده است و در ولایت گجرات بعد ازان و پیش ازان چند کرت تعرض رسانیده - و این حال بخدمت پوشیده نیست - برای قلع و قمع ان مدبر فضول که در بغی و فساد اصل الاصول است حسن اهتمام حضرت اعلی در ترفیهٔ حال و استقامت کار همین دو را مبذول شده است - و بشرف مراتب و تعیین مواجب اختصاص یافته و سر همه مرحمتها آنکه از اتفاقات حسنه سپارش او بملک الامراء رکن الدولة و الدین امیر حسن دَامَ عُلُوُّهُ شده است و آن ازین جهت است که عرصهٔ گجرات مفوّض بخدمت خداوندی ملک ملوک الشرق است - و ملک رکن الحق

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والدین حسن برادر کهتر و پروردهٔ نعم و برآوردهٔ کرم خداوندی ملک الشرقی است در حضرت اعلی وجاهت و جلالت از ذات با عظمت ملک ملوک الشرقی یافته - و بوقت سپارش از حضرت اعلی مرحمت هم برین جمله در بارهٔ خداوندی ملک ملوک الشرقی می شد - چون این کار بدین منوال ترتیب و استقامت از حضرت خدایگانی یافته است مرحمت و شفقت آن مجلس بدین اندازه در حق ملک رکن الدین حسن منتظم - بندهٔ درگاه منتظر است تا آن کار از دست او بحسن ترتیب خداوندی ملک ملوک الشرقی برآید - و جمال کار آن مجلس بریده آید - و در ضمن ان استقامت همین دو را که مطلوب درگاه اعلی است دست دهد - و ساحت هر دو عرصه یکی ملتان دوم گجرات از خبث فساد بانبهنیه اند پاک گردد و الاکرام * عار ایشان ازین بالاتر است که مشتی رساتیق ملتان مردود هر بار در دیار اسلام کفار را در آرند و رعایاء و ذمیان دار اسلام را بنهب و تاراج اسیر کنند ببرند - امید از عون و عنایت الهی باقبال کامگار خدایگانی آنست که خدمت خداوندی ملک ملوک الشرقی ترتیب این کار چنان خواهند فرمود که بر روی روزگار یادگار ماند - بدان مزید نتواند بود زیراکه این بانبهنیه مفسد هر بار بر مقدمان گجرات تغلب میکند و اسیر میگرداند - و گروگانان بقهر و عتوت می ستاند و انفت گجراتیان که اخترت النار لا العار اختیار کنند اظهر من

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الشمس است - اما معونت و مظاهرت میطلبند - اگر خدمت ملک ملوک الشرقی ایشان را تحریض فرماید که شما اصل گجراتید و جانبازی را بازی دانید و بدان مباهات و سرفرازی کنید چرا همچنین زبون شده اید - و بر دست این مشتی بانهبانیان دون درمانده اید - اگر همه جمع شوند و کمر انتقام بر میان جان استوار بندند لشکر اسلام بمعاونت شما بفرستیم - امید باشد که دمار از نهاد آن فسده برآرید - و کلفت عار تغلّب ایشان از جبههٔ خویش بآب شجاعت شسته گردانید - و در جهان این نام نیک یادگار ماند ✲ ✲ بیت ✲

مرا نام باید که تن مرگ را ست ✲ بنام نیکو گر بمیرم روا ست

این انموذجی ست که بخدمت باز نموده شد امیدوارم که هزار مقدمهٔ دیگر بهتر ازین خدمت ملک ملوک الشرقی ترتیب خواهد فرمود - با این بهم نظر بر کرم حق باید داشت و محافظت دیار اسلام و نصرت دین محمدی صلعم لازم می باید پنداشت - و بر مقتضاء ان تنصروا الله ینصرکم منتظر فتح می باید بود تا عروس مطلوب از آئینهٔ ظفر جمال نماید انه علی ذلک قدیر و بالاجابة جدیر ✲

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ARTICLE No. 12.

# The Qūwat-ul-Islām or the oldest Mosque in Delhi.

By S. K. BANERJI.

The monuments in Delhi, as elsewhere, enable us to restore or reconstruct much of the Indian History of Muslim times. From the Muslim invasion of India at the end of the twelfth century till the disappearance of the last Mughal emperor, Bahādur Shāh II, at the end of the Sepoy Mutiny, Delhi had been the principal seat of the Muslim culture and government. The capital shifted its site from south to north and west to east within a range of about fifteen and eight miles respectively and with every change of site a magnificent city developed. And these cities continued to exist, so that today the historian and the traveller note seven (or more) Delhis, including the Georgābād or New Delhi founded in 1911 A.D. by King George V.

## THE QIL'A-I-RAI PITHAURA.

The first Muslim city that history records is the one near the Quṭb minār known as the Qil'a-i-Rai Pithaura. There had flourished Prithvī Rāj's capital. The Rājpūt Chief has been called by the Muslim historians Rai Pithaura and his principal city the Qil'a-i-Rai Pithaura. After the 2nd battle of Tarāorī in 1191 A.D.,[1] Prithvī Rāj was killed [2] and his fortress-city came into the hands of the Muslims.

As the Muslims generally invaded and conquered countries on behalf of their religion, they signified their supremacy by the demolition of one or more of the houses of worship of the vanquished and the substitution of mosques or worshipping places of their own. The Muslim conqueror of the twelfth century also expressed and symbolized his missionary zeal, so to speak, by demolishing twenty-seven large temples and building a mosque, known as the Qūwat-ul-Islām or the *Jāmi' Masjid* on the site so obtained. The inscription over the inner eastern gateway of the mosque describing the demolition is as follows :—

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[1] *The Cambridge History of India* (*C.H.I.*) assigns 1192 and others 1193 A.D. Our date is supported by the earliest inscription recorded on the walls of the Qūwat-ul-Islām mosque itself.

[2] *Prithvī Rāj Rāso's* version that Rājpūt hero lived to avenge his defeat and capture by killing Muḥammad Ghūrī has not generally been accepted.



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این حصار را فتح کرد و این مسجد جامع را بساخت بتاریخ
نی شهور سنه سبع و ثمانین و خمسمائة امیر اسفهسالار اجل کبیر
قطب الدولة و الدین امیر الامراء [1] ای بک سُلطانی اعز الله انصاره
بیست و هفت الت (؟) بتخانه که در هر بتخانه دو بار هزار
بار هزار دلیوال صرف شده بود درین مسجد بکار بسته شده است
خدای عزّ و جل بران بنده رحمت کناد هرکه بر نیت بانی خیر
دعا ایمان گوید (۱) *

Tr.—

This fort was conquered and this *Jāmi' masjid* built in the months of the year 587 A.H. (1191 A.D.) by the *Amīr* the great, the glorious commander of the army, Quṭbuddaula-waddīn, the *Amīr-ul-Umarā* Aibak, the slave of the Sulṭān, may God strengthen his helpers. The materials (?) of twenty-seven idol temples on each of which 2,000,000 *dillīwāls* had been spent were used in the construction of this mosque. God the Great and Glorious may have mercy on that slave, who prays for the faith of the good builder.[2]

We may, however, offer a few comments in connection with this inscription. Firstly, the place has been styled *hiṣār* (fort) and this lends support to the popular practice of calling the Rājpūt town the Qil'a-i-Rai Pithaura. Secondly, the date given is 587 A.H. which begins on January 29, 1191 and ends on January 17, 1192 A.D. Since the conquest is mentioned to have been accomplished in more than one month, we may presume most of the subjugation of the city was accomplished before December 31, 1191 A.D. Hence we assign 1191 A.D. as the date of the Muslim occupation of Delhi. Thirdly, the actual victor is Quṭbuddīn who won victories for his master who in this particular inscription is mentioned merely as the Sulṭān, but in other inscriptions as Mui'zuddunyā-waddīn. Fourthly, the exact relation of Quṭbuddīn with his master is also recorded. He was initially a slave, سلطانی, of Muḥammad

[1] In the above-recorded inscription, there are several interesting facts to notice: (*a*) It is the first Persian inscription on any building in India, (*b*) ایبک is written as ای بک and کهٔ as کی, (*c*) الت is a doubtful word and has been used in a peculiar sense here. Similarly there is some doubt about the last words of the inscription.

[2] The text and translation have been given by Yazdani in the *Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica* (*E.I.M.*) for the year 1911-2. *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, No. 22, (*A.S.I.*) by J. A. Page has given the inscriptions and their translations.

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Ghūrī but rose to be an *Amīr* and then the commander-in-chief,[1] and still later *Amīr-ul-umarā* of the State. Fifthly, twenty-seven idol temples, each of which cost 20 lacs of *dillīwāls* or 4 lacs of rupees,[2] provided material for the mosque. Probably it is an over-statement; for the original mosque of Quṭbuddīn measures only 212′ east to west and only 150′ north to south: and even of this a considerable portion is occupied by a courtyard, viz. 142′ by 108′, leaving only a space of 20′ to 30′ on each side for the *liwān* and the corridors. Most of the pillars of the corridors, again, are the remnants of the old temples as suggested by the decorations and the human figures, mutilated or intact. Such figures as were noticeable and within reach have been altogether removed or mutilated: but the work on the cornices or on obscure corners has escaped injury.

## The Courtyard.

The open courtyard, too, has attracted attention of the archæologists who have posited the question: was it so open at the time of the conquest? In the Hindu period, it could not have been entirely empty; for generally the central area of a sacred enclosure is occupied by a shrine or a temple. The surmise is supported by the fact that the iron pillar, which should otherwise have occupied the absolute centre of the courtyard, stands several yards to the west, showing thereby that the centre was not available for the implanting of the pillar. Mr. Page has indicated the site of the principal Hindu temple in his memoir on the Quṭb.[3]

Mr. Beglar in his article on *Delhi* in the Archæological Reports, Vol. IV, gives several other interesting facts about the courtyard, e.g. its floor is higher than the floor of the corridor, because the open area was later on covered by hastily-cut irregular flag-stones, in order to hide effectually the traces of the demolished Hindu temples. Beneath these flag-stones are two layers of well-dressed stones closely set 9″ and 10″ thick, resting on a basis of rubble-stone of enormous dimensions and indefinite depth. Beglar had excavations carried on in different

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[1] In this connection the inscription on the outer eastern gateway may be given:

این مسجد را بنیاد کرد قطب الدین ای یک خدای بران بندهٔ رحمت
کناد هرکه بر نیت بانی خیر دعای ایمان گوید *

Tr.—This mosque was built by Quṭbuddīn Aibak. May God have mercy on that slave who prays for the faith of that good builder (?).

[2] According to Cunningham: *Archæological Reports*, Vol. V, a *dillīwāl* equalled one-fifth of a rupee.

[3] See *A.S.I.*, p. 7, n. 2.

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parts of the courtyard and also in the corridors to the depth of 14′ without coming to the bottom of the rubble-stone. He found that the two layers of the dressed stone also extended throughout the entire area of the *masjid* and the cloisters. The topmost layer of the flag-stones of the courtyard is irregular in shape and size, thus leading us to the conclusion that probably the setting of the stones was done in haste. Of course, the result of the super-imposition of these irregular stones has been to raise the level of the courtyard higher than that of the floor of the cloister.

## The old Hindu remains in the mosque.

As to the question which portions of the *masjid* are the old Hindu remains, the three eminent antiquarians, Cunningham, Fergusson and Beglar have expressed sharply different opinions. According to Cunningham, except a few pillars, hardly anything remains of the Hindu times. Beglar, his assistant, on the other hand, thinks that the enclosure walls, outer south gate, east gate, and much of the colonnade are survivals from the Hindu days. Fergusson is of opinion that the pillars have been re-arranged after the demolition of the temple. He goes on to say that even the enclosure-walls were reset; for the Hindu string courses on the walls are covered with ornaments in a Muslim fashion and this could not have been done without pulling down the walls. The second reason for his conclusion is that the openings in the walls all possess pointed arches which the Hindus never used. These must have been set up by pulling down the original walls. In support of his contention about the rearrangement of the entire structure, he refers to other mosques in India, e.g. the mosques at Qanauj, Dhār, Jaunpūr and Aḥmadābād.[1] In his opinion the only Hindu remains untouched by the Muslims are the two-storeyed pavilions at the angles of the enclosure and those behind the screens of the mosque. These alone he maintains remain in their original condition. Sir Sayyid Aḥmad, the talented author of the *Āṯhār-us-Sanādīd*, holds that except the removal of the temples in the central courtyard, the Hindu building remained entire and the pillars, and the corridors, and the enclosure in general were not touched by the conquerors.[2] Mr. Page has also contributed to the solution of the question by pointing out that the original temple occupied the portion of Quṭbuddīn's mosque, west of the line joining the northern and the southern gates of Quṭbuddīn's mosque.[3]

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[1] See Fergusson: *The Indian Saracenic Architecture*. Vol. II, p. 201.
[2] See the *Āṯhār-us-Sanādīd*, p. 13. Sir Sayyid quotes the *Tāj-ul-Maāṯhir* as his authority.
[3] See *A.S.I.*, p. 7, n. 2.

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We are able to establish the following facts on the basis of a comparative study of the views expressed by the five art-critics on the subject: (*a*) an inscription states that twenty-seven temples were demolished, (*b*) the first recorded date is 587 A.H.,[1] (*c*) surrounding the enclosure is a large space used as an adjunct to the main temple called the *Thākurdwāra*, (*d*) the steps leading to the eastern and northern gates are lower than the ground-level of either the corridor or the surroundings of the mosque, (*e*) of the pillars, some are single whilst others are set up by placing one on the other; such a setting up is sometimes very imperfectly made, (*f*) there are traces of a double cornice near the foot of the walls of the *masjid*, (*g*) the floor of the courtyard is higher than that of the cloister.

## The conclusions arrived at.

These facts lead us to the following conclusions:—

(1) A magnificent temple appears to have existed occupying most of the courtyard, surrounded by other smaller ones. All these were removed immediately after the first conquest of the Muslims in 1191 A.D. The floor was beflagged with the stone materials obtained from these temples.

(2) In the corridor, the *liwān*, the double-storeyed pavilions at the angles or behind the screens, there were other idols within or without the sanctums. These sanctums were removed together with the idols either in 587 A.H. or at some later date.

(3) The courtyard was beflagged with stones in order to hide all the traces of the temple in the courtyard. Since the beflagged stones were not continued in the other parts of the building, the level of the courtyard rose higher than that of the surrounding corridors.

(4) The double cornices at the foot of the enclosing walls trace the original ground-level, outside the enclosure.

(5) The horizontal string-courses on the enclosure walls indicate their Hindu origin, the Muslim decorations being later additions. The lowest part of the walls up to the first Muslim decorations had never been pulled down.

(6) The eastern and southern gateways specially the inner portions with the Hindu domes are of Hindu making. The outer portions, where the arches occur, were rebuilt by the Muslims. The inscriptions also were added at the same time.

(7) The area outside the enclosure, on one or more sides, was full of other temples. These also were demolished, and thus

[1] For Horowitz's remarks about the dates see *E.I.M.*, 1911-2. He thinks that the recorded date is wrong and the inscription was put up in Iltutmish's reign and bases his assumption on the phrase اعز الله انصارہ.

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the number of the demolished temples within and outside the enclosure had reached the figure of twenty-seven.

(8) Some pillars were rearranged, e.g. at the east and south gates and those in the *liwān* of the mosque. Others again, specially those which show unmutilated human figures, remain where they originally existed.

(9) Under the stress of the war that had continued throughout the year 1191 A.D., it was not possible for Quṭbuddīn to overhaul the entire building. He made the necessary alterations in order to convert the *Thākurdwāra* into a *Jāmiʿ Masjid*, and he thus took advantage of the sanctity of the spot. Later on, other additions were made, but the pulling down of any portion of the mosque was not possible. Hence whatever Hindu structure had been assimilated and incorporated in this make-shift *Jāmiʿ Masjid*, as it were, has persisted till today.

(10) Inspired by the iconoclastic zeal rather than by any hatred for the Hindu culture, the conqueror took steps to demolish only those Hindu decorations that went against his religious beliefs.

## The date of the first conquest of Delhi.

The date 587 A.H. raises several interesting questions. The year begins on January 29, 1191 and ends on January 17, 1192 A.D. Was the Muslim conquest completed in 1191 A.D.? The modern historians generally assign a later date. Among them, the editor of the *Cambridge History of India* puts down December, 1192 or January, 1193 A.D.[1]: all others assign a still later date. The city called the Qilʿa-i-Rai Pithaura was then captured and henceforth it became the headquarters of Quṭbuddīn.

Horowitz and Raverty consider 587 A.H. to be a wrong date. The former goes so far as to suggest that the inscription was put up in Iltutmish's reign and that the phrase اعز الله انصاره 'may God help his helpers' quoted above is a prayer for those who were alive in Iltutmish's time. We have not been able to accept Horowitz's suggestion or the date given by the editor of the *Cambridge History of India* for more than one reason. Firstly, it would never do to doubt an inscribed date except for valid reasons. As to the date under consideration no contemporary or immediately following writer has questioned it. Secondly, the phrase سلطانی or بندہ points out that Quṭbuddīn was still counted among the distinguished slaves of his master. It was only in 1195 A.D. that he was appointed viceroy of Muslim dominions in India and from this date the two Arabic synonyms

[1] *C.H.I.*, p. 42.

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for a 'slave' would be dropped. Since they occur in this inscription, it must be dated before 1195 A.D.

### Inscription on the North Gateway.

The Qūwat-ul-Islām continued to serve as the gathering place of the faithful for Friday prayers for more than a century and there are several inscriptions indicating it. Let us take them one by one. On the north gateway is written in the first line, *Bismillāh*, *Sūrah* X, verse 26 and the date :—

فی شهور سنة اثنی و تسعین و خمسمائة *

Tr.—In the year 592 A.H.[1]

and in the second line :—

هذه العمارة بعالی امر السلطان المعظم معز الدنیا و الدین

محمد بن سام ناصر امیر المومنین *

Tr.—This building was undertaken by the high order of the exalted Sulṭān Mu'izuddunyā-waddīn Muḥammad bin Sām, the helper of the prince of the Faithful.

### Comments on the Inscription.

The following observations may be made in connection with this inscription:—

(*a*) The histories tell us that Quṭbuddīn was appointed viceroy in this very year. The grateful Quṭbuddīn acknowledged the suzerainty of his master in this inscription.

(*b*) Mu'izuddīn was entitled Sulṭān-ul-Mua'ẓẓam and enjoyed regal power. Quṭbuddīn ignored in this inscription the elder brother who reigned at Fīrūzkūh in Afghānistān and bore the title of Sulṭān-ul-A'ẓam. Both the brothers were called the helpers of the *Amīr* of the Faithful. This joint rule of the two brothers—one staying at the Afghān capital and the other going forth in the east and the west in quest of new conquests—is a rare instance in Muslim history.

### The Inscription on the Central Arch.

[2] On the central arch of the facade of the mosque overlooking the courtyard is an inscription much of which is not readable. Still the following is clearly discernible :—

تاریخ العشرین من ذی القعده سنة اربع و تسعین و خمسمائة *

[1] The *Hijri* year 592 begins on December 6, 1195 and ends on November 23, 1196 A.D.

[2] See Thomas : *The Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi.*

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Tr.—The date, 20th *Dhū'l-qa'da*, 594 A.H. (=September, 1198 A.D.).

Raverty suggests the date to be that of completion of the mosque just as 592 A.H. (1196 A.D.) was to him of its commencement. This suggestion has not been generally accepted, for the mosque as pointed out by Horrowitz could not be completed even thirty years later. Nor was it commenced as we have seen in 592 A.H.

## The significance of the date.

What the date 594 A.H. suggests is the putting up of the screens. Without the screens, the mosque lacked in loftiness and grandeur; also the worshippers even in the *liwān* were not sufficiently protected against wind, rain, or heat. The screens moreover lessened the amount of light that penetrated into the interior of the covered mosque, and gave a soothing relief to the Muslim votaries against the glare of the tropical sun.

## The screens.

The screens consist of three large arches and eight small, the large measuring 22′ wide or 24′ wide and 53′ high, and the small, half of these dimensions. The walls of the screens project into the air much beyond the roof. They have received very high praise from the artists and archæologists. Firstly, here we see the earliest arches. These were, no doubt, put up by the Hindu artists but under Muslim direction. Havell asserts that the Hindus were not unaware of the main features of an arch and that if on any previous occasion an arch was not built at Delhi, it was not due to ignorance of architectural principles on the part of the Hindu craftsman but because a stone beam and bracket opening was as serviceable as an arch and in Delhi stone of good quality was available in such a plenty that no recourse need have been taken to any other device than that of the beam and bracket.

## The arches of the masjid.

Havell also points out that Quṭbuddīn was not guided by any æsthetic sense in building these arches but by a religious consideration; for to a Muslim an arch was an emblem of their religion. It may be pointed out that these first arches of the Qūwat-ul-Islām are not true arches, because they do not contain any key-stone, nor are the arches formed of stones with unequal edges. The arches of the Qūwat are false arches and have been formed by the cutting of beams in such a way as to leave an opening. The two accompanying sketches bring out the point clearly. Figure I illustrates a true arch, the coping-stone is the central key-stone. Key-stone *CDdc* and

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the other stone pieces have unequal edges, e.g. *AB*, *BC*, *CD* and *DE*, in a true arch, is greater in length than *ab*, *bc*, *cd* or *de*. The whole weight of the stones falls on the walls *X* and *Y*.

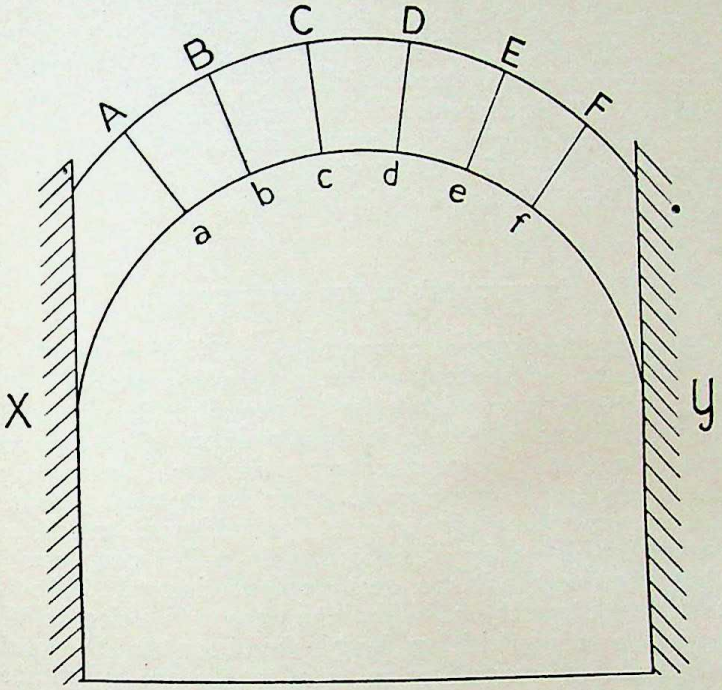



FIG. I.

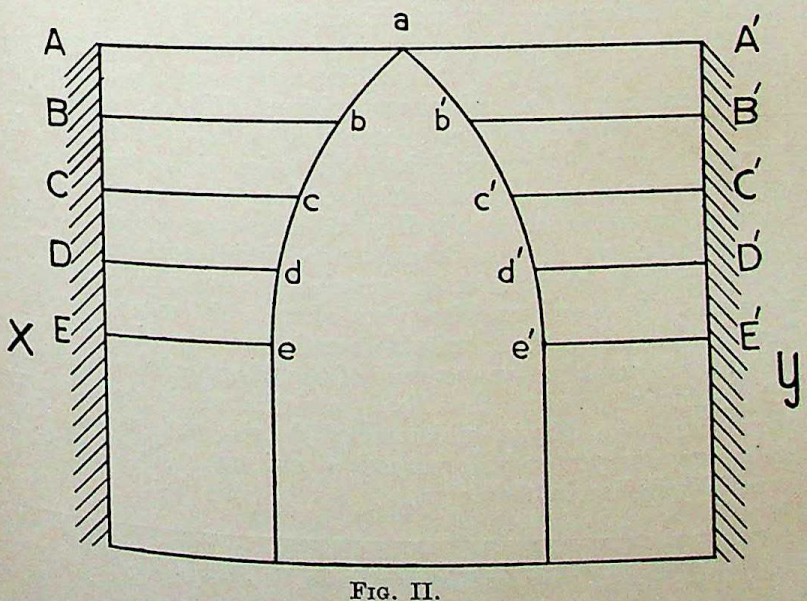



FIG. II.

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Fig. II illustrates a false arch. The beams *ABba*, *BCcb*, *CDdc*, *DEed* are separate pieces of stone well-embedded in the side-wall *X*. The beams are different in length and have been cut at the end *ab*, *bc*, *cd*, and *de* in such a way as to form together half an arch. On the other side, other stone beams *A'B'b'a*, *B'C'c'b'*, *C'D'd'c'*, and *D'E'e'd'* form a similar opening. The two openings together form a full arch. It will be seen that the Figure I illustrates an architectural device while the Figure II is nothing but the placing of several brackets one upon another. The arches of the Qūwat, though false, are first of their kind as built in Delhi and probably in India.

## QUṬBUDDĪN'S LOFTY CONCEPTION.

Secondly, the larger screens are lofty, 53′ high and 22′ or 24′ wide. It is a bold attempt and at once marks out the builder as a daring experimentalist in the science of mediæval engineering. As Beglar says, 'the high front wall out of all proportion to everything else, is the great feature of the *masjid* and represents immense physical power capable of achieving mighty results'. In the erection of these high screens, Quṭbuddīn was undoubtedly animated by higher considerations. He pulled down some of the lofty temples in order to erect a mosque instead; but at the same time he would not allow the mosque's being belittled in the popular mind which had long looked upon the *Thākurdwāra* as a splendid and magnificent piece of art; hence he built these lofty screens to impress the vanquished with the majesty and might of Islām. In fact, these screens served as the *Thākurdwāra's* befitting successor and substitute.

Thirdly, the whole facade is exquisitely carved, not in human or animal figures; for Islām, as a creed, is opposed to the Hindu doctrine of anthropomorphism. The carving consists in scrolls or curved lines of geometrical or foliated design. In Marshall's words,[1] 'It would be hard to imagine carvings more superbly ornate than these which enrich its facade: band on band of sacred texts, their *Tughrā* characters entwined with curling leaves and sinuous tendrils side by side with floral scrolls and flowing arabesques or geometrical traceries of surpassing richness'. It is an exquisite piece of art and has nowhere else been surpassed. Such inimitable carving was possible in India only: for it was the happy result of the efforts of the combined Hindu-Muslim genius that had assimilated in harmonious proportions the Hindu richness of details and the Muslim arabesque designs and developed a unique style of carving essentially Indian in character.

[1] *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 576.

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## QUṬBUDDĪN'S CHARACTER AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE QŪWAT-UL-ISLĀM.

There is a majesty in Quṭbuddīn's character which is best illustrated by his monuments. As depicted in the Persian histories, he passed most of his career under his master's guidance and in the capacity of a commander-in-chief or viceroy. He is credited with a sense of devoted loyalty and submission to his master, Muḥammad Ghūrī. His short career as king from 1206 to 1210 A.D. does not bring out the true nobility of his character. It is only when we supplement our knowledge of him by the study of his monuments that we are able to bring his character and personality into full relief. Above all, the Qūwat-ul-Islām and the Quṭb minār approve of him as a statesman. Let us recount the conclusions we arrive at on a study of his monuments :—

(*a*) Quṭbuddīn had allowed as much of the Hindu enclosure and other Hindu details to remain as he could. If he had desired the complete demolition of the *Thākurdwāra*, it might have been carried out.[1]

(*b*) In place of the lofty *vimānas* of the Hindu shrines, he put up the lofty screens.

(*c*) In place of the elaborate decorations of a Hindu wall, he put up the equally ornate ornamentations on the screens.

(*d*) In order to capture further the imagination of the cultured Hindus, he began to build the Quṭb pillar.[2]

Thus the Qūwat-ul-Islām and the Quṭb minār make him out to be a statesman who stressed and stimulated what was best and beautiful in Hindu culture, by the acceptance of some of the Hindu architectural excellences. Both the buildings were built under the superintendence of one and the same person, namely, Faḍl bin Abū'l Ma'ālī.[3] His desire of propitiating his Hindu subjects is also discernible in his bilingual coins,[4] appointment of a Hindu governor, Kaula, at Ajmer, and permitting the Yogmāyā temple in the neighbourhood to exist.[5] As viceroy and later on as Sulṭān of North India, he concentrated his attention on subduing and winning over his people, and his two titles, *lakhkush*, the killer of lacs (in battle) and *lakhbakhsh*, the giver of lacs in charity, indicate his attitude towards his

---

[1] The temple demolition in Vijayanager is in point. It was so thoroughly destroyed that hardly any vestige remains of its former grandeur.

[2] A separate article has been published in the *U.P. Historical Journal*, 1937, on '*The Qutb minar—its architecture and history*'.

[3] The full inscription as seen on the Qūwat is

فی تولیة العبد فضل بن ابی المعالی *

[4] See Thomas : *The Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi*.

[5] The tradition is that it has been existing from the pre-Muslim days.

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subjects. *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* speaks of his love for generosity which in the first stage had taken the form of bestowal of gold and other wealth on the needy,[1] but later developed into the nobler virtue of appreciating his people's culture. Although originally a slave, he had been able to acquire one other virtue: he was well-versed in the Qurān and it was his literacy that distinguished him from his Ghūrī masters. He showed a love for learning by putting up the Qurānic texts in the *Kūfic* or *Tughrā* characters. It would not perhaps be too much to say that without Quṭbuddīn India could not have possessed the exquisitely carved facade of the Qūwat-ul-Islām or the massive Quṭb minār.

## The extensions to the Masjid in Iltutmish's time.

Shamsuddīn Iltutmish also made additions to the mosque. In the *Cambridge History of India*, Plate III, or in Mr. Page's memoir may be seen the relation of Iltutmish's additions to the original Qūwat-ul-Islām. It will be noticed that the building was extended in three directions, north, south, and east, and the enclosure[2] now included the Quṭb minār. The size of the mosque was now 230′ east to west, and 370′ north to south, so that its total area was nearly three times what it had been in Quṭbuddīn's time. The date of the extensions is recorded on the left pillar of the southern central arch :—

* فی شهور سنة سبع و عشرین و ستمائة

'in the months of the year 627 A.H.=1229-30 A.D.' Iltutmish's additions to the Quṭb minār are said to be coeval with those made to the mosque. Iltutmish belonged to Quṭbuddīn's school of thought and followed in the footsteps of his predecessor.[3] He completed the Quṭb minār and extended the Qūwat-ul-Islām. The exquisite decorations of the walls made under his orders could only be matched by Quṭbuddīn's fine work. If his tomb be one of his works, as is likely, this will also illustrate Iltutmish's love for ornamentation. A tomb with such ornate carvings is not to be met with in the whole of North India.[4]

---

[1] See the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* in Elliot and Dowson: *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 299.

[2] Which no longer exists except towards the south.

[3] *Amir* Khusrau's praise of the Indian artists may be read in Dr. Mirza's *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, p. 97. A portion may be quoted here: 'the stone carvers of Hind who shamed even Farhād with their skill in stone-work, rendered the faces of the stones so smooth that imagination itself would slip on them. The masons of Delhi who considered even Numān-i-Mundhir to be a mere block-head in the art of building—joined stones with stone in such a manner that the fancy of a Rhazes could not penetrate their joints.'

[4] In the south, Ibrāhīm *Rauḍa* at Bijāpūr has been even more elaborately ornamented.

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## ALĀUDDĪN'S EXTENSIONS.

'Alāuddīn too is connected with the mosque. As 'Alā's works have been discussed elsewhere,[1] we shall content ourselves here with briefly mentioning his contributions to the embellishment of the masjid :—

(*a*) He increased the size of the mosque towards the north and the east, so that it measured now 385′ east to west and full 700′ north to south. As would be clear from the sketch,[2] Quṭbuddīn's mosque would be about one-ninth and Iltutmish's one-third of the total area. The scheme, however, was never brought to completion and after 'Alā's illness in 1311 A.D., it was abandoned for good.

(*b*) Whilst Quṭbuddīn and Iltutmish paid scrupulous regard to the proportion and symmetry of form, 'Alā either owing to his ignorance of the essential features of the Muslim architecture,[3] or owing to his vanity disregarded these considerations. The mosque was extended only towards the north and the east, and the covered portions (*liwān*) on the north side were made loftier than those of Quṭbuddīn or Iltutmish.

(*c*) The unfinished minār had a high plinth, a circumference at the bottom of 275′ and been carried to the height of 75′. If completed it would have reached 600′ in height and dwarfed all other buildings in its neighbourhood.

(*d*) The 'Alā'ī *Darwāza* was to serve as the southern entrance to the mosque. It is very likely that 'Alā commenced the extensions with the building of this entrance. It is thrice dated 15th *Shawwāl*, 710 A.H. (7th March, 1310 A.D.). The other portions were built either in this year or in the following. 'Alā'ī *Darwāza* is profusely inscribed and elaborately carved in the lower portions of the walls. Higher up, it looks barren from inside. The dome, too, from not being full, is only partly seen from the ground. The inscriptions are of inestimable value and enable students of Indian History to correct some of the popular misconceptions about Alāuddīn's character and reign.

## THE LATER HISTORY OF THE QŪWAT.

Alā died in 1317 A.D. and so his vast projects with him. Tughluq Shāh transferred the capital to Tughluqābād and Fīrūz Tughluq to Fīrūzābād ; and the later princes down to Shāh Jahān resided in parts of Delhi other than the Qil'a-i-Rai Pithaura. Still the oldest Muslim Delhi existed, nay, even flourished till almost the end of Akbar's reign.[4] Thus it appears that the

[1] See *Calcutta Review*, Vol. 64, No. 1, July, 1937.
[2] *C.H.I.*, Plate III.
[3] He was illiterate.
[4] Adham Ḳhān and Shamsuddīn Atkah Ḳhān's tombs are in the neighbourhood ; the Quṭb minār was repaired by Fīrūz Tughluq and Sikandar Lūdī, and Bābur visited the buildings. All this shows that the region had still some political significance.

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Qūwat-ul-Islām must have played an important part in the social life of the Muslims and served as a meeting-place of the Faithful on Fridays. It was only with the foundation of Shāhjahānābād and the building of the great red *Jāmi' masjid* near the fort that the Qūwat began to suffer neglect. Now it is an object of academic and archæological interest rather than a place for the Muslim worshippers, though in its vicinity there resides a respectable population of the Muslims.

## Conclusion.

We may fitly close the present study of the Qūwat-ul-Islām by briefly indicating its importance in Indian History. This mosque is a landmark, representing the ushering in of a new era in Indian culture and politics alike. Culturally, it marks the happy fusion of the two building traditions—Hindu and Muslim—and leads to a vigorous cultivation of architecture as a science and art. The Hindu richness and elaboration of detail combined to Muslim love for symmetry and simplicity produced what may be designated as an Indian style of architecture. And this style marks off the Muslim buildings of India from the other Saracenic buildings of the world. The personality element is the distinguishing feature of Indian monuments; and it is due to Hindu art traditions. In fact, the Qūwat-ul-Islām is a harbinger that proclaimed in the twelfth century the advent of a force which working under the indigenous inspiration and stimulus produced such masterpieces as the Tāj and Shāhjahānābād in the seventeenth century which superficial art-critics mistrusting Indian genius, feel disposed to attribute to foreign inspiration. Such a criticism is at once unhistorical and mischievous. Politically, the Qūwat-ul-Islām expresses and symbolizes the might and majesty of Islam that had been able to conquer Hindustan. And thus the mosque may be taken to mean literally an announcement, in brick and mortar, of the change of government. It closes the one and starts the other era: the Rājpūt supremacy 'yields place' to the Muslim domination.

In this connection, a word may be added by way of comment on the Muslim policy of temple demolition. Inspired by the monotheistic conception of God and hatred for idolatry, the Muslim conquerors could not have approved of the religion of the vanquished, which appeared to them as diametrically opposed to their own creed. The wars in the Middle Ages were waged in behalf of religion: at any rate, religious sentiment was exploited. And hence, the entire undertaking, a Crusade as it was given out to be, would have looked meaningless, if the conquerors had left the temples—citadels of Hindu religion—intact and undemolished. Hence the temple demolition invariably marks a Muslim conquest. It is the victor's disapproval

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of the vanquished's religion. Nothing beyond it. Intelligent Muslim princes always appreciated the ideals and traditions of Hindu culture ; allowed Hindu masons a free hand in following and enriching their art traditions and fashions so long as they did not tread on Islamic corns.[1] In fact, they did not let go art and culture before religious obsessions and dogmas. And this catholic appreciation of the inherent beauties and excellence of Hindu culture—a fact generally ignored by students of Indian History—is primarily responsible for the vigorous ebullition of the spirit that sustains India's claim to the suzerainty of thought in the Mediæval World.[2] The Qūwat-ul-Islām simply marks the beginnings of this cultural enrichment. The religious policy of the Muslim princes should not vitiate our estimate of them as the appreciators of Hindu culture.

Finally, we may state that the Qūwat-ul-Islām is historically important for the additional reason that it is the result of the efforts of three important rulers of Mediæval India—Quṭbuddīn, Iltutmish, and 'Alāuddīn, who, perhaps, regarded it as a matter of privilege to be able to contribute to its building and development. And this mosque served as a meeting-place for the Faithful till the building of Shāhjahānābād and the *Jāmi' masjid* in the vicinity of the fort in the seventeenth century. Hence the Qūwat-ul-Islām represents and unfolds the history of five centuries of Muslim rule beginning with the establishment of the Slave dynasty in India.

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[1] The monuments at Delhi, Āgrā, and Aḥmadābād, in particular, serve as an illustration.

[2] Jaunpūr was regarded as the Shīrāz of India. India boasted of several cultural movements, e.g. *sufism*, *bhaktī* cult, etc.

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# English-Sema Vocabulary.

By N. L. Bor *and* C. R. Pawsey.

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## Preface.

Messrs. Bor and Pawsey have done me the honour to ask me to write a foreword to their dictionary. The only qualification that I possess is that I studied Sema before they did and was the first perhaps to reduce that language to writing. It may be taken with confidence that in this dictionary the two collaborators have corrected many of the mistakes of my earlier vocabulary, and that where they differ from me they are more likely to be right than I was. Apart from that, the information they give is far fuller than mine and they may be said to have cleared a bridle path where I wandered in the jungle. In one thing I feel certain that the three of us are agreed and that is in our affection and respect for the most attractive, if at times exasperatingly wayward and vocal tribe which speaks the rather hybrid language that we set ourselves to learn in the Sema country, a language deficient in number and deficient in person but cursed with tones ingeniously varied to suit the varying shades of meaning attaching to otherwise identical words. The Sema Nagas started as a tribe from small beginnings but within the last hundred years have extended their culture and language very widely in the Naga Hills and to the east of them, and it seems likely that in the future it will be one of the most important of the many languages in what is probably the most polyglot area known to the world.

J. H. Hutton.



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## INTRODUCTION.

Dr. Hutton has generously said in his preface to our vocabulary that we have built a bridle path where he wandered in the jungle. We would prefer the simile that we have tried to erect an edifice upon foundations well and truly laid by Dr. Hutton himself. Our difficulties in learning the Sema Naga language were greatly lessened by the fact that the language had already been reduced to writing and that a grammar and vocabulary were in existence.

There is little to be said about the vocabulary itself. It is the result of the lists drawn up by us when learning the language and in our subsequent dealings with the tribe. The system of transliteration adopted by Dr. Hutton in his grammar has been used. This is not ideal in that the sound which is represented by ü would have been more intelligible to philologists had it been written as the German ö, a sound which it closely resembles. In the Naga Hills, at any rate, this symbol is always used to represent the German o with umlaut, even in the transliteration of the Angami and other Naga languages, and we see no reason why we should depart from the local usage.

N. L. BOR.
C. R. PAWSEY.

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## VOCABULARY

### A

a, *laki.*
**abandon,** to, *phevelo.*
**abdomen,** *apfo.*
**abhor,** to, *mitilo ; zhunshimoi.*
**abide,** to, *ngulo ; alo.*
**able,** *..'lunani* (suffixed to verb root).
**abomination,** *ghile ketseshi.*
**abode,** *aki ; apfu ; nagamipfu.*
**abound,** *kuthomo ani.*
**about,** *'ho* (postposition) ; *hulao-hilao* (adv.) ; (—of numerals) *-a,* about five= *pongua.*
**above,** *kungu ; ashou ;* (—and below) *ahu apeu.*
**abreast,** to go, *puthuthashi chelo.*
**abscond,** to, *povelo ;* (—with) *pfepovelo.*
**absent,** *kaha.*
**absurd,** *kogozumi 'tsa ; koghüzumi 'tsa.*
**abundance,** *kuthomo ani.*
**abuse,** *atsa allokesa pilo ; atsa'kesa pilo ; allomi pilo ; sakiyilo.*
**accept,** to, *lulo.*
**accidentally,** *'mtano* (lit. not knowing).
**accompany,** to, *'sasü wulo ; 'sasü wovelo.*
**accomplish,** to, (—a work) *akumla laki shikhavelo.*
**account,** *kephi.*
**accumulate,** *akhwo shivetsülo ; khütsülo.*
**accurate,** *kucho kucho.*
**accursed,** *ghapio** (Mokokchung) ; *ketseshi* (Kohima) (used of articles or food that may not be touched or eaten).
**accuse,** to, *ngukulo.*
**ache,** *süani* (is paining).
**acid,** *khempoi ; khumbai ; kemboi* (taste).
**acorn,** *apiti.*
**acquaint,** to, *pitsülo.*
**acquaintance,** *ikitimi.*
**acquire,** to, *itululo.*
**act maliciously,** to, *akhe küsüvesülo.*
**active,** *akumthu.*
**add,** to, (—spoils together in one pool) *alelu kukhalo, alelu akivoshilo.*
**adjacent,** *sughu ; kumungu ; 'vilo ; 'lao.*
**admonish,** to, *kütsülo.*
**adopt,** to, *allozhelo.*
**adultery,** to commit, *timi'-nipvu'vilo nipvughakhulo.*
**advance,** to, *athegheshilo.*
**adversary,** (enemy) *aghümi.*
**adze,** *amkeh.*
**afar,** *kushua ; aghacheu.*
**affectionate,** (husband wife) *pama akimianipvu kwokhüke.*
**affliction,** *agheme.*
**affray,** *kicheghi.*
**afoot,** to go, *akupuno ala chelo.*
**afraid,** to be, *müsalo.*
**after,** *'thiu ; 'thiuno.*
**afterbirth,** *amonhya.*
**afternoon,** *avelao.*
**afterwards,** *athiuno ; hipathiu ; tipathiu ; pashelino.*
**again,** *etaghe ; itaghi ; kutoughi.*
**against,** (he is—me) *pana i'lao allomoike, pana i'lao kumoike.*
**age,** *o'puno ampeh kizhehi sheva kya ?* (what is your age ?)

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* *ghapiu*<*teghami, pi-u* = that which is devoted to the *teghami,* earth spirits. *ketseshe* is applied to animals that die unnatural deaths.—J. H. H.

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**agree**, to, *allopilo; kumtsalo;* (we shan't be able to agree) *kichi pimla.*
**aim**, to, *mizhizhulo; meghezhulo.*
**air**, *amulhu.*
**alarm**, to, *müsalo.*
**alder tree**, *littisü.*
**alien**, (Sema from another village) *inami;* (transfrontier) *tushomi.*
**alike**, *aphiphi.*
**alive**, *khuani.*
**all**, *kumtsü; akuchopu;* (all the villagers) *aina.*
**alone**, *'likhi.*
**along with**, *'sasü.*
**aloud**, to speak, *ighwono atsa pilo.*
**alter**, *kililulo.*
**alternately**, *küzoku-küzoli; kivetsüghü.*
**always**, *allokuthu; tosülo; pulhapughu.*
**ambush**, to, *aghukugotsülo* (K.); *itsüalo* (M.).
**among**, *'dolo.*
**ancestors**, *asü; apuasü; kaghelomi; kaghekichimi.*
**ancestral land**, *asü lu.*
**ancient**, *akha.*
**Angami**, *tsüngimi.*
**anger**, to (tr.), *pamelo shi keghidelo.*
**angry**, to be, *amelo idelo; kuloghwulo.*
**animal**, *akinu;* (wild—) *tugha kinu* (E.); *tugha kini* (W.).
**ankle**, *alounhye.*
**annoyance**, to give, *keghemeïlo; pünalo; punalo.*
**annoyance**, *allomogha.*
**another**, *ketao.*
**ant**, *alhache;* (black—) *ashukhu;* (red—) *atisü;* (white—) *alhakhu;* (white-winged) *alhu;* (large—) *satüghüpu.*
**antagonistic**, (he is—to me) *pana i'lao kumoi.*
**Ao**, *cholimi.*
**apart**, *küthütha.*
**apartment**, (front—) *kalaobo;* (middle—) *amphokibo;* (back—) *akusaobo.* These are the divisions of the Sema house.
**apiece**, *laki laki.*
**appetite**, *müzthi.*
**applaud**, to, *aou kukulo.*
**apron**, (ordinary—) *ashola;* (small double) *akechekı;* (with dog's hair and cowries) *lapucho;* (large, with cowries) *aminikedah;* (gen. term) *amini.*
**arise**, to, *ithoulo; ithulo;* (—from bed) *icholo.*
**arm**, *aou;* (fore—) *aouchi;* (upper—) *aoumlo.*
**armlet**, (ivory—) *akahaghi;* (pewter—) *aksa; akesa.*
**armpit**, *achishekoh; akicheko.* (N.B.—The same as word for shade but here the "*che*" is markedly accented.)
**around**, *'ho.*
**arouse**, to, *kedalo.*
**arrest**, to, *keghalo.*
**arrive**, to, *tohlo.*
**arrow**, *aliwoh; alighoti.*
**artful**, *amükükinimi.*
**article**, *anhyemogha laki.*
**ascend**, to, *ekwovelo; kwovelo.*
**ash**, *ayevu.*
**ask**, to, *inzhulo; inyulo.*
**ask for**, to, *kulo;* (—price of stolen goods from thief) *apulo kulo.*
**aslant**, *kughoh.*
**asleep**, *züani* (is sleeping).
**assault**, to, *kicheghilo.*
**assemble**, to, *akhwoshilo;* (—, of persons) *kuholo.*
**at once**, *mtazzü.*
**attention**, to pay, *akevishi kumsülulo.*

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**aunt,** (father's sister) *ani;* (mother's sister) *aza.*
**autumn,** *tekhüghulo.*
**await,** to, *khealo.*
**awake,** to, *ida ithoughilo.*
**awe,** *müsa* (fear).
**axe,** *amoghu;* (wooden hafted—) *aztha kohi;* (iron hafted —) *aiyingussah.*

## B

**baby,** *anga.*
**bachelor,** *apumi; chimemi* (one who lives alone).
**back,** *akiche;* (—side) *asübo;* (—to front) *bidelao shi.*
**backdoor,** *aküssa; akussaki; aküssa kikha.*
**backwards,** to go, *sholeuno ilovelo; shoteuno ilovelo.*
**bacon,** *awoshi.*
**bad,** *allokesah.*
**badger,** (ferret-badger) *khauwo, awosho.*
**baggage,** *anhyemoga.*
**balance,** *ala* (remainder).
**bald,** *akütsü ipi piva; akütsü-'sa kaha* (he is bald).
**bamboo,** (single—) *aichi;* (large—, for chungas) *apo;* (thick-walled—) *ahuti; awuti;* (tengal—) *akau;* (small—) *amah, shehubo;* (small—, with close nodes) *antibo;* (very thin-walled—) *akulu;* (—tube for holding pipe water) *ayihu;* (—shoots for food) *akhuthu;* (decorated—, erected after genna) *aghüza.*
**bandage,** to, *tsüghavelo.*
**bang,** *aghügha.*
**bar,** to, *khavelo.*
**bar,** *akadu.*
**barber,** *akütsüshikiu* [lit. the one who (*ki-u*) makes (*shi*) the head (*akütsü*)].
**bare,** *kumsa.*
**barefaced,** *kuzhomoi.*
**bark** (of tree), *asükōza; akoza* (K.); *akwola, akwoza* (M.).
**bark,** to, *eghalo;* (—to drive off strangers) *nughealo;* (—when hunting game) *ashi puthualo.*
**barking deer,** *a she.**
**barrel of gun,** *alika-hu.*
**barter,** to, *alhi shi kidivelo.*
**bashful,** *kuzhova* (he is ashamed).
**basin,** *akhu; kolami 'khu.*
**bask,** to, (—in sun) *tsükhinhye poghalo;* (—beside fire) *ami poghalo.*
**basket,** (—for carrying wood) *amtho;* (—for measuring rice to pay off debts) *akünasuli, akwopfu;* (flat—) *ashoghi;* (—holding 1 seer rice) *atsüthŏ;* (—for clothes, cotton, etc.) *akhau;* (—made from portion of one bamboo, the bamboo being split to the node which forms the base) *akhutukho;* (—for string of eggs) *akŏghŏ, avukŏghŏ;* (—for measuring rations) *akeli, asüpe* (one day), *kelivu* (two days); (joppa) *akhwo;* (big duli) *abi;* (small duli) *asuli.*
**bastard,** *thekanu.*
**bat,** *ashu¯kha.*
**bathe,** to, *azü kuchulo.*
**battle,** *aghükheki; aghükighi.*
**Bauhinia tree,** *pahakupvusübo.*
**be,** to, *alo.*

* I think *ashe* is also used for four-footed game in general and is possibly identical with *ashi* = "meat"; the barking deer (*Cervulus muntjac*) is probably the commonest form of four-footed game there is in the Sema country.—*J. H. H.*

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**bead**, *ati, achi;* (blue—) *achiketsü;* (large red—) *achikuhu;* (small red—) *chizhukukupu;* *achuwohikhu;* (maroon—) *achuï, achichuï;* (yellow—) *anyila;* (white—) *ashoghi; ashughu.*

**beak**, *akichi.*

**beam**, (roof tree) *aketsü;* (—for sides of roof) *akazo, akhikha.*

**bean**, *ayikhu; allothi; ketsuthi; akyekhu; akyekhi; kuuti; ayikhu* cooked is called *akhonhye.*

**bear**, *ava.*

**beard**, *amkhumhi* (chin hair).

**beast**, *akenu.*

**beat**, to, *helo; bulo;* (—with flat of hand) *dahelo;* (—with fist) *aousü helo; koolo.*

**beautiful**, *azhukevi.*

**beckon**, to, (—with finger) *aouloti kuhilo;* (—with hand) *aou kuhilo.*

**become**, to, *shiuvelo;* (to turn into a tiger) *angshu lholo; miviulo.*

**bed**, *alipa;* (chief's—) *apulo-'lipa.*

**bee**, *akhi.*

**beef**, *amishishi.*

**before**, (of place) *azu;* (of time) *kaghe; tipaughülolo.*

**beg**, to, *tsoholo; itsü tsoholo.*

**beggar**, *ketsohomi; kukuchumi.*

**begin**, to, *ashenyelo;* (cultivation, to line up to—) *apetha akeilo;* (will—) *atusho thuni.*

**beginning**, *ashenhye.*

**begone**, to, *povelo.*

**behead**, to, *ipfulo; akutsü lulo;* (after another man has speared) *atsūvū lulo.*

**behind**, *'thiu* used as a suffix; (—the house) *akussao.*

**behold**, to, *zhulo; hizhulo.*

**belch**, to, *pokosülo;* (hiccup = *muchukalo*).

**bellow**, to, *eghalo.*

**bellows**, *amikufupu.*

**bellows**, to blow, *amifulo.*

**belly**, *apfo.*

**bellyache**, *apfo süani.*

**beloved**, *kwokukemi;* *allo-zhepu.*

**below**, *'khwo* (used as a suffix).

**belt**, *apfokha;* (—for dao) *asüki;* (—for money) *ghakabo.*

**bend**, to, *sükwŏholo; pighekwoholo;* (—spear blade on stone) *shokwŏholo* (E.S.); (—body backwards and forwards) *ikuïkü shilo;* (—body from side to side) *kulo kili shilo.*

**bend down**, to, *itsakhülo;* (—to go through jungle) *ipulo, ipfulo.*

**bent**, *müzümoi.*

**best**, *akiveo; allokeo.*

**bet**, to, *thapilo* (Assamese); *ame külo.*

**betray**, to, *atheshilo.*

**better**, *'ye . . . . . kevi* (*Inato* is better than *Inzhevi; Inzheviye Inato kevi* or *pavi*).

**between**, *'mtala;* (average) *'mtau.*

**beware**, to, *shitsashishilo.*

**big**, *kizhe; akizhe;* (—in stature) *ashighülho.*

**bind**, to, (—with cane) *tsüghalo;* (—round and round with rope) *phedalo;* (—animal to a post) *tsuivelo.*

**birch tree**, *yepasü.*

**birdlime**, *ghoghotha.*

**birdnest**, *aghaopusü.*

**bite**, to, *mikitsülo; mikilo;* (kill by biting, tiger) *tsülo;* (—, of snakes) *müghülo;* (—, of pigs) *tsalo.*

**bite**, a, (mosquito—) *amii'ku;* (leech—) *aive'ku.*

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**bitter**, *kumtsa ; kumtsai.*
**bitter** (in mind), *amelo pughapu ; amelo ghahapu.*
**black**, *dsübui ; tsübui.*
**blackberry**, *yevuitibo.*
**blacksmith**, *akiyekemmi.*
**bladder**, *akachebo.*
**blame**, to, *atsa'kesa pilo ;* (I am not to blame) *khukipini kumoi, lhokipini kumoi.*
**blank**, *kumsa.*
**blaze**, *amikühükhü.*
**bleat**, to, *anyeh ghüghashilo.*
**blindman**, *anhyeti kerichemi ;* (blind with cataract) *anhyeti deke.*
**blister**, *aviputsŏ.*
**blister**, to, *cholo ; tsolo.*
**blockhead**, *kogozumi kucho ; koghüzumi kucho.*
**blood**, *azhi ;* (clots of—) *aikichemokoh.*
**bloom** (flower), *akhakupu ; akupu ; akupfu ; akhamonu* (usually of any flower used as ornament).
**blow**, (n.), *akihe helo.*
**blow**, to, (—on hands) *aou fupululo ;* (—on food to cool) *fukümukulo ;* (—a fire up into smoke) *ami pholo.*
**blow**, to, (wind —s down tree, house) *fulavetsülo ;* (—over, basket) *fulevetsülo ;* (wind —s down crops) *ghavetsülo.*
**blue**, *akutsu.*
**bluebottle fly**, *ayela ; agela.*
**blunder**, *kumsümoiva ; koghochoiva ;* (he has blundered) *kumsümavia* (M.).
**blunt**, *tsoghamo* (K.) ; *tsüghamoi* (M.).
**blush**, *huchuhulo* (to become red).
**boar**, *aliu ; ali.*
**boast**, to, *akeküza shilo.*
**boaster**, *akeküza kichemi.*
**boat**, *ashu kha ; ashu khaku.*
**boatman**, *ashukha pekeghumi.*
**body**, *api, apeampiu.*
**boil**, to, (—water) *azü pululo ;* (—eggs) *belo ;* (—meat) *bekhilholo.*
**boils**, (large) *amishe, mishita ;* (small) *upah.*
**boka** (fish), *anyipu.*
**bold**, *müsamoikemi.*
**bone**, *aghü* (E.S.); *aghi* (W.S.); *ashighi.*
**book**, *kaku ;* (pile of books) *kakuda* (L.). cf. Angami.
**borrow**, to, *nalulo ; tipilo* (L.). cf. Angami.
**both**, *kini kuzho ;* (they) *pama, kuma.*
**bother**, to, *allomoghatsülo ; aghemetsülo; pünalo.*
**bottom**, (body) *asübo ;* (of river) *azüalo.*
**boulder**, *athokhu.*
**boundary**, (vertical) *agho thu ;* (horizontal) *aghapi.* (cf. fence, *agho_thu.*)
**boundary**, to lay a, *zhovetsülo.*
**bow**, *alika ; asülika ; kesülika.*
**bowels**, *akeghi ; akive.*
**bowl**, *akhu.*
**boy**, *itimi; apumi; aputhethemi.*
**bracelet**, *asapu.*
**brain**, *akho ;* (figurative) *amelo.*
**bramble**, *asahu.*
**branch**, *alloka, asükügha.*
**brass**, *asapuï.*
**brave**, *pa'melo kizhe.*
**bread**, *asho.*
**break**, to, (—general word) *süchevelo ;* (—used of long things) *vechelo, vechevelo ;* (—by hitting) *hepovelo, hethavelo ;* (—genna) *achini khathalo ;* (—word) *atsa phevelo ;* (—by throwing down) *vephovelo ;* (—stones) *athu kubolo ;* (—off fruit) *akhati kholo ;* (—off heads of millet) *süthalo ;* (—down, by

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cattle) *nilavetsülo, kwolevetsülo;* (—with foot or leg) *puthachevelo, nyechevelo.*
**break** (into), *ichevelo.*
**breast,** *akechi.*
**breast plate,** (dancing) *aghuhu.*
**breathe,** to, *athuthu shilo.*
**breeze,** *amulhu.*
**brethren,** (man speaking) *atazĭmi;* (woman speaking) *aphelimi.*
**brew,** to, *azhi belo;* (brew and keep) *azhi beaghilo.*
**bridge,** *akupu.*
**bring,** to, *sügheIo; pfeghelo; pfeghetsülo;* (lead) *saghelo.*
**broad,** *akizhelao.*
**broken,** is, *khapove, shipsava, kutsava* (E.S.).
**brother,** (elder—) *amu;* (younger—) *atüküzü;* (—and sister) *apachepfu.*
**brown,** *huchuhi.*
**brush,** *amügho;* (house—) *akikukupu.*
**brush,** to, *amüghono khevelo;* (—boots) *akupukho khevelo;* (—hair back) *asa nuputulo;* (—hair down) *asa kunulo.*
**bubble,** *azükümla.*
**bud,** *amuzü.*
**buffalo,** *aëli;* (wild—) *aghaleli.*
**bug,** *akuhu.*
**bulbul** (Molpastes) *amduh.*
**bullet,** *alikati, mashehuti.*
**bundle,** (—of firewood) *asu¯lu;* (—of beans, etc.) *apa.*
**burden,** *akwoh.*
**burial place,** *akumokukho.*
**burier,** *akumokeshu.*
**burn,** to, (intr.) *pitilo.*
**burn,** to, (tr.) *pitivetsülo;* (set fire to, to ignite) *amishilo;* (—one's self) *kwolo;* (—fields, house) *khūvelo, khūvetsülo;* (—jungle) *muhalo, mugholo, moghovelo;* (—heaps of rubbish) *kwalo.*
**bury,** to, *khwoivelo.*
**burst,** to, *nipa wolo* (used of eggs bursting).
**bush,** *asüpö.*
**busy,** *akumla kuthomo ani* (there is much work).
**butt** (of gun), *mashehusüboki.*
**butterfly,** *amimi.*
**buttocks,** *asübo.*
**buy,** to, *khülo.*
**by and by,** *tipathouno; itouno.*
**bypath** (for ambush), *aghügotsüla.*

## C

**cackle,** to, *eghalo.*
**cage,** *avupukökepfu.*
**calamity,** *ahakesah* (possessive pronoun must be prefixed).
**calculate,** to, *philo.*
**calf,** *amishiti.*
**calf** (of leg), *apite.*
**call,** to, *kulo; kutsülo;* (—loudly) *eghalo;* (—back spirit of dying man) *aghongu kululo.*
**call away,** to, *kusaghelo.*
**calumniate,** to, *timi'zhe shi pahaivelo.*
**candle,** *aghü_gha.*
**cane,** *akkeh;* (binding—, tengal) *akau;* (—dyed red) *aghwu.*
**cane,** sliver of, (for making fire) *amlakiki.*
**cap a gun,** to, *tupi alika'cholo kholo.*
**capital,** *ato;* (—and interest) *ato alhi.*
**capture,** to, *keghalo.*
**carcase,** *akumo.*
**care of,** to take, *allokekutsütsülo.*
**careful,** *amelo tekhoi.*
**carefully,** *asheshino; akevishi shino.*

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**carelessly**, *kumsüzhumono.*
**carnatic carp**, ("boka") *anyipu.*
**carrier** (frame) or basket, (for pigs) *awokughu;* (for fowls) *aukughu.*
**carry**, to, (—in hand) *aoulo pfelo;* (—in arms) *wopfelo, aoulo tsükhulo;* (—baby on back) *anu khapfelo;* (—load by headband) *pfulo;* (—on stretcher) *akache gheno kuholo, kuhope wulo;* (water carries away) *azüno pfeuvelo, azüno pfepovelo.*
**carrying cloth**, *anga kihe* (for babies).
**castrate**, to, *awochokoghoh lulo* (used of pigs only).
**cat**, *aküssa;* (golden—) *angshu akinu;* (grey—) *akufu;* (civet—) *akü;* (small civet—) *akenhi;* (leopard—) *anyengu.*
**cataract**, *anhyeti ideva* (eye has turned round).
**catch**, to, *keghalo;* (—in trap) *melulo;* (—fish by rod) *akha müssülo;* (—fish in trap) *akha khalulo;* (—a disease) *khevelo;* (—crabs) *kholulo.*
**caterpillar**, *pokwonünga; anünga.*
**cattle**, *amishi.*
**cave**, *athuki; athuliwoki.*
**ceiling**, *amkha.*
**celt**, *thoghopūmoghu* (spirit axe).
**centipede**, *ketimi'nodu.*
**centre of back**, *awoghi.*
**certain**, *kucho.*
**chain**, *ayikeghi; aila.*
**chair**, *alakü.*
**change**, to, *kililo;* (—water at peace ceremony) *alu pekili-vetsülo.*
**change**, *amuno; ghaka'muno.*
**channel**, *azüla* (water path).
**character**, *amelo* (lit. heart, mind).
**charm**, *anagha; agha.*
**chase**, *havelo; halo.*
**cheap**, *mlali; mlale; amethomo.*
**cheat**, to, *pishikülo; shobidhi-chulo* (L.).
**cheat**, (n.), *pishikukichiu.*
**cheek**, *anamchu.*
**cherry** (wild), *kiniti;* (—tree) *kiniti-sü, kiniti-bo.*
**chest** (body), *amla.*
**chew**, to, *tsalo.*
**chicken**, *auti, avuti.*
**chicken pox**, *athogha.*
**chief**, *kekami; akekao.*
**child**, *itimi;* (child's company) *itimi'luzhi.*
**childbirth**, to die in, *nhapi-tilo.*
**childhood**, *itilo.*
**childless couple**, *kolanumi.*
**chillie**, *gwomishi; mughishi; atushe.*
**chilly**, *sitiani* (am cold).
**chin**, *amkhu.*
**choke**, to, *khupunalo;* (in oaths) *ipihakhilo.*
**choose**, *akevishishe lulo.*
**cicada**, *zuü* (onomatopœic).
**circle**, *aboho;* (make a—) *aboho paalo.*
**circuitous**, *vekoho.*
**civet**, (large—) *akü;* (small—) *akenhe.*
**clan**, *ayeh; ayehakwoh.*
**clap**, to, *aou kukulo.*
**claw**, *mtsü.*
**clay** (for making vessels), *agha; aghayeghu;* (ordinary—, earth) *ayeghu.*
**clean**, *akimthe.*
**clean** (one's eyes), to, *anhyeti mitilo.*
**clear** (liquids), *akimthe.*
**clever**, *aghokinimi; kopothomi; pokothomi; amku kinimi; amkhü kinimi.*
**cliff**, *athokhu.*
**climb**, to, *ikhulo.*

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**close**, to, (—door) *khavelo;* (—joppa) *khoivelo, khavelo;* (—eyes) *anhyeti milo;* (—box) *khwovelo, nhavelo.*
**cloth**, *api;* (white —) *nusüpi.*
**clothes**, *api;* (full dress) *ananu.*
**cloud**, *kunkusü;* (be overclouded) *kunkusü nhaluva.*
**cobweb**, *thalhakhüki.*
**cock**, *audu;* (wild—) *laliudu.*
**cock a gun**, to, *pilekilo.*
**cockcrow**, *aughüghamutsa; tsüketho.*
**cock's comb** (Celosia), *naghukuphu.*
**cohabit**, to, *koghünalo; sasüzülo; akimianipvu shilo.*
**coil**, to, *akeghi kuholo.*
**cold**, (body) *sitiani;* (articles, weather) *muko;* (—in head) *mukogha;* (have a—) *mukogha shilo.*
**cold**, to become, (food) *mukomughulo* (obviously derived from *mukomughei* "hard" but has now lost the connection in meaning as it is sometimes applied to liquids; primarily would be applied to cooling rice).
**cold season**, *süsütsala.*
**collect**, to, *akwoshilo; akheshilo.*
**comb**, *atsukhe;* (cock's—) *au'mche.*
**comb**, to, *muzükhüvelo, kunokhüvelo;* *khekülo.*
**come**, to, *eghelo;* (—in) *ileghelo;* (—out) *ipeghelo;* (—up) *kwoghelo;* (—down) *keghelo;* (—back) *ilyeghelo;* (—behind, to follow) *ipapelo.*
**comet**, *ayepu.*
**commerce**, *alhi.*
**companion**, (male) *akesami;* (female) *apami.*
**company**, *aluzhi;* (captain of—) *aluzhitoemi;* (men of—) *aluzhimi, akwomi.*
**compassion**, to have, *kimiyelo.*
**complaint**, *atsa kekegha.*
**complete**, *akupu; akupu.*
**compurgator**, *asholukumi.*
**conceal**, to, *küsülo.*
**conch**, *alapu;* (pieces made into beads) *aveka.*
**confine**, to, *akoghukilo sawutsülo.*
**confiscate**, to, *sükhaluvelo.*
**confuse**, *shikügüzülo.*
**consider**, to, *kumsüzhulo; amelo poghüzhulo.*
**contemporary**, *akhemmi.*
**conveniently**, *achipilo.*
**converse**, to, *kuputsalo, pukutsalo.*
**cook**, to, (—rice) *belo, betsülo;* (—meat) *lholo, bekhilo.*
**cook**, *alukuli shikiu.*
**cool**, *sitiani.*
**copulate**, (humans) *amonhyevelo;* (animals, birds) *ipalo, koghüpaülo.*
**cord**, *akeghi.*
**cork**, *akimike.*
**cork**, to, *mikevelo.*
**corner**, *a_cheku.*
**corpse**, *akumo.*
**cost**, *ame,*
**cotton**, *asüpa;* (—field) *asüpali.*
**cough**, *ikki.*
**countenance**, *agi; ayi* (L.).
**country**, *apfu; 'ghamipfu; 'kelao.*
**courageous**, *pa'melo kizhe.*
**cover**, (n.), *akunha.*
**cover**, to, *nhavelo; kwovelo.*
**cow**, *amishi.*
**coward**, *inamomi.*
**cowherd**, *amishikyeu.*
**cowrie**, *atsüpusho.*
**crab**, *achuwo atsugho;* (red—) *awocho;* (black—) *awotsü.*
**crack**, to, *ghügh üghü shilo;* (the sound of treading over dry sticks) *thüthü shilo.*

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**crack finger joints**, to, (—by pulling) *sucholo;* (—by bending) *peghechelo;* (—bending sideways between forefinger and thumb) *puthachelo.*
**crack**, *aiya.*
**crawl**, *ipfulo; ipfuchelo;* (—up a precipice) *mugho ikuchelo, zunuli ikuchelo.*
**crazy**, *koghüzumi.*
**creeper**, *thukhathabo; kyeghüsübo.*
**crimson**, *huchuhi.*
**cringe**, to, (from a blow) *pisheulo.*
**cripple**, *akupuketimi; aghetsükeghechemi; apukukoghwohomi.*
**crooked**, *akuwohoh; ihu; ihoghüghü; ihoshu; kugho* (aslant).
**crops**, *akha* (E.S.); (means "torkari" amongst Western Semas).
**cross**, to, (—a river) *pfuthalo, puthalo;* (—a stream) *kathalo;* (—river by bridge) *vechelo;* (—a boundary) *vechelo;* (—hands, feet) *aou hekhipelo, akupu hekhipelo.*
**crosseyed**, *anhyetikhobidhike.*
**crow**, *agha.*
**cruelly**, *kimiyemono.*
**cry**, to, *kaälo;* (—out) *eghalo.*
**cubit**, *aouli.*
**cuckoo**, *kuti; guti; kasupapo.*
**cucumber**, *akwokha; akukha.*
**cuff**, to, *dahelo.*
**cultivate**, to, *alu chilo;* (give land to—) *alu chipelo.*
**cultivation**, *alu.*
**cultivators**, *al'lohukemmi.*
**cup**, *azhukhu; azukhu; ayikhu* (E.S.).
**cur**, *atsüzü.**
**cure**, to, *shipivilo.*
**curl**, *akutsükumutho; akutsü-'sa eghemunio.*
**custom**, *'lho; aye;* (oldtime—) *nipuasüye, kagheliaye.*
**cut**, to, (—with dao) *michevelo;* (—with one blow) *kimche lakino michevelo;* (—down big tree) *thavelo;* (—cord, meat) *ghathavelo;* (—firewood) *ghelo;* (—shavings) *asü kucholo;* (—off head) *atsūvū lulo;* (—down with axe) *bokhilo.*

## D

**daft**, *koghüzumi.*
**daily**, *allokuthu; aghulotsütsü.*
**dam**, (n.), *akhū; apili* (M.).
**dam**, to, *azükethavelo; azükepuchovelo; akhū shilo.*
**damaged**, *shipsava; allokesa sheva.*
**damp**, *putsüva.*
**damsel**, *ilimi.*
**dance**, to, *aghili shilo;* (Sema —) *aphilo wulo;* (—in circle) *chithalo, chitha shilo;* (two men) *akeshe shilo;* (spiral—) *mimighogho shilo.*
**dance**, leader of, *chithu; atheghükeshiu;* (man at end of line) *amiheu.*
**dandle** (baby), to, *anga khapfe kihealo.*
**dao**, *azhta; aztha;* (curved-backed—) *akyekeh.*
**daobox**, *asüki;* (—strings) *asükekekhi;* (ornamented strings) *akiesükekekhi.*
**dark**, *zumoi; zumoiva.*
**daughter**, *anga totiu.*
**dawn**, (today) *inakhe;* (tomorrow) *thanau;* (general) *tsükutou kutou.*
**day**, *aghülo;* (in dates) *atsala;* the other—) *kaghenyu;*

* Lit. a dog that won't hunt—*zu* prob. = 'wander' here.—*J. H. H.*

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(three days ago) *shibidhini*; (—before yesterday) *ishik'-thuni*; (yesterday) *eghena*; (today) *ishi*; (—and night) *potho puchou*; (by—) *puchou*; (from—to—) *aghülo tsütsü*; (all—) *puchopuzü*; (day time) *atsalalo*.

**daybreak,** at, *tsükhinhye* (*khetsünhye*) *epeghekelo*.

**daylight,** it is, *tsükhinhye vukaiva*.

**dead,** *keti*.

**deaf,** *akinipo*; (—man) *akini-kowopomi*; (to become—) *akini povelo*.

**dear** (price), (*ame*) *chile*; *sholo*; *shuani*.

**deceive,** to, *pishikulo*.

**deep,** *tho*.

**defecate,** *balo*; *bawulo*; *avehu-shi wulo*; (the latter corresponds to the English "see a man about a dog").

**defence** (ditch), *ahukuho*.

**delay,** to, *munulo*.

**delirium,** to have (in fever), *aghamiki izuwulo*.

**deliver** (a child), to, *kupunulo*.

**demon,** *teghami*.

**den,** *ayeghikeghipe*; *athuliwoh*.

**dense** (jungle), *agha shuani*.

**depression** (in ground), *akuthoku*.

**descend,** to, *ekevelo*.

**design,** (on basket, etc.) *aiya*.

**destiny,** *a-ghau*.

**detour,** *alavekŏhola*.

**dew,** *atzüzü*; (—has fallen) *atzüzü kuke*; (—which has collected on leaves) *asümtsa zü*.

**Dhan,** *aö*; *aghü*; (—seeds) *aghüti*; (—husks) *aghiye-puka*; (—table) *aboshou* (large), *apikhi*, *apungo*; (—pounder) *akhumu*; (—, when ready to husk) *aökü-thüghü*; (—before drying) *akithini*; (to husk—) *aö shilo*; (to dry—) *aö phulo*.

**dhuli,** *abhi*.

**diarrhœa,** *tizüba*.

**die,** *tilo*; *thilo*; (—apotia) *nhapitivelo*, *nhapithivelo*.

**different,** *ketao*; *kütha*.

**difficult,** *akushoh*; *shil'sa*.

**dig,** to, (—hole) *chúlo*; (—ditch) *helo*; (—up boundary) *aghothu thusülalo*.

**dip,** to, *chokhulo*; *chokhusülo*.

**directly,** *mtazzü*.

**dirt,** *akhenya*; (—heaps) *aye-pulo*, *ayepibo*.

**dirty,** *akhyekhe*; (of person, *akhyekhe pfulo*; (stream) river) *kunü*, *puko*.

**discharge,** (tr.), *hapovelo*.

**discord,** to be at, *kiilo*.

**dish,** (wooden—) *asükhu*; (ordinary—) *akhu*; (—for washing hands) *aoukemtsü-zukubo*; (base of bowl) *akupu*; (leg of—) *keghakesü*; (compartment of—) *'bo*; (dividing wall of—) *choketha-khu*, *khokethakhu*.

**disobedient,** *atsa inyemoi*; *atsa chimla*.

**disobey,** to, *akukhashi chelo*.

**displeasure,** *allomoi*.

**distant,** *kushua*; *ala kushua*; *aghacheu*.

**distribute,** to, *kizhetsülo*; *kuphatsülo*.

**ditch,** *amüghozülaki*; (—of fortified village) *ahukuho*.

**dive,** to, *azü ilulo*; (—with stone) *thogho shilo*.

**divide,** to, *kizhetsülo*; *kupha-tsülo*; (—meat) *ashi phulo*; (—meat into shares) *alyeki alyeki shi ghelo*.

**divorce,** to, (tr.) *haphevelo*; (intr.) *ekhavelo*.

**divorce** (by magistrate), *ekhave pilo*.

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**dizzy**, *izülabo ; ikutsü izulabo sheva* = my head is dizzy.
**do**, to, *shilo ; mlalo.*
**dog**, *atsü ;* (hunting—) *ashi-hatsü ;* (non-hunting—) *atsüzü ;* (wild—) *atine, tungtügha* (M.).
**domestic animals**, *akilekenu ; akilopeghiu.*
**door**, *akikha ;* (—of village fence) *khagho ;* (village—) *alia ;* (—bar) *akadu.*
**dove**, *mekedu ; amikhi ;* (rufous—) *akewo ;* (bar-tailed cuckoo-dove) *ashogo.*
**dowry**, *akhenhyemogha.*
**doze**, to, *i_ngulo.*
**drag**, to, *sunhyelo.*
**drain**, *amüghozülaki.*
**dream**, *a¯mou.*
**dress**, *api ;* (full—) *ananu.*
**drink**, to, (—liquor) *shulo ;* (—water) *yelo.*
**drip**, to, *azü izhukeghalo ; azü keghüzhipelo ; azü izilo* (M.).
**drive**, to, *halo.*
**droll**, *ghava.*
**drop**, *azü keghüzhi.*
**drown**, *azülo ilutilo ; azülo iluthilo.*
**drum**,* *sheku ;* (—stick) *asheku kehesu.*
**drunk**, *shomzü.*
**dry**, (—over fire) *akechui ;* (—in sun) *kha.*
**dry**, to, (—over fire) *chuivelo, pikilo ;* (—in sun) *pulo, puvetsülo ;* (—paddy) *ao phulo.*
**dry up**, to, *chetovelo.*
**duli**, *abi ; abhi.*
**dumb**, *anika ;* (—man) *amli-tsükemmi.*
**dung**, *aba.*
**durable**, *kushu acheni.*
**dusk**, *züzüghoï ; cheghüghi* (M.).
**dust**, *akhyekhu ; ayeghimoku ; akhokū.*
**dust**, to, *tsovetsülo* (W.S.) ; *chovetsülo* (E.S.).
**dwell**, to, *alo ; ngulo.*
**dye**, (red) *amchu ;* (blue) *akutsüpi ;* (yellow) *aonye, akwotha.*
**dysentery**, *azhiba.*

## E

**each**, *laki laki.*
**eagle**, *alhokhu* (*Lophotriorchis Kieneri*—Rufous-billed hawk-eagle) ; *küzivekhu.*
**early**, *munumono ;* (morning) *inakhe.*
**ear**, *akini ;* (—hole) *akinikiki ;* (lobe of—) *anyekhĕ, anike* (M.) ; (hole in—for earwads) *akiniki ;* (—wax) *akini ba ;* (top of—) *ambughi ;* (—drum) *akiniti ;* (—of corn) *aghülo ba.*
**ear-ring**, *akhamonu ;* (large metal ring) *ayikhamonu ;* (Eastern Angami) *anadu ;* (—of coiled brass) *anigho ;* (glass—) *amunu.*
**earth**, *ayeghü.*
**earthquake**, *atsütsükogholo.*†
**earthquake**, to, *atsütsü ilulo.*†
**earwads**, *akinsüpha.*
**east**, *atsala iki pelao.*
**easy**, *mlavi ; akumlā ; mulamo.*
**eat**, (take food) *ilhulo ;* (eat) *chulo ;* (—with hand) *eĕchulo ;* (—with spoon) *khachulo ;* (—from cooking pot with spoon) *keĭchulo.*

* I.e. a wooden gong without any membrane made of a hollowed log.—*J. H. H.*
† Cf. Sky ; Thunder.—*J. H. H.*

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**eaves**, *akishe*.
**echo**, *mūzamūza*.
**eclipse**, to, (sun) *kütsinhyehaulo*; (moon) *akhihaulo*.
**edge**, (—of cup) *amtsü, akichi*; (—of river, pool) *amuku*; (—of precipice) *athokhumuku*; (—field) *alu phe*.
**eel**, *akaīki*.
**effigy**, *aghongu*.
**egg**, *aukhu, avukhu*; (—shell) *aghü*; (—yolk) *akuhu*; (white of—) *avukhuakimiu*; (addled—) *avukhuzhukumoi*; (—with embryo) *avukhuvakechiu*.
**eight**, *thache*; (eighteen) *chüghi thache, muku ma thache*; (eighty) *lhothache*.
**ekra**, *aiyaghü*.
**elbow**, *aounhye*.
**elder**, *akichiu*.
**elders** (of village), *chochomi*.
**elephant**, *akaha*.
**elephant apple tree**, *aghasatibo* (Dillenia indica).
**eleven**, *chüghi kaki*.
**elsewhere**, *ketaolo*.
**embankment**, *ayekūzbo*; *ayiku* (M.) (usually those between fields); (—in paniкets) *a¯po*.
**ember**, *ami huchuhi* (red fire).
**embrace**, to, *keghalo*.
**employment**, *akumla*.
**empty**, *kumsa*.
**encircle**, to, *veholevelo*; *suhīlevelo*.
**enclose**, to, *aghotou shilo*.
**end**, (—of a stick) *akiu* (big end); *abo* (small end); (—of a rope) *a_she*; (bottom) *asübo*; figuratively *kahava* (= is not).
**endeavour**, *mlale mlavelo*.
**enemy**, *aghümi*.
**enlarge**, to, *kizhetsülo*.
**enormous**, *ighwono kizhe*.
**enough**, *ta*; *thai*; *ivelo*; *tivelo*.
**enter**, to, (go in) *ilulo*; (come in) *ileghilo*.
**entice**, to, *züsawulo*.
**entire**, *kupvu*.
**entirely**, *allokei*.
**entrance**, *akikha*; (—to fortified villages) *alio*.
**epilepsy**, *kilegha*.
**equal**, *aphiphi*; *aho*; (—aged) *akhemmi*; (—in status) *apahi*.
**equally**, *akemeh*.
**erect**, *mozucho*.
**escape**, *povelo*.
**espouse**, (man) *anipvv lulo*; (woman) *nhilo*.
**Europeans**, *shahami*.
**evening**, *kezhiliu*; (this—) *tohuh*; (this—after dark) *itizhi*.
**ever**, (always) *gwolatsütsü*.
**everyone**, *timi kuchopu*; *timi kumtsü*.
**everywhere**, *kumtsülo*.
**exact**, *kucho*.
**excellent**, *akevio*.
**exchange**, *akilulo*; *kilulo*.
**exercise**, *kumulhuchelo*; *amulhu kutopu iluchelo*.
**exhaustion**, *aghime*.
**expend**, to, *pokavetsülo*; *kilhevelo*.
**expensive**, *pa'me sholo*; *pa'me shuani*.
**explain**, to, *kutsütsülo*; *pitsülo*.
**explode**, to, *m'falo* (cartridge, bamboo in fire).
**extinguish**, to, *pinhevelo*.
**extremity**, *asübo*.
**eye**, *anhyeti*; (—lid) *anhyetike*; (—lash) *anhyetimhi*; (—brow) *anhyekikimhi*; (—sore) *anhyeti sü*; (white of—) *anhyeti kimiye*; (pupil of—) *anga*; (cast in—) *anhyeti khobide*; (one-eyed) *anhyeti-'thükha likhikiu*; (black—) *anhyeti akutsuve*; (close—) *anheti milo*; (open—) *anhyeti tsükolo*; (—ball) *anhyetiti*.

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**eyefly**, *ammii anhyeti kiviu.*
**eyesore**, (worthless individual) *timi kuchubè.*
**eyetooth**, *ashichu.*

## F

**fable**, *kaghelomi'tsa.*
**face**, *agi ; ayi.*
**fæces**, *aba.*
**faggot**, *asükegha.*
**faint**, *thïkïvelo.*
**fair**, (adj.), *azhukevi.*
**fairy**, *kungulimi.**
**fall**, to, (—of things) *ekyeke ; pekhevelo ;* (—of people) *vekhüvelo, vekivelo ;* (—of teeth) *ahu ilalo ;* (—into, of rivers) *koilaghalo ;* (—, of hair) *akutsü ipipilo ;* (—of first teeth) *ahulilo ;* (—of food, etc.) *pelevelo ;* (—over sideways) *kululo ;* (—on top of) *illuki ghilo ;* (—and spill contents) *vezhovelo.*
**fallen**, *ekyeke'va.*
**false**, *akümiki ; miki ; kichele.*
**family**, *anipvu'nuli, sholukumi.*
**famous**, *pa'zhe kizhe.*
**fan**, *amikefupu* (for fire).
**far**, *kushua ; kusua ;* (as—as, up to) *kutholo ;* (how— ?) *kitshe kya ?*
**farewell**, (to one going) *akevishi wulo ; akevishiwueghelo ; akevishiwusükevelo ;* (to one remaining) *akevishialo, akevishisükevelo.*
**farrow**, to, *awoti pitilo.*
**fasten**, to, (—with string) *tsüvelo, tsüghavelo ;* (—box) *nhavelo ;* (—door) *aki khavelo ;* (—animal) *kathalo, tsüvelo ;* (—animal to a post) *phedalo, tsügheo pukulo ;* (to wrap up) *gholulo gholo.*
**fat**, (—and strong) *akukizhe ;* (man-mountain) *akivekuloghiu.*
**fat**, to be, *aphilo kuani.*
**fat**, (n.), *atha ; a_tha.*
**father**, *apu ;* (—in law) *angu.*
**fate**, *a_ghau ; a¯ghau* (M.) ; *angu ; amogha ;* (it is fated) *pa'moghake.*
**fault**, to commit, *allokesah shilo ; atsa ale shilo.*
**fault**, to be at, *shipimivelo.*
**favour**, to, *sapulo ; kimiyelo.*
**fear**, to, *müsalo.*
**feather**, *amhi ;* (hornbill—) *aghachohmhi ;* (wing—) *achishibomhi.*
**feeble**, *alu'mla'mlai* (unable to work in fields) ; *api kike ; aghi kumoai.*
**feed**, (—children, etc.) *luzhilo, aluzhiputhulo ;* (—for a day or two) *koghünalhulo ;* (—fowls) *achukemoghulo, achukemeghelo ;* (—pigs) *awopulhulo ;* (—another person) *ana e pakwolo, ana shetsülo.*
**feel**, to, (—with hand) *kunhuzhulo.*
**fell**, to, (trees with an axe) *bokhilo.*
**female**, *totimi.*
**fence**, *aghothou* (cf. boundary, *aghothu*).
**fetch**, to, (—things) *pfeghelo, sügheIo ;* (—persons) *saghelo ;* (—water) *azü piyulo.*
**fever**, *aghamiki, kulhubě.*
**fever**, have, *aghamiki ani.*
**few**, *kitila.*
**field**, *alu ;* (jhum) *atholu ;* (top of—) *aluhu, alukeisüu ;* (side

* I.e. Inhabitant of the sky world. These inhabitants play much the same part in Sema folk-lore as the fairies do in ours, but are not conceived of as diminutive in size.—*J. H. H.*

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of—) *alupfeu ;* (bottom of—) *aluba, alupiyu,* (1st year—) *apulu ;* (2nd year—) *ali ;* (3rd year—) *akuthuli ;* (—of one man) *ache ;* (abandoned —) *aligha ;* (—house) *akhakipi ;* (—gang) *aluzhi.*

**fifteen,** *chüghipongu.*

**fifty,** *lhopongu.*

**fig tree,** *koghobo ;* (fruit) *koghoti.*

**fight,** *aghüshilo ;* (—with fists, stones) *kuloulo ;* (—in quarrel) *kicheghilo.*

**file,** to go in single, *azho ahino wulo.*

**fill,** to, *chitoi shilo ; akuchopu shilo ;* (—in a hole) *nhavetsülo ;* (—up cup) *azukhu shosülo, süvelo, sutsülo.*

**fin,** (dorsal—) *asakhu ;* (pectoral—) *achishi ;* (tail—) *akhashomhi, akhamba.*

**find,** to, *phuzhuno itululo.*

**fine,** to, *asächuvetsülo.*

**finger,** *aouloti ;* (space between —s) *aouloba ;* (index) *anughiu ;* (middle) *amtaou ;* (third) *anipaou ;* (little) *ameghiu.*

**finished,** *kahava ; tovai ; thovai.*

**fire,** *ami ;* (light a—) *ami shilo ;* (by fire-stick) *ami kelalo.*

**fire,** to set to, *ami sülo ; pitivetsülo ;* (—jungle) *agha moghovelo, agha muhavelo* (W.S.) ; (—a jhum) *alu khuvelo.*

**fire,** to (a gun), *alika phelo ;* (know how to—) *alika kapoulo.*

**firebrand,** *amisü.*

**firefly,** *sughu.*

**fireplace,** *amphokibo.*

**first,** *paghe ;* (—man) *atheghiu.*

**first,** to do, *paghelo.*

**firstborn,** *anüghuu.*

**fish,** *akha ;* (little—) *khamlati ;* (mahseer) *achesuh ;* (boka) *anyipu.*

**fish,** to, (—with rod) *akhamüssülo ;* (—with poison) *aichi wulo ;* (—by hand) *khalulo.*

**fisherman,** (rod) *akhakümüssemi ;* (traps) *akhakekhami.*

**fish-hook,** *akhaküm'seï.*

**fishing rod,** *akha küm'süsü ; akhakümsüshuhi.*

**fish trap,** *a¯vukhu.*

**fit on,** to, (—spear point, butt to haft) *thelo.*

**five,** *pongu.*

**fix date,** to, *kihilo, philo.*

**flame,** *ami'mli.*

**flat,** *aka ; ipelleh ;* (flat place where no grass is) *moduni.*

**flay,** *lhalo ; lhavelo ; lhatsülo.*

**flea,** *ahi.*

**flee,** *povelo.*

**fleet,** *müthüteï ; polunani* (meaning " able to run ").

**flesh,** *ashi.*

**flex,** to, (—arm or leg) *pishelo.*

**flock** (birds), *aluzhi.*

**flood,** (is there a flood ?) *azü kwo ani kwoamoi ?* (the river is in flood) *azü kwonyi ani.*

**flow,** *kwölo.*

**flow into,** *ilyulo.*

**flower,** *akhakupu ; akupu ; akupfu.*

**flute,** *fululu ; fululi.*

**fly,** to, *yelo ; yewulo.*

**fly,** (n.), *ayela.*

**foam,** *azükümla.*

**fold,** to, *khükevelo ;* (—hands) *aou kumsholo ;* (—fingers of one hand in palm of other) *aou kuzhupelo.*

**follow,** (go after) *athiu wulo ;* (come after) *athiu eghelo,* (—close after) *papelo.*

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**food**, *ana; akhuna; akuchupfu;* (hot—) *ana kulu;* (cold—) *ana kuzho;* (—with vegetables) *ayekulho;* (cold lunch) *alhe;* (meat and vegetables) *ashikulho;* (meal at house) *akisine, akishina.*
**fool**, *ghokomi; koghüzumi.*
**foot**, *akupumizhi.*
**footpath**, *ala;* (Naga path) *sokhüthala.*
**footprint**, *anyepa; akupunyepa.*
**for**, *'gheungo, 'gheunguno* (used as suffixes).
**forbid**, to, *hakoivelo; piyemolo.*
**forcibly**, *ighwono.*
**forefathers**, *apuasü.*
**forefinger**, *aouloti anüghiu.*
**forehead**, *akishe.*
**foreigners**, *kolami;* (men from another village) *inami;* (trans-frontier) *tushomi.*
**forest**, *agha;* (virgin—) *avezü;* (tree—but secondary jungle, i.e. previously cultivated) *aghaghü.*
**forget**, to, *kumsümavelo; kumsünavelo.*
**forgive**, to, *kevetsülo.*
**fork**, (tree) *asükuba, akuba;* (—in road) *alapa.*
**formerly**, *kaghe.*
**forsake**, to, *phevelo.*
**fort**, *apuki* (morung).
**forty**, *lhobdhi;* (forty-eight) *lhopung'toma thache, lhobdhi thatche.*
**foul**, *akhyekhye.*
**found**, to, (—a new village) *pfütheo wulo.*
**four**, *bidhi.*
**fourteen**, *chüghi bidhi.*
**fowl**, *au; awu;* (wild—) *laliu.*
**frequently**, *allokuthu.*
**fresh**, *akhukhü* (raw).
**friend**, *ashou; kekesükichemi;* (male—) *akesami;* (female—) *apami;* (make friends) *ashou shi pilo.*
**frighten**, *pikumüsalo; pikichilo; shikümsavetsülo.*
**fringe**, (bear's hair) *avabo.*
**frog**, *achui.*
**front**, *'zu;* (—of house) *ahu.*
**from**, *'lo; 'lono.*
**frost**, *avu.*
**froth**, *azükümla.*
**frown**, to, *agi sükwoölo.*
**fruit**, *akhati;* (come into—) *pithilo.*
**fruitstone**, *athi.*
**fuel**, *asü.*
**fundament**, *asüboki.*
**full**, *chitoi.*
**fullmoon**, *akhikechilo.*
**fur**, *amhi.*
**furtively**, *itsüno.*

## G

**gadfly**, *amthuh.*
**gain**, *alhibe; ala.*
**gaiter** (of cane), *apukukïkī.*
**gale**, *pasapagha.*
**gall**, *atithi.*
**gamble**, to, *alau kevilo* (the bean game).
**game** (hunting), *ashi.*
**game pit**, *akwo.*
**games**, to play, *kivelo;* (jumping) *ilheï kivelo;* (—at kicking) *kitilo;* (high kicking at wood on spear) *angupusulo, asüpusulo* (W.S.).
**gang** (working), *aluzhi.*
**gaol**, *akoghu.*
**garden**, *athu.*
**gate**, *aghotou akikha.*
**gather**, to, (tr.), *kuchukumokholo;* (—fruit) *akhati kholo.*
**gather**, to, (intr.), (for conversation, meeting, etc.) *koholo.*
**generative organs**, (male) *achokoghoti;* (female) *amoh.*
**genna**, *chini.*
**gently**, *asheshino.*

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**ghost**, *aghongu; ketimi'ghongu.*
**gift**, *anhyemogha laki kumsa tsükiu;* (to distinguished guest) *awo'i* (E.S. only).
**gill**, *anhiye.*
**gird up loins**, *aphi showu; papfolo khapuno....* (girding up his loins he.....).
**girl**, *ililhoteh; ilimi.*
**give**, to, *tsülo;* (—to drink) *azhi zhilo;* (—birth) *anga punulo;* (—way) *koghuvetsülo, ala pfeselo.*
**gizzard** (fowls), *achoki.*
**glide** (like snake), to, *itiwulo.*
**glutton**, *apfukuthomi; apfokeghemi;* (children) *apfotholu.*
**gnat**, *ammii.*
**go**, to, *wulo;* (—in) *ilulo;* (—out) *ipevelo;* (—up) *kwovelo;* (—down) *kevelo;* (—back) *ilyovelo;* (—on level) *phivelo;* (—for walk) *ilyulo;* (—on tour) *izuwulo;* (—to fields) *hulo;* (—up river) *aghoki ba kwovelo;* (—down river) *aghoki ba kevelo;* (—round and round) *mukhaälo;* (—through thick jungle) *sokhuwulo;* (—out, fire) *inheulo;* (allow to—, dismiss) *puwulo, wovepilo.*
**goat**, *anyeh.*
**God**, *Alhou; Timilhou.*
**goitre**, *akole.*
**golden cat**, *angshu akinu.*
**gong**, *ayikehethoökhoh;* (small—for apron) *alaza.*
**gonorrhea**, *ghachogha.*
**good**, *akevi; vi; allo.*
**good fortune**, *aghau kevi.*
**gourd**, (large—) *aghübo;* (for liquor) *ahoghi;* (used as ladle) *apvu;* (vegetable) *apokhi; azhieghübomi* = one bottle-man.
**govern**, to, *akekami shilo.*
**granary**, *alleh.*
**grandchild**, *atikishiu; atilimi.*
**grass**, *atsüni;* (—outside house) *awotsanaghu.*
**grasshopper**, *leotsü; kotsöghü.*
**gratis**, *kumsa.*
**grave**, *akumokhö.*
**graze**, to, *atsüni müzalo;* (take to—) *kyelo.*
**grease**, *a_tha.*
**great**, *akizhe.*
**greedy man**, *mihekemmi;* (you are too greedy) *noye ala minyecheni.*
**green**, *tsülabii.*
**grief**, *amelosüani; allosüani.*
**grind**, to, *aö shilo.*
**grip**, to, (—with pliers) *tsalo;* (—with hand) *khapfelo.*
**grope**, to, (in darkness) *kükalo.*
**ground**, *ayeghi; ayeghü.*
**grow**, to, *epeghelo* (emerge).
**growl**, to, *akichilo.*
**guess**, to, *keghashilo.*
**guide**, *alapiyekiu.*
**guide**, to, *ala piyelo.*
**gum**, *a¯tha.*
**gun**, *mashehu; alika*;* (Manipuri—) *akekhe'lika.*

## H

**habit**, *apuasü'yeh; ayeh.*
**hail**, *apüghi.*
**hair**, (—on head) *asa;* (on body, fur) *amhi.*
**hairbrush**, *amüghö.*
**half**, *thukha.*
**halfway**, *ala'mtala.*
**halt**, *ngulo.*
**hammer**, (of gun) *ikumeghikiu.*

* *alika* is really 'a crossbow', but is now commonly used for gun, particularly in the northern Sema country. *Mashehu* is a south Sema word, probably Angami *misi* = fire-stick, i.e. gun.—*J. H. H.*

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**hand**, *aou*; (palm of—) *aoumza*; (back of—) *aounapa*.
**handle**, *alaghi*.
**handle**, to, *bulo*.
**handsome**, *azhukevi*.
**hang**, *puthovelo*; (—a man) *akeghino sükevelo*.
**happy**, to be, *allokevishialo*.
**hard**, *mükamughai* (M.); *mukomughei* (K.); *tsatsa* (used of earth); *kwokoi*; (difficult) *akusho*.
**harelip**, *amtsü ikhwoke*.
**harlot**,* *kethokalimimi*; *asalhami*; *kusalhami*.
**harvest**, *akha*.
**harvest**, to, *ghilehulo*; (—millet) *assü süthalo*; (—Job's tears) *akithi ghalo, michelo*.
**harvest time**, *ghilekhi*.
**hat**, *akutsükhŏ*; (Kalyo-Kengu—) *katsütogho*.
**hatch**, to, (the hen is hatching) *auno avukhu ayikuani*.
**hate**, to, *mitilo*; *zhunshimolo*.
**hawk**, *alhokhu*; *alhakhu*; *awoleh*.
**he**, *pa*.
**head**, *akutsü*; (hair of—) *akutsü'sa*; (back of head) *azübo*; (—ache) *akutsü süani*; (—louse) *akhu*; (stringer of enemies' heads) *akutsü kegheo*; (—of millet) *assüpfe*; (Job's tears) *akitikhe*; (to —game) *thalo*; (—of spear) *angupa*.
**healthy**, to be, *akevishialo*.
**hear**, *inyilo*; *inzhulo* (have heard = *chiluke*).
**heart**, *ameloti*.
**hearthstone**, *apiti*.
**heaven**, *atsütsü*.
**heavy**, *mishishe*.
**hedgehog**, *ketimi'cheku*.
**heel**, *apitsü*.
**heir**, *alagha*.
**help**, to, *kuphulo*; *saphulo*.
**hence**, *hilehina*.
**here**, *hilehi*; (this way) *hulau*; (—and there) *ado adolo*.
**hen**, *aukhu*; *avukhu*; (wild—) *laliukhu*; (—roost) *auzüa*.
**hereafter**, *hipathiu*.
**hiccup**, to, *muchukalo*; *michikalo* (L.).
**hide**, *küsivelo*; *sükiulo* (L.); (—something for someone) *zükusüvelo*.
**hide**, (intr.), *itsüalo*; *mekilo*.
**high**, *chukumogha*; *kuchoku*; (those who live high up) *azhomi*.
**hill**, *atho*; (ant-hill) *cheipoyeghükumla*.
**hillock**, *amükha*.
**Himalayan cuckoo**, *kasupapo*.
**hip**, *aïku*.
**hire**, to, *mishilo*.
**hire**, *amishi'me*.
**hit**, *helo*; *bulo*; *koölo*; (slap) *dahelo*; (punch) *chishilo*; (—with flat of dao) *ghavelo*; (—with edge) *ghilo, ghükhüvelo*; (a stone hits) *velo*; (a bullet hits) *khatsülo*; (run into and hit by accident) *kichishilo, kukusülo*; (—and knock down) *hekuluphevelo*; (—and break) *hephotsülo*; (—with spear) *anguno chelo*; (—with fist) *mukulo*.

* That is a woman of loose morals. There is no genuine word for commercialized prostitution.—*J. H. H.*

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**hoe,*** (necktie—) *akuwo;* (ordinary—) *aku-pu;* (Angami —) *koyi kupu.*
**hold,** *keghalo; khapfelo;* (—hands in dance) *aou khükhüsülo;* (—head in hands) *inapelo.*
**hole,** *aki;* (—in ear) *akinikiki;* (—for housepost) *atsükucho-'ki;* (—s in wood) *akungu kechuki, akulho kechuki.*
**hollow,** *allou mokuani; allouboïani* (L.).
**hollow out,** to, (drum) *asheku kichulo, chulo;* (ivory armlet) *kihevelo.*
**honest,** *muzuchoi; akivimi* (n.).
**honey,** *akhi'kechi'zü* (E. and W.S.); *azükebo* (L.).†
**honeycomb,** *akhighwu.*
**hoof,** *akupu mütsü; mütsü.*
**hook,** (fish—) *akha küm'sei;* (—for meat) *ashikufukepfu.*
**hook,** (vb.), (—one finger in another) *aouloti pfufulo.*
**horn,** *akibo;* (—s in velvet) *akughunu api.*
**hornbill,** (great) *aghacho;* (rufous-necked) *awutsa;* (Malayan wreathed) *shefu.*‡
**hornet,** *akhighú; teghami'khi* (N.S.); (—larva) *akhighüti.*
**horse,** *kuru; kora; gora.*
**horsefly,** *amthuh.*
**hospital,** *akesüki.*
**hot,** *luvi; akulu;* (very—) *shükuthu;* (—season) *tokutsala.*
**house,** *aki;* (—in fields) *akhapiki.*
**househorns,** *tenhakuki.*
**how,** *kishishe; kisheno;* (—big, —much) *kipahi;* (—often) *ohto kizhehi.*
**howl,** to, *eghalo.*
**hundred,** *akeh.*
**hunger,** *müzüti; müzüthi; müzthi;* (die of—) *akunu tivelo.*
**hunt,** to, *ashi hawulo.*
**huntsman,** *ashihami.*
**hunting dog,** *ashi ha'tsü.*
**hurricane,** *pasapagha.*
**husband,** *akimi.*
**husbandry,** *alu'mla.*
**husk,** *ayipika; ayi aghiyepuka* (M.).
**husk,** to, *aö shilo.*

## I

**ice,** *avu; avuchekuthoh.*
**idiot,** *koghüzumi.*
**idle,** *pichi; akipichi.*
**if,** *'aye* (suffixed to the verbal root).
**ignite,** to, *amisülo; amino pitivetsülo.*
**ill,** *süani;* (seriously—) *sükethani* (W.S.), *sakethani* (E.S.). (This apparently has no connection with an identical word in Hindustani "wuh sakht bimar hai" apart from meaning).
**illness,** *küsü;* (what illness have you got?) *kiu küsü süan'kya?*
**imitate,** *ghile shilo.*

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* (Bamboo or "necktie" hoe) *akuwo;* (iron hoe) *aku-pu, pushyekupu* (large), *hango kupu* (small; used in sowing); (Angami hoe used in wet cultivation) *koyikupu;* (Yimtsung shouldered hoe) *tafuchi.*—*J. H. H.* (Cf. "Rake".)

† *akhi-'kechi-'zü* lit.=Bee's breast water, i.e. bee-milk. *azükebo* refers I fancy to the honey in the comb.—*J. H. H.*

‡ The Pied Hornbill (*Anthracoceros albirostris*) is known as *ghabo-shutoki*, and another, and small, variety, probably Godwin Austin's Hornbill, is I think called *kuhu.*—*J. H. H.*

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**immediately,** *mtazzü; papano; papashino.*
**immerse,** to, *chokhutsülo.*
**imprison,** to, *akoghu shi piyelo.*
**in, into,** *'lo* (suffix).
**incest,** to commit, *ayesazülo* (i.e. to marry in one's own clan).
**Indian corn,** *kolakiti.*
**indigo,** (plant) *akütsüpibo;* (dye) *akütsüpi.*
**infancy,** *itilo.*
**infant,** *anga.*
**inform,** to, *pitsülo.*
**injure,** to, *ghüzhavelo.*
**injury,** *iza; aku;* (to be injured) *iza phuani, aku phuani.*
**insane,** *allokei koghüzumi.*
**insect,** *anyenga.*
**insert,** *chokhutsülo; inasütsülo; khesüvetsülo; phuvetsülo.*
**inside,** *seloku; selokuno;* (the —) *allou.*
**insipid,** *isapāi.*
**inspect,** to, *khüzhulo.*
**intellect,** *amelo.*
**interest,** *akeghishe* (K.); *alhi* (M.).
**intestine,** *akeghi.*
**into,** *'lo* (suffix).
**invert,** to, *pfebidevelo; ikibidevelo; bidelao khivelo.*
**iron,** *ayi.*
**irrigated field,** *akulu.*
**isolate,** to, *kuthashi katavelo.*
**is,** *ani.*
**itch,** *mthoh.*
**itch,** to, *mutolo.*
**ivory,** *akaha'hu.*

## J

**jaw,** *amkhu'ghi.*
**Jew's harp,** *achewo; aheu.*
**Jhum,** *atholu.*
**Job's tears** (the cereal Coix lachryma-jobi), *akithi.*
**join,** *kimelo; kumshovelo; kumkhovelo;* (—dao blade to handle) *chelo.*
**joint,** (—of body) *alukhu;* (—ownership) *aku.*
**joke,** to, *ghava shilo* (K.); *ghapa shilo* (M.).
**joke,** (n.), *ghapaghavitsa; züghashüketsa.*
**joppa,** *akhoh; akhwoh;* (head band for—) *apukho;* (—lid) *akimike.*
**juice,** *akhati'zü.*
**jump,** to, (—in length) *akwutialo;* (—height) *asuilheche alo;* (—down) *ilheikevelo;* (—up) *ilheikuvelo;* (—into) *khaïlhevelo;* (—over, animals) *ilhechealo.*
**jump,** (n.), (long—) *akutike;* (high—) *asü ilhecheke;* (kick—) *asü pusuke, angu pusüke.*
**jungle,** *agha;* (virgin—) *avezü;* (tree—but has been cultivated) *aghaghü;* (low—) *aghasa.*
**jungle-fowl** (Gallus ferrugineus), *laliu.*

## K

**keep,** *paälo;* (—in custody) *kheaghilo;* (set down) *khevelo, kivelo, bevelo.*
**kernel,** *athi.*
**khel,** *asah; ayeh.*
**kick,** (—forwards) *pusülo;* (—backwards) *chopusülo, chophikegha shilo, phitikeghashilo;* (—in game) *kitilo;* (high kicking) *angupusülo, asüpusülo.*
**kicking,** (—, of animals) *pukha keshu.*
**kid,** *anyehti.*
**kidney,** *akelu.*
**kill,** (—with spear) *yilo, chekhivelo;* (—with dao)

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*ghükhüvelo;* (with gun) *vekhüvelo, kakulo;* (strike to death) *hekhüvelo;* (stamp on and—) *nyekhüvelo.*

**kilt,** *amini.*

**kind,** (sort), *azheli.*

**kind,** to be, *kimiyelo.*

**kindle,** to, (—lamp, torch) *akulu kokülo, kükülo;* (—fire) *ami pholo, ami shilo, ami sülo;* (—with sliver) *ami kulalo.*

**kinds,** all, *azheli azheli; toökha.*

**kingfisher,** (Himalayan pied —) *tuzüo.*

**kiss,** to, ¯*mtsülo.*

**kite,** *alu.*

**kitten,** *aküssati.*

**knee,** *akwunhye;* (—cap) *akwunhyeghü.*

**kneel,** to, *kwokenhyelo.*

**knife,** *azthachi.*

**knock,** to, *kukulo;* (—and see) *kukuzhulo.*

**knot,** to, (same string) *kumshovelo;* (different strings) *khumkhovelo.*

**know,** to, *itilo.*

**knuckle,** *athukughi.*

**kochu,** *aï.*

**Kuki,** *kotsomi; kukimi.*

## L

**laboriously,** *aghemeshino.*

**labour,** *akumla;* (village—) *azhu.*

**lad,** (young) *itimi;* (older) *apumi.*

**ladder,** *akala.*

**ladle,** *apvu.*

**lake,** *aizükucho kizhe.*

**lame man,** (of leg) *akupukeghechemi, akupuketimi;* (of hip) *aikukeghopami.*

**lamp,** *akulu; mibo* (E.S.). Cf. Angami.

**land,** *ayeghü* (E.S.); *ayeghi* (W.S.).

**landslip,** *anekine;* (to slip, of land) *anekine nyelo.*

**large,** *akizhe.*

**last,** *athekau.*

**last born,** *anupao.*

**late,** *mu¯nuva* (is late).

**later,** *atükashü.*

**laugh,** ¯*nulo.*

**law-suit,** *atsa; atsa kekegha.*

**lay,** (to place) *kevélo, kevetsülo;* (—eggs, birds) *ikhualo;* (—eggs, insects) *yesülo;* (—hand on) *inapfelo.*

**layers,** *azhoazho.*

**lead,** *sawulo.*

**leaf,** *aküghu; anika;* (blade of —) *anyi;* (dead leaves on ground) *akeghü muku, atsüni muku;* (edible—) *ayeteni;* (—cup) *alu.*

**lean,** to, (intr.) *koghongulo;* (tr.) *munguvelo.*

**learn,** to, *shizhulo.*

**leech,** *aïveh.*

**left,** *piyu; aoupiyu.*

**leg,** *akupu; apuku* (*aku_pu*); (share in cattle) *aiku.*

**leggings,** *akupukïki.*

**lend,** to, *punalo.*

**lender,** *punakiu.*

**lengta,** *akecheka;* (with cowries) *lapucho;* (flap, red and black thread) *ashola;* (large —, with cowries) *aminikeda, aminiküdau.*

**lengthways,** *puthini.*

**leopard,** *angshu.*

**leopard cat,** *anyengu.*

**leprosy,** *kolagha.*

**letter,** *kaku.*

**level,** *akemm.*

**Lhota,** *choemi.*

**liar,** *kichilepikemmi; kemikimi*

**lick,** *minyalo; minyelo; minelo.*

**lid,** *akimike.*

**lie,** *akumiki'tsa; kichele'tsa.*

**lie,** to tell lies, *mikilo; akumiki'tsa pilo.*

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**lie**, to, (—on back) *müsüthamleilo*; (—on side) *akhouno zülo*; (—on face) *pokukhouno zülo*.
**life**, (in oaths) *alaga*; (to give lives in oath) *alaga pulo*; (those whose lives are given) *asholukumi* (lit. family).
**lift**, to, *pfekhelo*; *ikikhelulo*; *ikipfelulo*; *ikilulo*.
**lift up**, *shopfekhelo*.
**light**, *mithithe*.
**light**, to give out, *vükhalo*.
**light**, (n.), *kevu*; (I can see the lamplight) *akulu kevu itulunani*.
**lighten** (i.e. flash), to, *keghalo*.
**lightning**, *amusū*; *aghashu*; (sheet) *iki'zhta kukulo* or *kululo* (vb.).
**line**, *aiya*; (—on palm) *aouiya*.
**lip**, *amtsü*.
**liquor**, *azhi*; (pitha modhu) *azhichoh*; (saka) *aküza*, *azhi kilu*; (Kachari—) *azoghü*; (rohi) *akuputsü*; (Angami madhu) *amükizhi*.
**listen**, to, *inzhulo*; *inyelo*.
**little**, *kitila*; (in quantity) *kititi*; (the smaller of two) *aghülo*.
**live**, to, *khualo*; (—alone) *chimelo*.
**liver**, *alloshi*.
**living**, *khuani* (is alive).
**lizard**,* (*gecko*) *khökhö*; (house—) *aniza*; (tree—) *kilechukhe*; (blood sucker) *athokhe*, *kilechukhe*; (flying —) *wuheh*.
**load**, *akhoh*.
**loaf**, to, *yekalo*.
**loafer**, *nguakemi* (one who waits).
**loan**, *aküna*.
**lobe** (of ear), *anyekhě*.
**locust**, (green—) *thlaku*; (red—) *kütsüpvu*.
**log**, *asükumo*.
**long**, *kushua*.
**look at**, to, *hizhulo*.
**loop** (of rope, creeper), *akyeghübo*.
**loose**, to, *khokovelo*; (—rope from mithan's head) *lhaphevelo*; (—dog) *pepovetsülo*.
**loose**, *shuani* (vb.).
**loosen**, to, *koghochölo*.
**loot**, *atsu awo kebachulo*.
**loot**, to, *levetsülo*.
**lose**, *zhupahaivelo*; *pahaivelo*; (—in trade) *pukalo*.
**loudly**, *ighono*.
**louse** (head), *akhu*.
**lovely**, *azhukevi*.
**low**, *ghabou*: (those who live—down) *ghabomi*, *ghasami*.
**lunch**, *akeshine*; *alhe*.
**luck**, *aghau*.
**lucky**, to be, *müghalo*; (he is lucky = *amügha*).
**luggage**, *anhyemoga*.
**lungs**, *ashibokenha*; *azhiku* (M.); (—cavity) *athuthu kesheki*.

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* I fear I must differ with the authors here. "*aniza*" is primarily the little sand lizard, but is sometimes used generically for lizards of any kind. There is no real name for the house lizard which seems absent from Sema houses, but which I have heard referred to as "*wuhe*" though that is really the flying-lizard; the so-called "blood sucker", often erroneously spoken of as a chameleon because it changes colour, is "*atakhe*" (with an *a* not *o* for the second vowel). The tree-lizard I do not know and the only lizards I have found frequenting trees are the "*khokho*", the "*wuhe*" and (occasionally) the "*atakhe*", nor have I come across the word "*kilechukhe*".—*J. H. H.*

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## M

**machan,** *akache ;* (—for shikar) *a¯kwo.*
**mad,** to be, *izulo.*
**madman,** *koghüzumi.*
**maggot,** *apite.*
**mahseer,** *achesü.*
**maid,** *ilihoteh ; ilimi.*
**maize,** *kolakiti ; kolakithi* (i.e. "Foreigner's Coix").
**make,** *shilo ;* (—cloth) *api gholo ;* (—way) *alapfeselo, koghuvetsülo.*
**male,** *kepitimi ; pekitimi.*
**man,** *timi ;* (young—) *apumi ;* (middle-aged—) *muchuhela ;* (elderly—) *muchomi ;* (old—) *kitemi.*
**mango,** *am* (Assamese).
**manner,** *ayeh.*
**manure,** *aba ;* (liquid—) *abazü.*
**many,** *kuthomo.*
**mark,** *amchi ;* (make a—) *amchi shilo.*
**marriage,** to ask in, *inlo.*
**marriage,** to give in, *lutsülo.*
**married men,** *kilauvekemi ;* (un-) *chimemi.*
**marry,** to, (of men) *anipvu lulo ; kilaulo ;* (of women) *tim'kilo wulo ;* (to provide a wife) *khelo.*
**marsh,** *ayeghüki.*
**marten,** *aketsu* (Mustela flavigula).
**martin** v. "**swallow**", *michekalhu ; akalhu.*
**mat,** (for drying paddy) *ayephu.*
**matches,** *amihebo* (fire-strike-stick).
**matting,** (—for wall) *atozu* (careful work) ; *ghocho* (coarse work) ; *alemüza* (fine work).
**meal,** *akhuna ; alikuli.*
**mean man,** *shonumi.*
**meat,** *ashi ;* (—and vegetables) *ashikulho.*
**measles,** *ghathoga.*
**measure,** to, *mughulo.*
**measures,** (thumb's breadth) *aouloko ;* (forearm, cubit) *aounhye ;* (span) *akuzhu ;* (span from thumb to middle finger) *akushu ;* (a measure of length, 5½ feet about) *aka, aouka ;* (measure of weight, 8 lbs.) *akhuloshoghi ;* (debts) *asüli.*
**meditate,** to, *'melo poghüzhulo.*
**meet,** to, *kusholulo ; sholulo ;* (pass on same path without meeting) *kivetsüghüwulo.*
**meeting,** have a, (—to discuss something) *pōghülo* (E.S.), *peghilo* (N.S.).
**melt,** *lhotsülo ; azü kwovelo.*
**mend,** to, *shikitevelo ;* (—hole in basket) *pukhŏlo ;* (—clothes) *soghovelo ;* (—thatched roof) *aghü kite tsülo.*
**merchant,** *alhikeshimi.*
**merciful,** *kimiyeno.*
**message,** *aghini.*
**message,** to give, *aghini shilo.*
**messenger,** *aghinishikemi.*
**metal,** *ayi.*
**meteor,** *ayeba.*
**methinks,** *imelolo kumsuzhuke.*
**midday,** *'telhoghulo ; puchou tulhughülo atsalathukha ;* (M.).
**middle,** *amtalalo.*
**middle-aged,** *alayemi.*
**midnight,** *zübulo zu bumta ; potho atsalathukha.*
**midwife,** *anukepunukiu.*
**mildew,** *akoghumhoh.*
**milk,** *akechizü ;* (cow's—) *amishi'kechizü.*

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**millet**, *assü*; (pounded for liquor) *asho*.
**milt**, *amokhu*.
**mind**, *amelo*.
**minivet**, *chilechepu*.
**minnow**, *khamlati*.
**mint**, *kolami'pulakhü*.
**mire**, *aäniba*.
**miscarriage**, *anukhikĕ*.
**miscarry**, to, *anukevelo*; *misicheno hawuvelo*.
**miser**, *tsütokemmi*; *michikemmi*.
**miss**, to, (—with gun) *kazüvelo*; (—with spear) *chezüvelo*; (—with stone) *vezüvelo*; (—stick) *hezüvelo*; (—hearing) *chiluzüvelo*.*
**mist**, *kunkusü*.†
**mithan**, *avi*; (wild—) *aviela*.
**mix**, to, *kukavelo*; (—up) *khukutolo* (metaphorically).
**moan**, *eghalo*.
**mock**, to, *zhunulo*.
**modhu**, *azhi*, *a¯zhi*.
**moist**, *putsava* (got wet).
**mole**, (on face) *chichiphu* (W.S.), *chichikhu* (E.S.).
**money**, *ghaka* (W. & E.S.); *aurang* (N.S.); *apa*.
**monkey**, *shukuthungu* ‡; (hulluck) *akuhu*; (Hanuman) *angu*; (brown-tailed) *amthu*; (Bengal—) *ashüki*; (hill—) *asii*.
**month**, *akhi*; (last—) *ikulokhi*; (this—) *hipakhi*; (next—) *akhuthe*, *akhithe*.
**moon**, *akhi* (W.S.); *akhu* (E.S.); (full) *akhiakichilo*; (first quarter) *akhite*; (last quarter) *akhiasumalo*.
**moonlight**, *khüvū* (E.S.); *khivū* (W.S.); (moon is shining) *kivushiani*; (moon didn't shine) *kizüke*.
**morning**, (in the—) *inakhe*; (tomorrow—) *thanau*.
**morung**, (men's—) *apuki*; (girls'—) *iliki*.
**mosquito**, *akaom'mi*; (—curtain) *ammii'pi*; (—boots) *am'miikupukho*; (—bite) *amuku*.
**mother**, *aza*.
**mountain**, *naghoto*.
**mouth**, *akichi*; (open—) *abakha*.
**mouse**, *azhitsü*.
**moustache**, *akichimhi*.
**move**, to, (shove and—) *tupouvelo*; (lift up and—) *ikikhekevelo*.
**much**, *kuthomo*; (too—) *pachi*; (so—) *izhehi*, *hizhehi*; (that—) *tizhehi*; (too—, of price) *chile*, *shu*.
**mud**, *aäniba*; (water is muddy) *azu kwonyi ani*.
**muscle**, *ashipa*.
**mushroom**, (on earth) *apfokha*, *chepopfu*, *ayeghilopfu*, *tsuzupfu*, *pfuwopfu*, *ayitsapfu*; (on trees) *chezukini*, *shuyipfu*, *apfuti*, *pfozhamizhi*, *aghaopuku*, *apfucho*.
**musk rat**, *azhitsü*.
**mustard plant**, *aghani*.
**muzzle**, (of gun) *alika'kichi*, *mashehu'kichi*.
**myriad**, *ketonhyeh*.

## N

**nail**, (finger—) *aoumtsü*; (iron —) *ayi'sahu*.

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* *N.B.* The root *zu* = wander.—*J. H. H.*
† I.e. cloud. Mist rising from water is called *azüthothu*.—*J. H. H.*
‡ *shukuthungu*, generic (*a*)*shu*(*ki*), (*a*)*ku*(*hu*), (*am*)*thu*, (*a*)*ngu*, which are the names respectively for *Macaca mulatta*, *Hylobates hooluck*, *Macaca arctoides* and *Pithecus pileatus*.—*J. H. H.*

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**naked**, *aphilo kumo bemo, kumsa ani* (verbs).
**nallah**, *azüla ;* (big and deep) *azülaki.*
**name**, *azhe.*
**navel**, *apfolah.*
**near**, *'vilo akupunu* (advb.) ; *avilo ;* (—village) *akubalalo.*
**neck**, *azüpo.*
**necklace**, (pig's tush—) *aminihu ;* (—of white beads) *ashoghila ;* (cane—) *akuokha, awokha ;* (yellowish-red stone —) *achikhu, achepfu ;* (large woman's—) *achipa ;* (black —) *achiketsu, aghakopu ;* (— with two pieces of conch) *achogho ;* (—of small pieces of conch) *aveka.*
**needle**, (bamboo) *apu ;* (of steel) *ayipu.*
**needy man**, *kumulhomi ; müghemi ; athokhami.*
**negligent man**, *kumsüzhumokemmi.*
**neighbour**, *akisüghemi ; aki-'vilo aakemi ;* (in same section of village) *'kitoimi.*
**net**, (cast—) *akhami ;* (draw—) *akhasho ;* (to cast a—) *akhami vesülo ;* (to draw a—) *akhasho shosülo.*
**nettle**, *apoghü.*
**never**, *kilemo. . . . .moi.*
**new**, *akite.*
**night**, (one—) *kezhiliu laki ;* (last—) *izhi, izhi potho ;* (to-night) *tohuh, itizhi ;* (to-morrow—) *tozhiu ;* (at—) *potho.*
**nightjar**, *akaku.*
**nine**, *toku ;* (-teen) *muku ma toku, chüghi toku.*
**ninety**, *lhotoku.*
**nipple**, (of breast) *akichi'ki ;* (of gun) *alika'choh.*
**nobody**, a, *kumulhomi ; kahami.*
**nod**, to, *akutsü kungulo.*
**node**, *anhye ; anhyi* (L.).
**noise**, *aghügha.*
**none**, *kaha ; kahava.*
**nonsense**, *koghüzumi'tsa ; akumo'tsa.*
**noon**, *telhogholo.*
**north**, *ahu ; ashou.*
**nose**, *anki ; anhiki.*
**nostrils**, *anhikiki.*
**now**, *etahe.*
**nowadays**, *itadolo.*
**nowhere**, *kilemo kaha.*
**nudge**, to, *isükungulo.*
**numberless**, *ketonhyeh ketonhyeh.*
**numerous**, *kuthomo.*

## O

**oak**, *apisü.*
**oath**, *tusho ;* (take oath) *tusho khülo ;* (administer—) *tusho khüpiyelo.*
**obey**, to, *inilo.*
**obtain**, to, *itululo.*
**odour**, *akho ;* (to give out an—) *munalo* (slight) ; *munashushulo* (strong).
**offence**, *atsa ale.*
**offended**, be, *allosüani.*
**offspring**, *nunu ; anuli* (W.S.); *ati.*
**often**, *gwolatsütsü.*
**oil**, *atha* (fat) ; *amizü* (kerosene).
**old**, (of things) *akhā ;* (—man) *muchomi ;* (—woman) *thopumi ;* (general word) *kitemi.*
**omen**, *thüchüsüno ;* (take—) *asa kheyalo, asa khizhulo.*
**on**, *'shou.*
**once**, *ohto laki ;* (at—) *mtazzü.*
**one**, *laki ; khe* (in counting).
**onion**, *atsüna ;* (large—) *sathatsüna ;* (leek) *awutsüna ;* (small—) *atsünakololiu ;* (small—, leaves only eaten) *atsüna alavaou.*
**only**, *liki.*

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**open,** (—door) *khakevelo ;* (—eyes) *anhyeti khukolo ;* (—mouth) *akichi mukulo, abakha mukulo ;* (—dress) *khaluvetsülo ;* (—box) *lhaphevelo.*
**opponent,** *kinheshukemi.*
**oppose,** to, *kinheshuchelo.*
**orange tree,** *mushotibo ;* (fruit) *mushoti.*
**orchid,** (yellow-skinned—) *ayikhwobo.*
**order,** to, *atsa pithavelo ; atsa pilo ;* (by lapu, etc. for gennas) *ashe shuulo.*
**Orion,** *phogwosülesipfemi.*
**orphan,** *mughemi* (E.S.) ; *meghemi* (W.S.).
**other,** *ketao.*
**otter,** *atsügho ; achegeh.*
**outside,** *kalacheu.*
**over,** *'shou* (suffix) ; (overhead) *kungu.*
**overtake,** to, *halulo ; hazhulo.*
**overturn,** to, *hekelulo ;* (turn upside down) *ikibidevelo, bidelaono khivelo.*
**owing to,** *'gheunguno, 'gheungo* (suffixes).
**owl,** *akhakoh.*
**own,** (adj.), *'liki ;* (it is my spear = *i'ngu i'liki ani*).
**own,** to, *poghülo ; peghelo* (W.S.).
**owner,** *poghükemi ; poghekemi ; anipeu* (M.).

## P

**pace,** *küpuka.*
**paddy,** *athi ; aghü ; aghi ; aö ;* (—seeds) *aghüti ,* (—husks) *aghiyepuka ;* (—table, large) *aboshu,* (small) *apithi, apungo ;* (—pounder) *akumu ;* (—ready to be husked) *aökuthushu ;* (undried—) *akuthini ;* (to husk—) *aö shilo ;* (to dry—) *aö phulo.*
**pain,** *agheme ; ekulho.*
**paint,** to, *yetsülo.*
**pair,** *athüna.*
**palatable,** *chuvike* (it is good to eat).
**pale,** to turn, *palailo ; miëtsoghivelo.*
**palm,** (of hand) *aounyi, aounye.*
**palm tree,** (sago—) *aithobo ;* (umbrella—) *amsa.*
**pandanus** (screw-pine), *amugho ; amuwo.*
**pangolin,** *ashepu* (Manis pentadactyla).
**panji,** *a_shu.*
**paper,** *kaku.*
**paradise,** *kungumi'pfu* (spirits' village).
**paramour,** (female) *aluzhiu ;* (male) *aluzhipu.*
**pare,** to, *asü kuchulo ;* (—cane or bamboo) *bulo.*
**parents,** *apu'aza.*
**part,** *asazhe ;* (equal shares of meat) *alyeki.*
**partridge,** (bamboo—) *agili ;* (hill—) *akhi ;* (black—) *chicheghe.*
**path,** *ala ;* (—to fields) *aluhula ;* (—to old fields) *alila ;* (Naga—) *soküthala ;* (round about—) *ala vekoho ;* (bridle —) *potila ;* (—to another village) *aghüzüla ;* (abandoned—) *alayela, alavela ;* (—going up) *aghola ;* (level —) *lapila ;* (junction of paths) *alapa.*
**patience,** (have patience !) *khelo !*
**pattern,** (on cloth, baskets) *aiya, hetha.*
**pauper,** *kumulhomi ; athokhami.*
**pay,** *atha ;* (daily wage) *akheme.*
**peach,** *yekhuti ;* (—tree) *yekhuti-su, yekhutibo.*

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**peck**, to, *mughulo*.
**pen**, *kaku hekepfu* (for writing); (for fowls, pigs, goats) *aubo, awobo, anyehbo*.
**penis**, *achoh*.
**people**, *timi*.
**perhaps**, *'kye, 'kyenni* (as a suffix); (it may be) *tishilunani, aghinani*.
**perceive**, to, *zhulo; itululo*.
**perform**, to, *shilo*.
**perfume**, *akho*.
**perspiration**, *atsünhizü*.
**petticoat**, *amini*.
**petty**, *kitila*.
**pewter**, *aküsa'yi*.
**pheasant**, (Kalij—) *aghu* (Gennaeus Horsfieldi); (tragopan—) *agha* (Tragopan Blythii); (peacock—) *awughi* (Polyplectron chinquis).
**phlegm**, (literal), *agheho*.
**pick**, (—up) *ikilulo*; (fowls) *moghütsülo*.
**picture**, *aghongu*.
**piece**, *alu; alyeki*; (—of meat) *ashileki* (M.).
**pierce**, (—rapidly) *khupelo*; (—slowly) *zhipelo*; (—with spear) *chelo*; (—enemies' heads) *aghükutsüghülo*; (panji pierces foot) *ashuno pakupulo khulo*.
**pig**, *awo*; (wild—) *amini*; (—'s tushes) *aminihu*.
**pigeon**, (green—) *achui, kutuli, tukuli*; (imperial—) *adung*.
**pillow**, (wood or cloth) *aketsü kemukü*.
**pine**, *asahubo; asahusü*.
**pinch**, to, (finger and thumb) *tsŏkülo; yiïlo* (M.); (—with backs of fingers) *tsaälo*.
**pink**, *palai*.
**pipa**, *atuko; atughuko*.
**pipe**, *akhthuhu; akhthu; akhāthu* (L.); (bamboo—) *tolupa*; (water—) *tsunküba*; (bowl) *akhuthuhiti*; (stem) *akhuba*; (water reservoir) *azübo*; (—water) *akhuthuzü, khathuzü*.
**pitfall**, *akhoh; akwo*.
**place**, *aa*.
**place**, to, *kevelo; kevetsülo*; (—in interstices of wall) *pujevesülo*; (—cover half on) *hamkülo*.
**plains**, *abou*.
**plainsmen**, *aphimi*.
**plan**, *avehu*; (cunning—) *ameku*; (make a—) *avehu shilo*.
**planet**, *ayephu; ayepu*.
**plank**, *alipa*.
**plant**, (n.), *abo*.
**plant**, to, *shovetsülo*.
**plantain**, *auchobo*; (fruit) *auchoti*; (cultivated—) *kithuchoti, kichuchoti*.
**plate**, *ali; akhu*.
**play**, (—games) *kivelo*; (—flute) *fululu eghalo*; (—Jew's harp) *aheu eghalo*; (—joke) *ghava shilo, zhügha shilo, kuzü phulo*; (—with top) *aketsü hulo*.
**pluck**, (—fruit) *akhati kholo*; (—millet) *assü sithalo, süthalo*; (—feathers) *amhi philo, philuvetsülo*.
**plume**, (for shield) *ayiputhope*.
**pocket**, *akupukhubo*; (large—) *jolabo*.
**point**, *mtsüsi*; (—of spear) *angu'mli*; (—of nose) *anki-'pfe*.
**point out**, to, *chishi piyelo*.
**poison**, *thüghü*; (—brought out of body by witches) *akesákegha*; (—creeper) *aphitsubo*; (snake—) *apeghithithi*; (to—fish) *aïchi vulo*.
**pole**, *aketsü; ake tsü*.
**polish**, to, *khelo*.
**pond**, *aizükuchoh*.

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**pool**, *aizü.*
**poor**, *anhyemoga kahake ; mughemi.* (See needy.)
**porcupine**, *acheku.*
**pork**, *awoshi.*
**portion**, *sazhe ;* (—due) *sala.*
**portrait**, *aghongu.*
**post**, (general) *a¯tsü ;* (purlin) *ake¯tsü ;* (upright—) *akuba ;* (main—) *atsü kucho ;* (king —) *aketsü kucho ;* (forked—) *aküba ;* (crossed —s in front of house) *akhu.*
**pot**, *ali ;* (with two compartments) *chokuthali ;* (small—) *akuzuli ;* (—for gennas) *aghüvali.*
**pound**, to, *kubolo ;* (—grain) *aö shilo* (K.), *aö shelo* (M.) ; (*aö kipiki làki* = one pounding hole of rice).
**pour**, to, *lesülo.*
**prawn**, *atsükho.*
**precipice**, *athokhu.*
**pregnant**, (humans) *mishi chelo ;* (animals) *ati pfulo.*
**prepare**, to, *kutho paghelo.*
**press down**, to, *inasüvelo.*
**pretend**, to, *ghile shilo.*
**pretty**, *azhukevi.*
**prevaricate**, to, *akumikit'tsa pilo.*
**prevent**, to, *khavelo.*
**previously**, *kagheno ; kaghe.*
**price**, *ame.*
**prick**, to, *kwōlo ; khulo* (M.).
**prison**, *akoghu ;* (go to—) *akoghu shilo ;* (send to—) *akoghu shi piyelo.*
**proceeds**, (—of sale of goods) *alhi.*
**profit**, *ala.*
**prominent**, (eyes) *koghoi.*
**prop**, to, *chozülo ; chochilivelo.*
**proper**, *müzitcho ; muzuchoï.*
**property**, *anhyemoga.*
**proprietor**, *ampemi ;* (livestock) *poghukemi.*
**prostitute**, *asalhami ; kethokalimi ; kusalhami.*
**protuberance**, *munhümüghu.*
**puberty**, to reach, *nhithualo.*
**puddle**, to, (ricefields) *hokedelo.*
**pull**, *sinhyelo ;* (—up) *zhovetsülo.*
**pumpkin**, *ahengu.*
**punch**, to, *chishilo.*
**punish**, to, *aghemeshitsülo ; saza tsülo.*
**pupa**, (large) *khashekhapu ;* (small) *khashekhapughülou.*
**puppy**, *atsüti.*
**purchase**, to, *khulo.*
**purse**, *ghakabo ; aurangbo.*
**pursue**, to, *hapovelo.*
**pus**, *ani.*
**push**, to, (things) *tuhavelo ;* (man) *tupovelo ;* (—up) *cholo.*
**put**, (—down) *khüvelo, paälo, khakhülo ;* (—and keep) *süpfepaälo ;* (—on skirt) *minilo ;* (—on blanket) *api ulo ;* (—up) *khakhelo, khelo ;* (—in) *sütsülo ;* (—under) *akwoshivelo ;* (—on clothes) *pimlo.*
**putrify**, to, *tsüvelo.*
**putrid**, *ketsū.*
**putties**, *akupuchezhekiu.*
**python**, *aïthu.*

## Q

**quagmire**, *anyikhokhoh.*
**quail**, *atsung ; chepatsung.**
**quake**, to, *itailo.*
**quarrel**, to, *kiilo.*
**quench**, to, *azüno itsüvilo ; azü te pinhevelo.*

* Some accounts describe *chepatsung* as a water bird and I am therefore doubtful if it is really a quail at all ; *atsung* is, however—probably the common quail.—*J. H. H.*

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**quick**, to be, *meghilo*.
**quickly**, *papashino; mtazü*; (walk—) *khakhashi chelo, papashi akupuno sükhewulo*.
**quietly**, *tseyamoshimono*.
**quince** (wild), *pukweti*; (—tree) *pukweti-sü* (Docynia indica).
**quite**, *alloku; allokei*.
**quiver**, *aliwoku*.

## R

**rafter**, *akhu*.
**rags**, *apinhye*.
**rain**, *tsügho* (E.S.); *tsütsügho* (W.S.); (to drizzle) *ghozulo*; (—cats and dogs) *tsütsügho kizhezhe ghoalo*; (rainy season) *mutsüsalo*.
**rainbow**, *milesü*.
**raise**, to, *pfekhelo*.
**rake**,* (necktie—) *akuwo*; (ordinary—) *akuo*.
**rake**, to,* *akuwono gholo; akuono yilo*.
**ramble**, to, *ilyulo*.
**ramrod**, *akikhepfu; alika kekhepfu*; (*khelo* = polish).
**rap**, (with knuckles) *kukulo, kukuhelo*; (with fist) *kukushi koölo*.
**rape**, to, *totiuno allomono sazülo*.
**rapid**, (n.), *apili*.
**raspberry**, (red—) *avichokoghoti*; (yellow—) *süliti*.
**rat**, *azhi*; (jungle—) *azhifu* (Rattus fulvescens); (edible—) *azhichu azhuye* (Rattus mackenzi); (bamboo—) *achugi* (Rhizomys sp.).
**raw**, (—meat) *akhukhu*; (—fruit) *akupusho*.
**razor**, *akkeh*.
**reach**, to, (—a place) *tohlo*; (—with hand) *cholo*.
**ready**, *kutho*; (get—) *kutho paghelo*.
**reap**, to, (—paddy, with hand) *aghü lusülo, aghü lulo*; (—paddy, with sickle) *wolo*; (—Job's tears) *akiti ghalo*; (—millet) *assü sithalo*.
**rebuke**, to, *allomipilo*.
**receive**, to, *lulo*.
**recently**, (few days ago) *kaghenyu*; (short while ago) *isheli*.
**reckon**, to, *philo*.
**recline**, to, *müsüthamleilo*.
**recognise**, to, *itilo*.
**recollect**, to, *kumsüpfulo; kumsümamovelo*.
**reconcile**, to, *akevishi shivetsülo*; (—enemies) *alashivetsülo* †; (—bad friends) *ashou shivetsülo*.
**red**, *akuhu; huchuhi*.
**reflect**, to, *'melolo kumsüzhulo*.
**release**, to, *phevelo*; (—animal from house) *pfepovelo*.
**remain**, to, *ngulo; alo*.
**remainder**, *ala*.
**remake**, to, *shikitelo; shikitevetsülo*.
**remember**, to, *kumsümamovelo; amelo kumsüpfulo; kumsülo*.
**remote**, *kushua*;
**remove**, to, *pfuwuvelo; ikiluvelo*.
**Rengmas**, *mozhumi*.
**rent**, (n.), *alu'mishike'me*.
**rent**, to, *mishilo*.
**rent** (in cloth), *api küghükhu*.

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* These words refer to hoes or hoeing, (q.v.) a rake—that is an implement with prongs for raking, is *akuwa* or *achaka*.—*J. H. H.*

† *alashivetsülo* = 'cause to make a path', because between hostile villages the paths are closed.—*J. H. H.*

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**repair**, to, *akite shilo*; *shikitelo*; (get repaired) *shikitevetsülo*.
**repeat**, to, *pikithelo*; *etaghe pilo*.
**report**, (story) *atsa*; (gun) *aghügha*.
**reprimand**, to, *alomipilo*.
**reptile**, *apoghü* (E.S.); *apeghi* (W.S.).
**resin**, *asütha*.
**rest**, to, *ekulho khelo*.
**rest**, (n.), (buy salt with the rest) *pachilono amti khülo*.
**return**, to, (go) *ilyovelo*; (come) *ilyeghelo*.
**revenue**, *atsügha'me*; *ayeghü'me*.
**reward**, *awoh* (E.S.); *aghoh* (W.S.).
**rhinoceros**, *aveghi*.
**rice**, *atikishi*; *athi*; (red—) *mütsakhutikishi*; (white—) *aghütikishi*; (small white) *amoghitikishi*; (white skin) *mathipetitikishi*; (in cold situations) *chungüghütikishi*, *asüputikishi*.
**rice** (cooked), *ana*.
**rice**, *kinimi*.
**ride**, to, *kuru'shou chelo*.
**ridge**, *atho* (also a hill); (small hillocks on—) *amukha*.
**rifle**, *alika*; *kolami'lika*.
**right**, (direction) *azheo*; (that is—) *allo ani*.
**ring**, (Ao forehead—) *anadu*.
**rinse**, to, *khulo*.
**rip off**, to, (as Aos harvest) *wovetsülo*.
**ripe**, *niva* (vb.).
**ripen**, to, *nilo*.
**rise**, to, *ikulo*; (—up from bed) *ithoulo*.*
**river**, *aghoki*.
**road**, *potila*; (cart—) *thoghula*.
**roar**, to, *eghalo*.
**roast**, to, (—a fowl) *au pitivetsülo*.
**rock**, *athukhu*.
**rock**, to, (—baby to sleep) *küzülo*.
**roe**, *ayikhu*.
**roll**, to, *küzülo*; *kuluvelo*; *kulupelo*; (—up cloth to fight) *chegheche khalo*; (—over) *ilulo*, *ilukilo* (intr.); (—up) *kuzücholo*.
**room**, (outer—) *kalaobo*; (middle—) *amphokibo*; (back—) *akusaobo*; (pig's—) *abidela*.
**root**, *asü'kuhu*.
**root up**, to, (pig) *anhyoghüno ngulo*.
**rope**, *akeghi*.
**rot**, to, (intr.) *tsüvelo*; (tr.) *putsüvelo*.
**rotten**, (meat) *ketsü*; (over-ripe) *mavia*.
**round**, *'ho* (postposition); (—as plate) *mtsasaï*; (—as ball) *chopumloï*.
**row**, of beads, (one) *ala*; (two) *athüna*.
**rub**, (—with hand) *_nulo*, *khelo*; (—down) *kunhulo*; (—something between hands, e.g. tobacco) *mu_nulo*; (—gently) *kilo*.
**rubbish**, *akhenya anhye*; (—heap) *ayipibo*.
**ruffle hair**, to, *tokünhulo*; *tokü¯nhulo*.
**rule**, to, *akekami shilo*.
**rule**, (n.), *ayeh*.
**run**, to, *povelo*; (—quickly) *tothoshi povelo*.
**runaway**, *pokimi*.
**rust**, *aïsa*; (the dao has rusted = *azhtalo aisa ikuvia*).
**rustle**, to, *ghoghoshilo*.

* Thado has "*thou*" with a rising tone = "get up" and with a falling tone = "sit down".—*J. H. H.*

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## S

**salary,** *atha.*
**saliva,** *amti;* (running down chin) *amtsazü.*
**salt,** *amti.*
**saltlick,** *akizhi.*
**salute,** to, *aoupfe ketsülo.*
**sambhar,** *a¯khuh.*
**same,** *aphiphi* (E.S.); *apipi* (W.S.); *kumulhoi; aho.*
**sand,** *asai;* (cover with—) *asai vesülo.*
**sandfly,** *ammii.*
**Sangtam,** *lophomi* (Pirr); *tukomi* (Isa-changr).
**sap,** *asüzü; asümtsazü.*
**sash,** (goat's hair dyed red) *amlaka.*
**saw,** to, *khukhülo.*
**sawdust,** *asülo.*
**say,** to, *pilo.*
**scald,** to, *azükiluno vepiyütsülo.*
**scar,** *agüzakhu; apiikhu; aku.*
**scarecrow,** *kohkohpoh.*
**scatter,** to, *phevelo; vesülo.*
**scent,** *akho;* (hunting) *muna.*
**school,** *kaku kepiki.*
**scold,** to, *alomipilo.*
**scoop up,** to, *shopfelo.*
**scorpion,** *achuwo pa'za.*
**scrape,** to, (—earth) *ayeghi lhelo;* (—earth by dogs) *kunhatsülo;* (—with finger nail) *chikhetsülo.*
**scratch,** to, (claws, hand) *chukhatsülo;* (—one self like pig) *kiilo.*
**scream,** to, *eghalo.*
**scream,** (n.), *aghügha.*
**search,** to, *phuzhulo.*
**seam,** *apitsogho.*
**seat,** *alakü.*
**second,** (—of two) *athekau* (E.S.), *ashekau* (W.S.); (—of more than three) *amthau, pasheliu;* (—last) *athekau shile kichiu.*
**secretly,** *akhwouno.*
**see,** to, (perceive) *itululo;* (sense of seeing) *zhulo.*
**seed,** *apithi; apiti; ati.*
**seedling,** *asüti.*
**seer** (wizard), *thuumi.*
**seer** (measure), *aohu; ahu* (must have a number attached).
**seize,** to, *keghalo.*
**self,** *likhi; liki.*
**sell,** to, *zelo.*
**send,** to, (objects) *tsüpuulo;* (person) *puulo.*
**sense,** *amelo.*
**senseless,** to fall, *izüvuvelo.*
**sentry,** to do, *aghukhulo.*
**separate,** (adj.), *küthütha.*
**separate,** to, *küthüthá shilo.*
**serau,** *a¯chui.*
**servant,** *akhemi.*
**serve,** to, *timi kelo.*
**set,** (—down) *khüvelo;* (—up) *ikikhevelo;* (—on dog) *atsü kitelo;* (—trap) *aitho süsülo, aliche'kusu pikelo; ashe¯pu süsülo.*
**settle,** (—debts) *akuna thavelo;* (—case) *atsa keghalo;* (—marriage price) *ame keghalo.*
**seven,** *tsini.*
**seventeen,** *chughi tsini; muku ma tsini.*
**seventy,** *lhotsini.*
**sew,** to, *api tsoghulo.*
**shade,** (of tree) *asü'kechekö.*
**shadow,** *aghongu.*
**shake,** (person) *sikinlo;* (cloth) *api kuthovelo;* (—self like dog) *ethalo, amhi kuthovelo;* (—out pipe) *kukulo.*
**shallow,** *thoamoi; ilale.*
**shame,** *akuzho.*
**shame,** to cause, *shiputhalo; shikukuzholo.*
**shape,** to, (pots) *ali ghalo;* (shaping implement) *alighasü.*

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**share,** *'sala ;* (one share) *sazhe laki ;* (—of meat) *alyeki, alyekhe.*
**sharp,** *tsoga.*
**sharpen,** (steel) *cheghilo ;* (wood) *khulo, yalo.*
**shave,** *akichi'mhi shilo.*
**sheet,** *nusüpi.*
**shelf,** *alikaä ;* (—over fire) *amkha,* (upper), *akesü* (middle), *atapa* (lower).
**shield,** *azhto.*
**shin,** *apite.*
**shine,** to, (sun) *phulo.*
**shiny,** *ilumpui ; mula pui* (M.).
**shiver,** to, *sitikokoshilo.*
**shoe,** *akupu'kho.*
**shoot,** to, *kakulo, vekhüvelo.*
**shoot,** (n.), *amuzü ;* (small—) *akümu ;* (young—) *aküwono.*
**short,** *ikwonhyei ; yikwonhye ;* (—of face) *mukhokhoi.*
**shoulder,** *abingika ;* (—blade) *abiëghi.*
**shout,** to, *eghalo.*
**shove,** to, (object) *tuhavelo ;* (person) *tupovelo ;* (—way through jungle) *shokhuwulo.*
**shrew mouse,** *azhitsü.*
**shuffle,** to, *pisüghi ala chelo.*
**shut,** to, (—door) *khalo, khavelo ;* (—eyes) *milo ;* (—mouth with hand) *abakha, akichi kiiluvelo.*
**shy,** to be, *pa'zükuzho va* (he is shy).
**sick,** to be, *sülo.*
**side,** (body) *ashetsü.*
**sight,** (gun) *zhukimishikepfu.*
**sign,** to make a, *amichi shilo.*
**silence,** in, *kammui ;* (to keep silent) *kammui ngualo.*
**silently,** *inakhoi ; tseyamoshimono.*
**silver,** *ghaka'i* (lit. = rupee-iron, rupee-metal).
**similar,** *toi.*
**Simul tree,** *punyosü.*
**sin,** (breaking gennas, taking false oath, etc.) *pipuku.*
**sinew,** *anhü.*
**sing,** to, *ale shilo ; ale phelo.*
**singe,** to, (hair off pig) *awo ghulo.*
**single,** *likhi ; liki.*
**sink,** *azülo ilovelo.*
**sip,** to, *puchezhulo.*
**sister,** *achepfu ;* (sisters) *atsü nipfu ;* (—in law) *achi.*
**sit,** to, *ikaälo.*
**site** (house), *akipfu ; akipu.*
**six,** *tsogho.*
**sixteen,** *chüghi tsogho.*
**sixty,** *lhotsogho.*
**skin,** *ayi_khwo ;* (—of fruit) *akhati'koza ;* (—of dhan) *ayipika.*
**skin,** to, *lhalo ; lhatsülo.*
**skull,** *akutsü'ghü.*
**sky,** *atsütsü.*
**slacken,** to, (rope) *akeghi koghocholo.*
**slander,** *timi 'zhe shipsatsülo.*
**slap,** to, *dahelo.*
**slash,** to, (jungle) *küzalo.*
**slay,** to, (—with spear) *yivelo ;* (—with dao) *ghükhüvelo ;* (—with stick) *hekhüvelo ;* (—with gun) *kakulo, vekhüvelo.*
**sleep,** to, *zülo ; züalo.*
**sleepiness,** *aghungu.*
**sleepy,** to be, *ingulo.*
**slightly,** *kitila kitila.*
**slip** (land), *anekine.*
**slip,** to, *pepeshilo ;* (—and nearly fall) *vekhivelo ;* (—of land) *anekine nyelo.*
**slippery,** *pepepe ; nekhiphe* (W.S.) ; *shoshuashi* (E.S.).
**sloping,** *kughoh.*
**slow,** *asheshi.*
**slowly,** *asheshino.*
**slow worm,** *azhi-shu-kesapoghu* (because if you kill it your liquor goes sour).
**slug,** *tenhaku.*

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**smack**, to, *dahelo*; (—lips) *mtsüalo*.
**small**, *kitila*; (smaller one) *aghülou*; (—man) *ashipilho*.
**smallpox**, *aghapeh*.
**smear**, to, *phohulo*.
**smell**, to, (tr.), *singuzhulo*; *singulo*.
**smell**, to, (intr.), *munalo*; (very strong) *munashusholo*; (it stinks, *akhumna. . .sho*).
**smell**, (n.), *akho*.
**smile**, to, *nuiialo*.
**smile**, (n.), *nuke toi*.
**smoke**, *amchi* (E.S.); *amki* (W.S.).
**smoke**, to, (—pipe) *akhthu tsilo*; (—cigarette) *shikori tsilo*; (make fire—up as a sign) *ami pholo*.
**snail**, *tenhaku*.
**snailshell**, *tenhakubo*.
**snake**, *apoghü* (E.S.); *apeghi* (W.S.); (python) *aithu*; (king cobra) *apeghiala*.
**snare**, *akesü*; *awupu*; *avapu*.
**snare**, to, (birds) *alichelo melulo*.
**snatch**, to, *mukhalulo*; (—away) *sükhalulo*.
**sneeze**, to, *hatshilo*.
**snipe**, *alisü*.
**snore**, to, *nhizülo*.
**snout**, *anhyoghu*.
**snow**, *morasü*; *mulasü*.
**soak**, to, *azülo pusuvetsülo*.
**soap tree**, *thopibo*; (—bark) *thopibo'yikhwo*; (soapvine) *asalubo*.
**soft**, *mutsam'*; *mutsaminhe*.
**soil**, *ayeghü* (E.S.); *ayeghi* (W.S.).
**soil**, to, *akhenya shivetsülo*.
**some people**, *khami khami*; *hami hami*.
**sometimes**, *khania khania*.
**somewhere**, *kilila*.
**son**, *'nu*; (adopted—) *amungu*.
**song**, *ale*.
**soon**, *kitila dolo*; *kitla dolo*.
**sorrow**, to, *amelokesa shilo*; *amelo sülo*.
**sort**, *azheli*; (all sorts) *azheli azheli, toökha*.
**soul**, *aghongu*.
**sour**, *kempoi*.
**south**, *abiou*; *akhou*; *chiliu*.
**sow**, to, (—paddy) *aghü khulo*; (—Job's tears) *akili yilo*; (—millet) *assü pfulo*.
**sow**, *awokhu*.
**span**, (index) *akuzü*; (middle) *akushu*; (third) *mishükha* (E.S.), *akuamthau* (W.S.); (little) *akuameghiu*.
**spark**, *ami'saghu*; *ami'mpa*; (fire-firefly) *hevelala*.
**spate**, *azüye ighwono ileani* (there is a spate).
**speak**, to, *atsa pilo*.
**spear**, *angu* *; (bamboo—) *apizhi*; (hairy handled—) *ang'sa kumagha*; (iron hafted—) *ayilagi* †; (—point) *angu'mli*; (—haft) *angu'su*; (—butt) *angu-'cheghi*.
**spear**, to, *chelo*; (kill by—) *yilo, yikhüvelo*.
**spectacles**, *anhyetikezhu*; *anhyetikukho*.
**spend**, to, *kilhevelo*; *pukülo*.
**spider**, *thalhakhü*; *talhakhü*.
**spit**, to, *amti müssüvelo*.
**spit**, (n.), *amti müssükesünei*.
**spittle**, *amti*.
**splash**, to, *azü mihelo*.
**spleen**, *allochi*.
**split**, (—wood with dao) *ghükholo*, (with axe) *shokholo*,

* Lazemi "*anyi*".—*J. H. H.*
† But I find in my notes that this means an iron-hafted axe, a similar spear being *ayingussü* and a hairy-handled one *angussü*.—*J. H. H.*

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(with hand) *yikholo;* (—cane) *akkeh pholo;* (—pig's belly) *akive ghalelo, akive kholo.*

**spoil,** to, *shipsavetsülo, kutsavetsülo.*

**sponger,** *nachukiu* (lives by borrowing).

**spoon,** *atsügholĕsa; alĕsa.*

**sprain,** to, *nyepelevelo.*

**spread,** to, (cloth) *api khalo, khavelo.*

**spreader,** (for necklaces) *achisü, achiketsasü.*

**spring,** *azükiki.*

**spring on,** *ilheïwu keghalo.*

**sprinkle,** to, (cold water) *pichilo;* (hot water) *telo.*

**squat,** to, *issilo.*

**squirrel,** *akili;* (flying—) *attolo* (Petaurista yunnanensis); (lesser flying—) *asügi* (Pteromys aboniger); (black —) *atiki* (Ratufa gigantea); (ground—or "chipmunk") *akili-azügeh.*

**stagger,** to, *ilul..li ala chelo.*

**stalks of paddy,** *aghü zhini.*

**stammer,** to, *atsa ngungushi pilo.*

**stamp,** *tilo;* (—on and kill) *nyekhüvetsulo.*

**stand,** to, *puthughualo.*

**star,** *aiyeh; ayepu;* (shooting—) *aiyeh-ba* (= "star-excrement").

**start,** *ala chelo.*

**starvation,** *kelamuke.*

**starve,** to, *kelamulo.*

**steal,** to, *pukhalo; pukhatsülo;* (ask for price of stolen goods from thief) *apulo kulo.*

**steel,** *azta'i* (= dao-iron).

**steep,** *akkeh.*

**step,** (n.), (on path) *atupi;* (to make steps) *ala ghe kuholo;* (make stone steps) *athu pfeno atupiyelo.*

**stew,** to, *belo.*

**stewpot,** *akulholi.*

**stick,** *asü;* (walking—) *akesü.*

**stick insect,** *ashüga;* (large) *nyekenyikha.*

**stick on,** to, *datsülo.*

**stick,** to, *medalo.*

**sting,** (n.), *akhi'choh.*

**sting,** to, *akhino kwolo.*

**stir,** to, *khulo;* (—till cold) *khukumukono;* (—till hot) *khupulono;* (—up food) *kilie kidelo;* (—drink) *hekidelo.*

**stockings,** *akupukakuzu.*

**stomach,** *akive.*

**stone,** *athu.*

**stool,** *alakü; alakhu* (E.S.); *alakha* (W.S.).

**stoop,** to, *itsalo;* (—right down) *ipuwulo.*

**stop,** to, (tr.) *kheaghetsülo;* (intr.) *khealo.*

**stopper,** *akimĭke.*

**storied,** *azolhazolha shi; akishikeshe shi.*

**storm,** *pasapagha.*

**story,** *atsa; kaghelomi'tsa.*

**straight,** *kumzu; m'zü; muzuchoi;* (—in a line) *azhoshino;* (—as seedlings are planted) *apolo.*

**stranger,** *inami.*

**straw,** *aliteghezhini; aghüzhini.*

**strawberry,** *agauulozheti.*

**stream,** *aghokiti.*

**stretch,** to, *cholo;* (—out hand to take) *chopoölo;* (—one's self) *kitiilo.*

**stretched out,** *chozoï.*

**strike,** see "Hit".

**string,** *akeghi.*

**string,** to, (—beads) *achi pililo;* (—up a head) *akutsü kyeghiyilo.*

**strip off,** (—clothes) *khalo;* (—leaves) *khovelo;* (—fruit) *kholo.*

**strong,** (man) *aphichikoi.*

**strong man,** *chobóïkemmi.*

**stump** (of tree), *asüzungu.*

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**subject,** *meghemi ; mūghemi.*
**substitute,** to, *zükoshi shilo.*
**suck,** to, (baby) *nilo, mtsülo ;* (—through straw) *musülo, musü yelo.*
**suckle,** to, *akechi pinilo ; pinyi alo.*
**suddenly,** *mtano* (*mo-iti-a-no* = at unawares).
**suicide,** (he committed—) *pa'likhi pana kukha tiuveke.*
**sun,** *tsükinhye ; kütsinhye.**
**suppose,** to, *keghashilo.*
**sure,** *kucho.*
**surround,** to, *holulo ;* (—field with fence) *alu puthuluvelo.*
**swallow,** *michekalhu ; akalhu.*
**swallow,** to, *monakhüvelo.*
**swamp,** *aizüchuilho.*
**swear,** to, (intr.), *tusho külo.*
**swear,** to, (tr.), *tusho küpiyelo.*
**sweat,** (n.), *atsünhi.*
**sweat,** to, *atsünhi epeghelo.*
**sweep,** to, *kuvelo ;* (—dust away) *tsovetsülo.*
**sweet,** *ngoinii ; namzoi ; zumoghai ;* (sweet applied to drink = *shuvile,* food = *chuvi,* honey = *moeni*).
**sweetheart,** (female) *alozhilimi, alozhiliu ;* (male) *alozhipuu.*
**swell,** *ingulo.*
**swim,** to, *azü ghalo.*
**swing,** a, *suühi.*
**swoon,** to, *izuwuvelo.*†
**syphilis,** *kolagha ;* (to have—) *kolagha pfulo.*

## T

**tadpole,** *kodela ; yemogho.*
**tail,** *ashomhi ;* (dancing—, horizontal) *avikisaphu ;* (dancing—, hanging) *asaphu.*
**tailor,** *apisoghokiu.*
**tailor-bird,** *liliti.*
**take,** to, *lulo ;* (—away) *pfewuvelo, pfuwuvelo, süwuvelo ;* (—off clothes) *khalo ;* (pick up and—away) *kiluvelo ;* (—off spear point, butt) *hezholo.*
**talk,** to, *atsa pilo.*
**tall,** *chükemogha ; kuchoku ; kushua ; kemughoi.*
**tame,** *apeghiu ; apoghiu.*
**tank,** *aizükucho.*
**tattoo,** to, *ghilo.*
**taut,** to make, *mukomogha shivetsülo.*
**teach,** to, (language) *pipiyelo ;* (work) *shipiyelo.*
**tear,** *anhyetizü* (eye-water).
**tear,** to, *sükhuvelo ;* (—into strips) *sülalo.*
**tell,** to, *pilo.*
**ten,** *chüghi.*
**tend,** to, *peghealo ; poghülo ;* (—orphan) *allozhelo.*
**tendon,** (behind knee) *apikanhu.*
**tent,** *apiki ;* (pitch—) *apiki shilo ;* (strike—) *apiki khalo.*
**testicle,** *achogholoti.*
**thatch,** to, *aghii akeshi shipaälo.*
**thatch,** *aghii.*
**then,** *tilehino ; tipathiu.*
**thence,** *tilehina ; hulauona.*
**there,** *tilehi ; hulau.*
**therefore,** *tigheungno.*
**thief,** *kepukami ; akepukau.*
**thigh,** *aluko.*
**thin,** (general) *ipumihei ;* (persons only) *adumekhe khui ;* (he is—) *pana aphi kua ;* (a good eater but

* I.e., "the eye" or "the node of heaven".—*J. H. H.*

† *izuwuvelo* is also used, I think, meaning 'wander' on account of the belief that a person faints because the soul has left the body temporarily. It is similarly used of delirium as 'wander' in English also.—*J. H. H.*

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always—) *timi aghikumsa-kwoikemmi.*

**thing,** *anhyemoga.*

**think,** *kumsülo;* (—about) *kumsüzhulo;* (—over) *kusüzhulo, keghashilo.*

**third,** (—of three) *athekau;* (—of four) *ashukau shile kichiu;* (—of more than four) *ämthau.*

**thirst,** *thoghuti.*

**thirty,** *sheghi.*

**thorn,** *asahu.*

**thoroughly,** *ipele; ighwono.*

**thread,** *akeghi; asüpa'keghi; aye;* (white—) *ayeho;* (red—) *aka;* (black—) *akutsü.*

**thread** (beads), to, *akeghi pfe zhisüvelo.*

**three,** *küthu.*

**thrice,** *ohto küthu.*

**thrifty man,** *kütsükemi; kütsükichemi; shonumi.*

**throat,** *akuo.*

**throb,** (—from pain) *munhyelo;* (—from exertion, heart) *tütüthulo.*

**through,** *'mtala.*

**throw,** (—stone) *vesülo;* (—spear) *angu chelo;* (—down) *hekuluphevelo.*

**thrust,** *chokhutsülo;* (—spear into the ground) *angsüvelo.*

**thumb,** *aouloku;* (take—print) *aouloku inalo;* (design on—) *avipfola.*

**thunder,** *atsütsüsü.*

**thunderbolt,** *amüsü.*

**thus,** *tishi; ishi.*

**tick,** *amikhe.*

**tie,** (—in a knot) *kumshovelo;* (—with sliver of bamboo) *tsüghalo;* (—round and round with rope) *phedalo;* (—a beast to a post) *tsuivelo;* (—up in plantain leaf) *auchokügh ülo; ghotsülo.*

**tiger,** *abolangshu; angshu; ashu.*

**tigerman,** *angshu lhokemmi; angshu lhokiu; angshu shikiu.*

**tighten,** *chukhevetsülo;* (—like slip knot) *sükütsülo.*

**time,** (spare—) *kivushi.*

**tine,** *akibo kumsü.*

**tipsy,** *shomzü.*

**toad,** *thoghopu; poghopu.*

**tobacco,** *akhipi.*

**toe,** *akupuloti*;* (big—) *akupuloku.*

**together,** *kumtsa.*

**tomb,** *akumona.*

**tomorrow,** *thogho;* (—morning) *thanau, thogho inakhe;* (day after—) *aghinyu;* (two days time) *kwüniu;* (three days time) *kwüüniu.*

**tongue,** *amli; amili.*

**tonight,** (speaking in day time) *tohu;* (speaking after dark) *itizhi.*

**tooth,** *a¯hu;* (front—) *akikha;* (eye—) *ashichu;* (back—) *ahubo;* (milk—) *anaghiu.*

**top,** *ashou;* (—of tree) *asükeo;* (—of house) *aki mole.*

**top** (toy), *ake¯tsü;* (wind string on—) *akeghi pütsülo;* (throw—) *aketsü khatsüvetsülo.*

**topsy turvy,** *bidelao shi.*

**torch,** *akuli; asütebo; asüte.*

**"torkari",** *ayekulho;* (with salt) *akūzū;* (without salt) *ayekikye;* (jungle leaves) *ayikikichi;* (meat) *ashikulho;* (fish) *akhakulho;* (mushroom) *apvukulho.*

**tortoise,** *atoinhyeh; assühu* (L.).

**touch,** *bulo; kilo;* (—inadvertently) *chinelo.*

**towards,** *'vilo; 'lao.*

* Meaning "fruit on the foot".—*J. H. H.*

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**toy**, (n.), *amogha*.
**track**, *anyepa ; ashepa*.
**track**, to, *anyepa pfewulo*.
**trade**, to, *alhi shilo*.
**trample**, to, *nyetsülo ;* (—to death) *nyekhüvetsülo*.
**trance**, to be in a, *akha shilo*.
**trap**, *akesü ;* (for deer) *aitho, ashe pu ;* (for birds) *aliche, sügotsa ;* (fall—) *zheka ;* (spring—) *awufu*.
**trap**, to, *aliche shilo ; mevelo*.
**trapper**, *aliche shikemi*.
**travel**, *izüwulo*.
**treat**, (give a drink), to, *azhi zhilo*.
**tree**, *asü ; asübo ;* (tree with trunk almost parallel to the ground) *asükwotsü*.
**tree fern**, *sapunadibo* (Amphicosmia).
**trench**, *amüghozülaki ;* (to dig a—) *helo*.
**tribute**, *akhá ; asükhá*.
**trigger**, *alika'moki*.
**trip**, to, (intr.), *küpükhatsülo*.
**trip**, to, (tr.), (when wrestling) *küzalo*.
**trouble**, *agheme*.
**trouble**, to make, *kidelo ; ate shilo ; khukidechelo*.
**true**, *kucho*.
**trunk**, (—of tree) *abo, akumo ;* (—of body) *akumo*.
**truth**, *kucho'tsa*.
**try**, *shizhulo ; alumsilo ;* (—if liquor is right temperature) *azhi pitzüzhulo*.
**tuck in**, to, *shokhalo ; nhakhalo*.
**turn**, (tr.) *tsüghülo, tsüükidelo ;* (intr.) *izulabo shilo* (—round and round till one is giddy) ; (—up lamp) *tsüghüpfelo ;* (—over) *pepidelo, vekidevetsülo*.
**turns**, by, *kizhükhü kizheli*.
**tusk**, *akaha'hu*.
**twenty**, *muku*.
**twice**, *ohto kini*.
**twig**, (dead—) *asükegha, asükekha ;* (live—) *alloka*.
**twilight**, *zagughü*.
**twist**, *cheghilo ;* (twisted mouth) *akechi izhi*.
**two**, *kini*.

## U

**unaware**, *'mthano ; 'mtano*.
**umbrella**, *asükho*.
**uncle**, (father's brother) *angu, a'pu'pa'mu, i'pu'pa'tuküzü ;* (mother's brother) *angu*.
**unclean**, (people, animals) *akhyekhe ;* (things) *akhenya akhemè*.
**uncover**, to, *lhalo ; lhapelo*.
**under**, *'kho*.
**understand**, to, *itilo*.
**undo**, to, *khaluvetsülo ; khalo ; kŏkholo*.
**unequal**, (lengths) *küthükhu ;* (sizes) *akemmi kumoi*.
**unmarried**, *kilaumokemi : chimemi*.
**unripe**, *nimpi* (verb) ; *akupusho*.
**unscrew**, to, *tsüghuzhovelo*.
**untie**, to, *kŏkholo*.
**untrue**, *miki ; kichele*.
**up**, *kungu*.
**upper**, (khel) *lushusa*.
**urine**, *puzho ;* (pass—) *puzholo, puzhovelo*.
**useless man**, *timinhye* (lit. tatter of a man).

## V

**vagabond**, *kupokichemi ; akupushomi*.
**vagina**, *amoh*.
**valley**, *abokhu ; akita*.
**valuable**, *ame*.
**vein**, *anhü*.
**velvet**, horns in, *akughunu api*.
**venom**, *athiti ; apoghü'thiti*.
**verandah**, *akikala*.

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**very,** *ighwono ; allokei.*
**vex,** to, *amelo shi keghidevetsülo.*
**village,** *apfu ; apu ; nagamipfu ;* (found a new—) *pfütheowulo ;* (—labour) *azhu.*
**villagers,** (own) *aghami, naghami, nagami ;* (other—) *inami, tushomi ;* (—opposite across the valley) *azukekumi ;* (term used by parent village of its colonies) *pfutheowukemmi.*
**virgin,** *amhikuchomi.*
**voice,** *asütsa.*
**vomit,** to, *mughuvelo.*
**vulture,** *alluamishikúmokemeghiú.*

## W

**wade,** *azü puthulo ; azü balo.*
**wag** (tail), to, *ashomi küzülo.*
**wages,** (daily—) *azhume, akheme ;* (salary) *a_tha ;* (wage of one day) *asupe, akeli ;* (wage for two days) *kelevu.*
**wagtail,** *aiti* (generic).
**waist,** *achütha.*
**wait,** to, *ngulo ;* (—for) *khelo, khealo.*
**wake,** to, (tr.) *kedalo, kutavelo ;* (intr.) *idalo.*
**walk,** *ala chelo ;* (go for a—) *iliulo, ililo.*
**wall** (of house), (matting) *atozü, alemüza.*
**walnut,** (tree) *ghakutisü ;* (fruit) *ghakuti.*
**want,** to, *anhyemoga laki kulo.*
**war,** to make, *aghü shilo.*
**warm,** (—weather) *lüvwi, lüghüghü, kulu, atsala shukhuthu ;* (—house) *ahulu.*
**warrior,** *aghütomi.*
**wash,** (—face) *ayi pavelo ;* (—hands) *aou mtsülo ;* (—feet) *akupu khulo ;* (—body) *azükuchulo ;* (—mouth) *akichi khokolo* (Lazemi), *akichi kinivelo* (E.S.) ; (—clothes) *api ishuvelo ;* (—utensils) *azhukhu küsivelo ;* (—pig's guts) *akeghi khokivelo ;* (—head) *akutsü kwovelo.*
**waste land,** *aluba.*
**watch,** to, *khezhulo ;* (look after house) *aki kyelo.*
**water,** *azü ;* (fetch—) *azü piyulo ;* (flood—) *azü kwonyi ani.*
**water-carrier,** *azukepiyu.*
**waterfall,** *azüpapa.*
**wax,** *aghügha ;* (bee's—) *akhiba ;* (ear—) *akiniba.*
**wax,** to, (—cloth) *aghüghano sütsülo ; aghughano chosülo* (Lazemi).
**way,** (road) *ala ;* (in this way) *tishi, ishi, hipapi, hekhitipu ;* (in that way) *hupapi.*
**weak,** *apikhü ; aphikhü.*
**wear,** (—cloth) *ulo ;* (—necklace) *nilo ;* (—armlet) *pfelo ;* (cotton earwads) *kyeghelo ;* (—petticoat) *minilo ;* (—boot, hat) *pfulo ;* (—a wig) *aghami'kutsü'sa khopfulo.*
**weariness,** *akulho ; agheme.*
**weave,** to, *api gholo.*
**weed,** *alupi.*
**weed,** to, (—with hand) *mukhavelo, mukhalo ;* (—with hoe) *akuwono* (*akwano*) *yelo.*
**weep,** to, *kaälo.*
**weigh,** to, (measure out) *müghüzhulo, megezhulo.*
**weighty,** *mishishei* (E.S.) ; *mishishe.*
**weir,** *akhu.*
**well,** *azükiki.*
**well,** (adv.), *allo.*
**were tiger,** *angshulhokemmi ; angshulhokiu ; angshushikiu.*
**west,** *atsalaikilolao.*

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**wet,** *potsaiva ; pichive* (Lazemi) (both are verbs).
**what,** *kiu ; ku ;* (whatever it be) *kishe kisheuno ;* (—kind ?) *kitsi ? ;* (—is it all about ?) *kishekulu ?*
**when,** *koghono.*
**whence,** *kilena ; kilehina.*
**where,** *kilhe ; kilehi.*
**while,** (short—ago) *isheli.*
**whisper,** to, *mükanano atsa pilo.*
**whistle,** to, *mizhilo.*
**white,** *mietsoghi ; akimiye ;* (he is—haired) *pa'sa mbouva* (E.S.), *pa'sa m'pfa miye va.*
**whore,** *kethokalimi ; asalhami ; kusalhami.*
**whore,** to, *aluzhipukichi shiuvelo ; nipvughakhuwuvelo.*
**why,** *kushia ; kushgeno ; kushgeno'gheungno.*
**wicked,** *allokesah.*
**wide,** *akoghelao.*
**widow,** *chimemi* (lives alone).
**wife,** *anipvu ;* (first—) *lutughuu ;* (second—) *amtao ;* (third—) *athekao ;* (fourth—) *ashokao.*
**wig,** *aghami'kutsü'sa ; akutsü-'kho.*
**wild animals,** *teghashi ; tikitenu.*
**wild cat,** (leopard—) *anyengu ;* (grey—) *akufu ;* (golden —) (civet—large) *akü,* (civet—small) *akenhe.*
**wild dog,** *atine.*
**will,** *'gho ; 'llokhthu ;* (it is my wish) *i'gho, i'llokhthulo.*
**willow tree,** *tizüsü.*
**win,** to, *shilulo.*
**wind,** *amulhu.*
**wind,** to, (—thread) *akeghino phevelo ;* (—watch) *tsüghülo.*
**window,** *akichepi.*
**wing** (birds), *achǐchíbo.*
**wink,** *anhyeti kütsü.*
**wink,** to, *anhyeti kütsü piyelo.*
**winnow,** to, (—husk from rice) *aö ghalo ;* (—rice from dhan) *aö pekilo.*
**winnowing fan,** *apo ghü.*
**winter,** *süsütsalo.*
**wipe,** to, *süvelo ;* (—off) *isüvetsülo.*
**wish,** verb root plus *shi.*
**witch,** *thumumi ; thuumi.*
**with,** (accompany) *sasü ;* (instrumental) *pfe, no, pfeno.*
**withdraw,** to, (—hand from) *süzholo ;* (—article from) *ikiluvelo, ikipfetsülo.*
**wither,** to, *izhunhalo.*
**within,** *selukŏ.*
**witness,** *itikemmi ; akitimi.*
**woman,** *totimi ; totiu ;* (young—) *ilimi ;* (middle-aged—) *thopuhela ;* (elderly —) *thopumi ;* (old—) *kitemi.*
**wood,** *asü.*
**wood-basket,** *amthoh.*
**woodcock,** *alisü.*
**woodpecker,** *ashushu ; gaseghe.*
**wool,** (thread) *ayeho.*
**word,** *atsa ;* (honeyed—s) *atsa kungo.*
**work,** *akumla ;* (day's—) *azhu.*
**work,** to, *akumla shilo ; mlalo.*
**world,** *titsükholo* (i.e., "below the sky"; *atsütsü ayeghi pama dolo* = "between heaven and earth" is also used).
**worm,** *alapu ; lapulaghu ;* (intestinal—) *aghu ;* (tape—) *alapa.*
**wormwood,** *khokhubo.*
**worry,** to, *agheme shilo ; punolo* (E.S.); *punalo* (W.S.); (don't worry me) *punakevelo.*
**worship,** to, *asüputsalo* (E.S.); *kungumi putsalo.*
**worst,** *allokesao.*

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**wound,** *akhu ; aku ; iza* (*iza phuani*) *aku* (*aku kizhie ilevia*) ; *aku iluvetsülo* = tie up a wound.
**wrap,** to, (—with leaf) *gholo ;* (—with cloth, etc.) *küzülo.*
**wrestle,** to, *khükalo.*
**wrinkle,** to, *ayi_kwo idiulo ; ayi ɨdilo ;* (her face is wrinkled) *pa'yi idiva.*
**wrist,** *aounhye.*
**wrong,** *pimiva ;* (this has been done wrongly) *achipi shi mo ;* (untrue) *miki, kichele.*

## Y

**yarn,** *kolami'tsa ; akumo'tsa.*
**yawn,** to, *uhushilo.*
**year,** *ampeh ;* (last—) *khanyekhu ;* (this—) *khashiye ;* (next—) *thoökhu ;* (every—) *ampehlo ;* (many—s) *pashu.*
**yellow,** *aoni.*
**yelp,** to, (staccato) *nüghelo ;* (drawn out) *eghalo.*
**yesterday,** *aghena ; egheno.*
**you,** *no.*
**young,** (adj.), (man) *apumi ;* (girl) *ilimi.*
**young,** (n.), *ati.*

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Article No. 14.

# Development of the Bengali Alphabet from the Fifth Century A.D. to the End of the Muhammadan Rule.

By S. N. Chakravarti.

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## I. Introduction.

### (*a*) *Gupta Age : the starting point.*

A systematic palæographic study of the development of the Bengali alphabet, as attempted in the following pages, is still a desideratum. The Bengali alphabet itself is but a later local development from the *Brāhmī Lipi* which is undoubtedly the earliest syllabic alphabet of India, of which certain ancient proto-types can be traced in the pictographic writing of the Indus Valley.[1] The Brāhmī indeed is the parent script from which all the alphabets, now used in India, Ceylon, Burma, Tibet and Siam, have gradually developed. Although, as the late Professor T. W. Rhys Davids[2] sought to establish, the writing was prevalent in India as early as the 8th or 7th century B.C., the inscriptions of Aśōka are still the first set of historical records in which the Brāhmī alphabet has been extensively used for almost the whole of India excluding no other region than that of Gandhāra in the extreme north-west. The forms of the Brāhmī letters in the Asokan records show a somewhat advanced stage of development. For a cruder form of those letters one has still to refer to the Piprāhwā vase inscription found in the Nepal Terai.[3]

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[1] *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. II, pp. 423–455.
[2] *Buddhist India*, p. 117.
[3] *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. IV, pl. facing p. 82.



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The Śuṅga alphabet and the alphabet of the Northern Kshatrapas show further development of the Brāhmī of Northern India. The next stage in its development is exhibited in the inscriptions from the time of Kushāṇa kings Kaṇishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva. The epigraphic North Indian alphabet of the pre-Gupta period has an eastern and a western variety. It has been already pointed out by Professor Bhandarkar[1] that the eastern forms of the letters *ma*, *la* and *ha* sprang into existence in the pre-Gupta period. But I cannot agree with him that the evidences are to be found in the Jasdan inscription of the year 127 of Rudrasena and the Mathura inscription of the year 14 of Kaṇishka. In the Jasdan inscription the letters *ma* and *ha* have both eastern and western forms. Bühler[2] has rightly explained that the occurrence of the eastern *ma* (and *ha*) in this inscription as well as on the coins of the later Kshatrapas 'probably indicates a northern influence, perhaps a northern alphabet was used at the same time'. We know of inscriptions found in North-eastern India, which show the eastern forms of the letters *ma*, *la* and *ha* in all cases. They are the Giñja[3] inscription of Bhīmasena, the Kosam inscriptions[4] of Bhadramagha and Śivamagha, and the Bodh-Gayā[5] inscription of Trikamala, which are undoubtedly specimens of the North-eastern alphabet in the pre-Gupta period. The eastern forms of the letters *ma*, *la* and *ha* in the Mathurā inscription of the year 14 of Kaṇishka may be, therefore, explained also as the traces of the influence of the North-eastern alphabet upon the North-western one. It must, however, be noted that on palæographic evidence this inscription cannot belong to Kaṇishka I.[6] But it is earlier than the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta and may be referred to about A.D. 262. The inscription of Samudragupta, in which we find the looped *sha* for the first time, shows the final form of the North-eastern alphabet.

With the exception of the Mauryan Brāhmī inscription of Mahāsthān,[7] no inscriptions have been found in Bengal till the time of the Guptas. From G.E. 113 = A.D. 432 onwards, the date of the Dhānāidaha grant of Kumāragupta I,[8] we find a large number of inscriptions in Bengal. These discoveries have facilitated the determination of the type

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 1ff.
[2] *Indian Palaeography* (trans.), p. 42.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 302.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 158ff; Vol. XXIII, pp. 245ff.
[5] Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, London, 1892, p. 21 and Pl. XXV.
[6] Cf. *Indian Culture*, 1938, pp. 411ff.
[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 83.
[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 345.

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specimens of the Eastern alphabet in each particular period. Consequently it has become possible to trace the development of the Bengali alphabet from these records alone. Nevertheless we have got to consider other Eastern Indian inscriptions, particularly those of Bihar, in order to determine the age of the inscriptions of Bengal and fill up such gaps as appear in their continuity. The Sārnāth inscription of Mahīpāla I [1] (V.E. 1083 = A.D. 1025) serves as a milestone in the settlement of the chronology of the Pāla Kings. Again, barring the Ashrafpur grant of Dēvakhaḍga [2] and the Dēulbāḍī Śarvvāṇī image inscription of his queen,[3] which I am inclined to assign to the period after Dēvapāla and before Mahīpāla I and which others place towards the end of the 7th or commencement of the 8th century A.D., no inscriptions are known in Bengal, which can be said to belong to the period from the second half of the 7th to about the end of the 8th century.[4] But this gap can be filled up by the Shāhpur image inscription of H.E. 66 = A.D. 672 (Fleet's No. 43) and the Aphsaḍ inscription (Fleet's No. 42), both of the time of Ādityasēna, and the Nālandā stone inscription of the reign of Yaśōvarmmadēva.[5]

### (*b*) *Eastern and Western varieties of the Epigraphic North-Indian Alphabet in the 4th–6th centuries A.D.*

Dr. Hoernle [6] recognized two different varieties in the script of the epigraphic documents of the early Gupta Emperors, a southern and a northern. The test letter is *ma*. In the southern class the curve at the base is flattened, and the point of crossing is shifted, more or less, to the right (Fig. I, 1). In the northern class we find the straight-sided *ma*, with a small knob attached to the left of the letter (Fig. I, 2). The northern class of the Gupta script, again, shows two varieties, an eastern and a western. The test letter is *sha*.

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[1] *A.R. Arch. Surv.*, 1903-04, p. 222, Pl. LXIV, No. 14.
[2] *Mem. A.S.B.*, Vol. I, p. 85.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 357.
[4] The Tipperah grant of Lōkanātha (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 301) is dated in the year 44, which, if referred to the Harsha Era, would give A.D. 650. The Bodh-Gayā inscription of the 26th year of Dharma-Pāla (*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV, 1908, p. 101) may be assigned to about the end of the 8th or commencement of the 9th century A.D.
[5] Dr. Hirananda Sastri would place the Nālandā inscription early in the 6th century A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 37). But Dr. Basak has correctly assigned it to the first half of the 8th century (*The History of North-Eastern India*, p. 209).
[6] *J.A.S.B.*, 1891, Pt. I, pp. 79ff.; *The Bower Manuscript*, Introduction, pp. xxviff.

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FIGURE 1.

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Dr. Bühler [1] found three varieties of the so-called Gupta alphabet of the 4th and 5th centuries:

(1) *the eastern variety*: specimens—the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta and the Kahāum inscription of Skandagupta;

(2) *the western variety* (cursive round-hand type): specimen—the Indore copperplate inscription of Skandagupta. This type is found also in the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II and the Bhitarī pillar inscription of Skandagupta;

(3) *the western variety* (angular monumental type): specimens—the Bilsaḍ inscription of Kumāragupta I and the Mēharauli iron pillar inscription of Chandra.

The test letters are *sha*, and also *la* and *ha*. 'In the eastern variety the left limb of *la* is turned sharply downwards (Fig. I, 3); compare the *la* of the Jaugaḍa separate edicts. Further, the base stroke of *sha* is made round and attached as a loop to the slanting central bar (Fig. I, 4). Finally, the base stroke of *ha* is suppressed, and its hook, attached to the vertical, is turned sharply to the left (Fig. I, 5), exactly as in the Jagayyapēṭa inscriptions. In the western variety these three letters have the older and fuller forms (Fig. I, 6, 7, 8).'

The late Mr. R. D. Banerji [2] recognized the following four varieties of the Gupta alphabet:—

(1) the eastern variety;
(2) the western variety;
(3) the southern variety;
(4) the Central Asian variety.

The epigraphs of the early Gupta Emperors have, in the main, been written in the eastern and western varieties of the Northern Indian alphabet. The test letters for the two classes are *la*, *sha*, *ha*, and also *ma* and *sa*. The northern and southern types of *ma*, which we have noticed above, have been used in the eastern and western varieties respectively. Again, in the eastern variety the left limb of *sa* becomes a loop (Fig. I, 9), and in the western variety the letter has the older form (Fig. I, 10).

The eastern variety was used as far as Allahābād in the west. But there is evidence to show that the area of its use was extended farther to the west. The use of the eastern forms of certain letters in north-western inscriptions is traceable as early as the time of Huvishka and in as remote a region as Gaḍhā (Jasdan) in Kāṭhiāwāḍ:—

[1] Bühler's *Indian Palaeography*, Eng. Ed., pp. 47-48.
[2] *Origin of the Bengali Script*, pp. 24-25.

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(1) *sa* in the Mathurā image inscription of Huvishka (the year 33),[1] and the Jaina inscription at Mathurā, No. 5 (A and B)[2];

(2) *ma* and *ha* in the Jasdan inscription of Rudrasena of the year 127[3];

(3) *ma*, *la*, *sa* and *ha* in the Mathurā pedestal inscription of the Kushāṇa year 14[4];

(4) *ma* in the Jaina inscription at Mathurā of the time of Kumāragupta I,[5] the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II (Fleet's No. 4), the Bilsad pillar inscription of Kumāragupta I (Fleet's No. 10), the Bhitarī pillar inscription of Skandagupta (Fleet's No. 13), and the Indore copperplate inscription of Skandagupta (Fleet's No. 16).

The eastern variety could not displace the western one. But it gradually came to be entirely displaced by the latter. On the question of the displacement of the eastern variety by the western one Dr. Hoernle observed that 'in India proper the North-Eastern alphabet gradually came to be entirely displaced by the North-Western alphabet, in comparatively very early times. This displacement must have been in progress during the earlier part of the sixth century A.D. For in 588 A.D. we already find inscriptions in Bodh-Gayā (cf. Mahānāman, Fleet, p. 274) which show an exclusive north-western character; and there is not a single inscription known (so far as I am aware) about and after 600 A.D., which shows the distinctive marks of the old north-eastern alphabet'.[6] The late Mr. R. D. Banerji traced the displacement of the eastern variety by the western one to the fourth decade of the 5th century A.D., to the time of the Early Gupta Emperor Skandagupta. For the second half of the Bihar pillar inscription of that king shows the western variety form of *ha* in all cases, while in the first half eastern forms of *ha* and *la* have been used in the majority of cases (only in one instance we find a western variety form of *ha* *Agrahārē*, l. 13). He was also of opinion that 'the displacement was completed before the 8th decade of the 5th century and all traces of eastern variety forms or characters had disappeared from the plains of Northern India before the beginning of the 6th century A.D.'[7] For the Pālī grant of Lakshmaṇa[8] (G.E.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 179, No. B.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 371.
[3] *J. Bo. Br. R.A.S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 234; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 233, No. II.
[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 96.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 210, No. 39.
[6] *J.A.S.B.*, 1891, Pt. I, p. 82.
[7] *Origin of the Bengali script*, pp. 30-31.
[8] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 363.

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158 = A.D. 477) found about 30 miles from Allahābād is written entirely in the North-Western alphabet, and the Amauna grant of Nandana [1] (G.E. 232 = A.D. 551) discovered in the district of Gayā in Bihar, show the western forms of *sha*, *ha* and *la*. Finally, he referred to the Kōsam stone image inscription of Bhīmavarman of G.E. 139 = A.D. 458 (Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 266, Pl. XXXIX C) and observed that 'in this inscription we find that all the test letters, *sha*, *sa*, *ha* and *la*, have assumed western forms'.[2]

But there are inscriptions which show that the displacement of the eastern alphabet by the western one was in progress even during the earlier part of the 6th century A.D.:—

(1) The Pāhārpur copperplate (G.E. 159 = 478 A.D.).[3]
(2) The Nandapur copperplate (G.E. 169=488 A.D.).[4]
(3) The Dāmōdarpur copperplates, Nos. 3 and 4.[5]
(4) The Gunaighar grant of Vainyagupta (G.E. 188 = 507 A.D.).[6]
(5) The Dāmōdarpur copperplate, No. 5 (G.E. 224 = 543 A.D.).[7]
(6) The Faridpur copperplates of Dharmāditya, Nos. 1 and 2.[8]
(7) The Faridpur copperplate of Gōpachandra, No. 3.[9]
(8) The Mallasarul copperplate of Vijayasena ([10]).
(9) The Faridpur copperplate of Samāchāradēva, No. 4.[11]

In the first five inscriptions we find that *la*, *sha* and *ha* are of the eastern variety. The adoption of the western variety forms in the inscriptions of Bengal is found for the first time in the grants of Dharmāditya. In the first grant of the year 3 of this king *la*, *sha* and *ha* have two forms, an eastern and a western. In the second grant of Dharmāditya *ha* and *la* are of the western

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 49. The grant shows, however, the eastern form of *sa*.

[2] The letters *sha* and *la* do not occur at all in the inscription of Bhīmavarman of the year 139. Further we find eastern forms of *sa* and *ha*. There is another inscription of the year 130 of Bhīmavarman from Kōsam (*Indian Culture*, 1936, pp. 177ff.), now deposited in the Allahābād Museum, in which we find the eastern *ha*; and the western *sa*, besides the eastern form in ligature *tsa*. The letter *sha*, which occurs in ligatures *shna* and *ksha*, shows the western form.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 59.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 52ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 113.
[6] *I.H.Q.*, 1930, p. 45.
[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 113; *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 193.
[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 193.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 155ff.
[11] *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VI, p. 435. The inscription has been placed by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali towards the end of the 6th century A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 74).

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variety, while *sha* has both forms. In the grant of Gōpachandra of the year 19 *sha* and *ha* are of the eastern variety, while *la* is of the western variety. In the Mallasarul grant of Vijayasena *la* and *ha* have the western forms, while *sha* has both eastern and western forms. But the western *sha* has been used in most cases. In the grant of Samāchāradēva *sha* and *la* are of the western variety, while *ha* has both forms. The western variety form of *ha*, however, has been used in the majority of cases.

But the shape of *ya* is the most useful test for fixing the time of displacement of the eastern variety by the western one. There are two forms of *ya*, the old tripartite form and the modern cursive or bipartite form. As we are here concerned only with the eastern variety we shall show the gradual development of the tripartite *ya* into the bipartite *ya* in the Eastern Indian inscriptions.

The Pālī grant of Lakshmaṇa shows the use of the tripartite *ya* in which the left side takes the form of a curve, which turns to the right. The end of the curve is joined with the base line which is either straight or bent angularly, so as to form a loop (Fig. I, 11). The same form occurs also in the Barābar and the two Nāgārjunī inscriptions of Anantavarman (Fleet's Nos. 48, 49, 50).[1] The Amauna grant of Nandana shows a tripartite form in which the letter shows a curl on the left with opening on the outer side (Fig. I, 12). In the Nālandā seal of king Śarvavarman Maukhari[2] and the Paṭiākēllā grant of Śivarāja[3] (the year 283 = A.D. 602) the curve turns to the right but does not form a loop (Fig. I, 13). In the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription of the time of Udayasēna[4] (H.E. 30 = A.D. 636) the curve turns into a loop to the right and is about to coincide (Fig. I, 14), and in the Nālandā seal of Harsha,[5] which shows also the well-developed bipartite *ya*, it coincides (Fig. I, 15), with the point of junction of the left and right portions of the character. The Bodh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman (G.E. 269 = 588 A.D.) shows the exclusive use of the bipartite form for the first time (Fig. I, 16), which must have immediately preceded the well-developed bipartite *ya* (Fig. I, 17) of the Nālandā seal of Harsha and the Gañjām grant of the time of Śaśāṅka (G.E. 300 = 619 A.D.).[6]

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[1] The inscriptions are placed by Mr. N. G. Majumdar on palæographical grounds earlier than A.D. 554 (*I.A.*, 1917, p. 127).

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 72.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 285.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 289. Mr. Majumdar refers the year 30 to the Gupta era. But the palæography of the inscription is not in favour of an early date as A.D. 348-49. The letters *la*, *sha* and *ha* have the western forms in all cases. But specially to be noted are the forms of the letters *ya* and *śa*. In *śa* the upper part of the letter is a rectangle, and not a curve as in the early Gupta alphabet.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 72.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 143.

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As regards the shape of *ya* in the inscriptions of Bengal we find that the Pāhārpur copperplate shows the tripartite form (Fig. I, 11), which is similar to that found in the Pālī grant of Lakshmaṇa. In the Gunaighar grant of Vainyagupta we come across the form of the Pālī grant of Lakshmaṇa (Fig. I, 11) as well as that of the Amauna grant of Nandana (Fig. I, 12). In the Dāmōdarpur grant, No. 5, appear also the forms of the Pālī and Amauna grants. The first grant of Dharmāditya shows two forms: (1) the form of the Amauna grant (Fig. I, 12), and (2) the form of the Nālandā seal of king Śarvavarman Maukhari and the Paṭiākēllā grant of Śivarāja (Fig. I, 13). These two forms are found also in the second grant of Dharmāditya. But the second form is preferred. In the grant of Gōpachandra we find a third form for the first time, the bipartite one, besides the tripartite form which is commonest in the second grant of Dharmāditya. In the grant of Samāchāradēva the bipartite *ya*, which almost reached its full development here, has been used in all cases.

The question that we have to consider now is: the downward limit for the use of the tripartite *ya* in Northern India. Regarding this problem Dr. Hoernle observed: 'Any inscription in the North-Western Indian alphabet, which shows the more or less exclusive use of the old form of *ya*, must date before 600 A.D., while any inscription showing an exclusive use of the cursive form of *ya* must date after 600 A.D.'[1] The late Mr. R. D. Banerji did not, however, quite follow Dr. Hoernle. By the expression 'North-Western Indian alphabet' he understood the western alphabet as distinct from the eastern alphabet, and not the western alphabet which having displaced the eastern alphabet became the only script of the North-western and North-eastern inscriptions before 588 A.D. Consequently he remarked that Dr. Hoernle was silent regarding the downward limit for the use of the tripartite *ya* in the Eastern inscriptions. And he further observed: 'In North-Eastern India the use of the tripartite form of *ya* lasted about half a century longer than the limit of North-Western India'.[2] For the Amauna grant of Nandana, the Paṭiākēllā grant of Śivarāja and the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription of Udayasēna show the use of the tripartite *ya*. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji felt also inclined to extend the period of use of the tripartite *ya* in the North-western inscriptions because of its exclusive use in the Udayapur inscription of the Guhila Aparājita (V.E. 718 = A.D. 660).[3]

The tripartite *ya* occurs also in the Vasantgaḍh inscription of Varmalāta (V.E. 682)[4] and the Sāmōli inscription of the time

[1] *J.A.S.B.*, 1891, Pt. I, p. 90.
[2] *Origin of the Bengali script*, p. 39.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 29.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 187ff.

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of Śīlāditya (V.E. 703).[1] But this does not in any way extend the period of use of the tripartite *ya*. Probably its use was localized in parts of Rājputānā for a longer period than in other places. In the slightly later inscription of Durgagaṇa (V.E. 746),[2] which also comes from another part of Rajputānā, we find the bipartite *ya*. Again, this latter type has been uniformly used in several inscriptions from Mēwār of the early eighth century A.D.

In regard to the exclusive use of the tripartite *ya* in the Udayapur inscription of the Guhila Aparājita Dr. Kielhorn observed that 'the old form of *ya* continued to be used in one part of Northern India when, according to Dr. Hoernle, it had entirely gone out of use'. But he did not extend the period of use of the tripartite *ya*. Dr. Bühler also rightly remarked that 'the discovery of an inscription of the 7th century with mostly tripartite *ya* makes a modification of Dr. Hoernle's argument necessary but does not invalidate his final result'.[3] As the bipartite form displaced the tripartite one towards the end of the 6th century A.D., it is not at all surprising to find the latter surviving in the inscriptions of the following century. The occurrence of an old form in a later inscription is no ground for extension of the period of its use. As it will be shown in the next chapter, the lowest limit for the use of the old form of the palatal *śa* with a round or a straight-lined top is fixed at A.D. 650, the date of the Tipperah grant of Lōkanātha.[4] But the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Dharmapāla, which may be assigned to about the end of the 8th or commencement of the 9th century A.D., shows the use of the old form in the majority of cases when the type specimen was the looped form of the palatal *śa*.

The above discussion shows that the term 'eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet' is misleading; that the eastern variety was in existence before the Gupta period; that the Giñja inscription of Bhīmasena, the Kosam inscriptions of Bhadramagha and Śivamagha, and the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Trikamala represent the epigraphic alphabet of North-eastern India in the pre-Gupta period; that the eastern variety is found fully developed in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta; that there was the bipartite struggle for displacement between the eastern and western varieties; that the western variety finally displaced the eastern one before 588 A.D., the date of the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman.

## II. Development of the Eastern Alphabet during the 7th–10th centuries: birth of Proto-Bengali.

In this chapter we shall first attempt to settle the chronological order of the inscriptions during the 7th–10th centuries,

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 97ff. [2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 180ff.
[3] *Bühler's Indian Palæography*, p. 48, note 3.
[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 301ff.

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and then trace the development of the Eastern alphabet leading up to the birth of the Proto-Bengali alphabet.

Here palæographic evidence is almost the only help for fixing the chronological order of the inscriptions. For practical purposes the shape of the palatal *śa* is the most important test for determining the age of inscriptions from the 7th century A.D. onwards.[1] The old form of the letter with a round or a straight-lined top and a straight or a slanting cross-bar (Fig. I, 18) was exclusively used in inscriptions which date before A.D. 671. For in the Shāhpur image inscription of A.D. 671 and the Aphsaḍ inscription, both of the time of Ādityasēna, the characters for *śa* are more developed than the old form. As the Tipperah grant of Lōkanātha of the year 44 shows the use of the old form in all cases, it can be assigned to a date earlier than A.D. 671. In other words, we feel justified to refer the year 44 to the Harsha era. Thus the lowest limit for the use of the old form of *śa* may be fixed at A.D. 650. We find, however, the following forms of the letter from after A.D. 650 onwards:—

(1) the looped form (Fig. I, 19);
(2) the transitional forms (Fig. I, 20);
  (*a*) in which the loop has not yet opened at the bottom,
  (*b*) in which the upper part of the letter is detached from the vertical straight line to the right,
  (*c*) in which the loop is detached from the vertical straight line to the right,
  (*d*) in which the loop has opened at the bottom and the cross-bar lingers,
  (*e*) in which the lingering cross-bar touches the upper end of the vertical straight line to the right,
(3) the later form with two semi-circles at the top (Fig. I, 21).

The Aphsaḍ inscription of Ādityasēna shows the looped and first transitional forms; the Shāhpur image inscription of the same reign, the fifth transitional form. In the Dēō-Baraṇārk inscription of Jīvitagupta II (Fleet's No. 46)[2] the old and first transitional forms have been used. The Nālandā stone inscription of the reign of Yaśōvarmmadēva shows the looped and first transitional forms. In the Bodh-Gayā inscription of the 26th year of Dharmapāla the old form occurs four times, the second transitional once, and the later twice. In the Khālimpur grant[3] of the 33rd year of the same reign we find that the looped form has been used in all cases. The Mungīr grant[4] of the

[1] Cf. *Eastern Indian School of Mediæval Sculpture*, pp. 24ff.
[2] The inscription is assigned to the first half of the 8th century A.D.
[3] *J.A.S.B.*, 1894, Pt. I, p. 39, Pl. III.
[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 304.

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32nd year of Dēvapāla and the Nālandā grant [1] of the 38th year of the same reign also show exclusive use of the looped form. The Ghōshrāwā inscription [2] of Dēvapāla shows, however, the following forms of the palatal *śa*: the first transitional, which occurs in the majority of cases, the third transitional, and the later. It would thus appear that this inscription of Dēvapāla was engraved after his Nālandā grant.

We thus see that the looped form of *śa* was commonly used, though the tendency towards displacement of this form by the transitional ones was already in evidence, in the period to which the inscriptions belonged. It was used for the first time in the Aphsaḍ inscription of the second half of the 7th century A.D. The next point to be considered is the downward limit of its use. Dharmapāla ruled at least for 32 years, i.e. from 783 A.D., the date of king Indrarāja or Indrāyudha of Kanauj,[3] to 815 A.D., the date of the Gurjjara-Pratihāra King Nāgabhaṭa II,[4] who defeated Chakrāyudha, the nominee of Dharmapāla on the throne of Kanauj. The Pāla Emperor was also a contemporary of the Rāshṭrakūṭa King Gōvinda III,[5] whose certain dates range from 794–813 A.D.[6] Dēvapāla, the son and successor of Dharmapāla, ruled at least for 37 years. Consequently the downward limit for the use of the looped form of *śa* may be fixed at about the middle of the 9th century A.D.

In the Vishṇupāda temple inscription [7] of the 7th year of Nārāyaṇapāla we find the first and third transitional forms, which have been used in the majority of cases, as well as the later form. The Bhāgalpur grant [8] of the 17th year of his reign shows, however, the looped form in all cases. In the Bādal pillar inscription [9] of his reign we find the looped, fourth transitional and later forms. But from the time of Mahīpāla I onwards the later form has invariably been used. And the palatal *śa* in this particular form did not change for a long time. The question is when Mahīpāla I came to the throne. It is now quite certain that the Gurjjara-Pratihāra power under Mahēndrapāla I extended to Bengal, for a number of inscriptions of the Emperor have been found in North-Eastern India [10]: (i) the Dighwā Dubauli grant (V.E. 955–897 A.D.), (ii) the

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 310.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 307.
[3] Peterson's 4th Ref. on the search for Skt. MSS. in the Bombay Presy., pp. xli and 176; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 141.
[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 198ff.
[5] *J. Bo. Br. R.A.S.*, Vol. XXII, No. LXI, p. 128.
[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, App. II, p. 3.
[7] *Mem. A.S.B.*, Vol. V, No. 3, Pl. XXIV.
[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 304; *J.A.S.B.*, 1878, Pt. I, Pl. XXIV-XXV.
[9] *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 169. The inscription is assigned to about the end of the 9th or commencement of the 10th century A.D.
[10] Bhandarkar's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Nos. 40, 1643, 1645, 1646 and 1647.

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Pāhārpur pillar inscription of the year 5, (iii) the Rām Gayā inscription of the year 8, (iv) the Guneria image inscription of the year 9, and (v) the Bihar inscription of the year 19. Mahēndrapāla I lived in 897 A.D.; his son Vināyakapāla in V.E. 988–930 A.D.; and his son Mahēndrapāla II in V.E. 1003–945 A.D.[1] It was probably in the earlier part of the last quarter of the 10th century A.D. that Mahīpāla I rose into power and founded the second Pāla empire. We know from his Imādpur inscription[2] that he ruled at least for 47 years, of which 25 years fell, as his Sārnāth inscription of V.E. 1083–A.D. 1025 shows, in the first half of the 11th century A.D.

With these data we shall now determine the age of the inscriptions of the Khaḍgas, Chandras and Varmmas, and also of the two Pāla kings, Śūrapāladēva and Gōpāladēva.

The date of the Ashrafpur grants of Dēvakhaḍga has been the subject of a great controversy. The late Mr. Ganga Mohan Laskar[3] referred them to the 8th or 9th century A.D. and the late Mr. R. D. Banerji[4] to the 10th century A.D.; on the other hand Mr. N. N. Basu[5] referred the plates to the 7th century A.D.; Dr. N. K. Bhattasali[6] towards the commencement of the 8th century A.D.; Dr. R. G. Basak[7] to the period between the last quarter of the 7th and the middle of the 8th century A.D.; and Dr. R. C. Majumdar[8] to the latter half of the 7th century A.D.

Evidently, the shape of *śa* is the important criterion for determining the age of the Khaḍga inscriptions. The Ashrafpur grant of Dēvakhaḍga shows three different forms of the letter:—

(1) the looped form;
(2) the first transitional form;
(3) the fourth transitional form, which occurs in the majority of cases.

In the Deulbāḍī Śarvvāṇī image inscription of Mahārāṇī Prabhāvatī, queen of Dēvakhaḍga, we find, however, the fourth transitional form in all cases.[9]

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 176.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 165, Note 17; *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1881, p. 98.
[3] *Mem. A.S.B.*, Vol. I, No. 6, p. 86.
[4] *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, p. 207; *Mem. A.S.B.*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 67.
[5] *Bāṅglār Jātīya Itihāsa* (Rājanya-Kāṇḍa), p. 147.
[6] *J.R.A.S.*, March, 1914, A Forgotten Kingdom of East Bengal; *Dacca Review*, January, 1922, p. 139; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 358.
[7] *Sāhitya*, 1321, pp. 468, 469; *Prāchī*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 42; *A History of North-Eastern India*, p. 203.
[8] *J.P.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 375ff.
[9] On the above considerations I feel disinclined to adopt Dr. R. C. Majumdar's view that the letters used in the brass image inscription of Prabhāvatī, queen of Dēvakhaḍga, are decidedly of earlier type than those of the Ashrafpur copperplate of Dēvakhaḍga.

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The Khaḍga inscriptions may, therefore, be assigned to the period when the transitional forms of the palatal *śa* were commonly used. Consequently the Khaḍga kings may be placed after Dēvapāla but before Mahīpāla I, i.e. in the period which saw the decline of the Pāla power on account of the rise of the Gurjjara-Pratihāra power. For under Mahīpāla I the Pāla power extended to Eastern Bengal for the first time, as is evident from the Bāghāurā inscription of the 3rd year of his reign.[1]

The Rāmpāl copperplate of Śrīchandra[2] shows two forms of the palatal *śa*:—

(1) the looped form, which has been used in the majority of cases;
(2) the fifth transitional form.

In the Kēdārpur copperplate[3] of the same king the fifth transitional form has, however, been used in all cases. The inscriptions of the Chandra kings are, therefore, to be assigned to the period when the transitional forms of the palatal *śa* were commonly used. Consequently the Chandras may be placed after the Khaḍgas but before Mahīpāla I.

In the inscriptions of the Varmmas the later form of the palatal *śa* has been used in all cases. It has now been definitely settled that Jātavarman, the founder of the Varmma dynasty of Eastern Bengal, and Vigrahapāla III of the Pāla dynasty were contemporaries. For they were sons-in-law of Karṇa, who evidently was the Chedi king of that name, son of Gāṅgēyadēva. The latest known date of Gāṅgēyadēva is 1037 A.D. and that of his son Karṇa, 1073 A.D. So Jātavarman and Vigrahapāla III must have reigned within this period.[4]

Of Śūrapāladēva we possess two inscriptions which are identical. These have been assigned by Prof. Nilmoni Chakravarti[5] to Śūrapāla II, who was the brother of Mahīpāla II and Rāmapāla, and was the successor of the former and predecessor of the latter. According to the late Mr. R. D. Banerji[6] these, however, belong to Śūrapāla or Vigrahapāla I. Now, in the inscriptions of Śūrapāla the second transitional form has been used in one case while the later form has been used in the majority of cases. Consequently the type specimen of the palatal *śa* during the period in which the inscriptions have been incised is the later form. We may, therefore, identify Śūrapāla of the inscriptions with Śūrapāla II.

The Nālandā and the Bodh-Gayā inscriptions of Gōpāladēva have been assigned to Gōpāla I by Cunningham[7] and to Gōpāla II

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 353.
[2] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 1ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 10ff.
[4] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 17.
[5] *J.P.A.S.B.* (N.S.), Vol. IV, p. 107.
[6] *Mem. A.S.B.*, Vol. V, p. 57.
[7] Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, Vol. I, p. 36, Pl. xiii, 1; *Mahābodhi*, p. 63, Pl. xxviii, fig. 2.

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by Prof. Nilmoni Chakravarti,[1] who compares the character of these two inscriptions with those of the Bodh-Gayā inscription of the 26th year of Dharmapāla and the Bādal pillar inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla. The test letters are *ja* and *sa*. On comparing the characters of the two inscriptions of Gōpāladēva we, however, find that the shape of the letter *ja* is almost identical in both. Consequently we may reject it as not being a test letter for determining the age of the inscriptions. The most useful test letter is, however, the palatal *śa*. In the Nālandā inscription the looped form has been used in one case while the later form has been used in the majority of cases. In the Bodh-Gayā inscription the later form has, however, been used in all cases. Consequently the type specimen of the palatal *śa* during the period in which the two inscriptions have been incised is the later form. It will not, therefore, be unreasonable to identify Gōpāladēva of the inscriptions with Gōpāla III.

In the 7th century, the eastern variety of the epigraphic North-Indian alphabet shows an eastern and a western branch. Among these branches, the second, called the 'acute-angled or *Siddhamātṛkā* alphabet', the beginning of the development of which is found in the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman of 588 A.D., progresses in the direction of the Nāgarī alphabet, a branch of the western variety of the epigraphic North-Indian alphabet. The first or the eastern branch, which is represented by the Faridpur grant of Samāchāradeva, progresses in the direction of the Proto-Bengali alphabet. During the 7th-9th centuries, the eastern branch developed by itself (Figs. II–V, Cols. II–VI). In the 10th century, it came to be influenced by the Nāgarī, which appeared first on the copperplate grant of Vināyaka-Pāla (V.E. 988) and found its way into Bengal during the domination of the Gurjjara-Pratihāra kings. But from the time of Mahīpāla I onwards, the influence of the Nāgarī alphabet gradually declined and we find towards the end of the 10th century the birth of the Proto-Bengali alphabet. In the Irdā grant of the Kāmboja king Nayapāladeva [2] and the Bāngarh grant of Mahīpāla I [3] we come across the Proto-Bengali alphabet for the first time. The latter inscription shows the well-developed Bengali forms of the letters *a*, *u*, *ka*, *kha*, *ga*, *cha*, *dha*, *va* and *ha*. In the case of *ja* we find, however, the complete Bengali form. The Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena,[4] which is assigned to about the end of the 11th or commencement of the 12th century A.D., shows the further progress of the Proto-Bengali alphabet. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji has clearly shown that in about twenty-two letters the development of the Bengali forms is

[1] *J.P.A.S.B.*, (N.S.), Vol. IV, pp. 102–106.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 150.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 324.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 305.

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more or less complete.[1] In the 12th century inscriptions, e.g. the Ānuliā grant of Lakshmaṇasēna,[2] the Calcutta Sāhitya-Parishat grant of Viśvarūpasēna [3] and the Sundarvan grant of the Śaka year 1118 = A.D. 1196,[4] we find further changes, which make the modern Bengali alphabet almost complete.

On account of the dearth of the inscriptional records from after A.D. 1200 onwards we have got to utilize the manuscripts[5] in order to show the final development of the Bengali alphabet. The Proto-Bengali alphabet, as has already been shown, appears first on the Bangarh grant of the 9th year of Mahīpāla I, who seems to have reigned from c. 975–c. 1026 A.D. Since the Proto-Bengali alphabet appears also for the first time in the 10th-11th century manuscripts, it will be interesting to show its gradual development from that period onwards.

We possess two manuscripts of the reign of Mahīpāla I. The earliest of them is the manuscript of the Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā in the University Library at Cambridge, which was copied in the 5th year of his reign. The second, a manuscript of the same work in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, was copied in the 6th year of his reign. Acute-angled characters have, however, been used in these two manuscripts as well as in a manuscript of the reign of Nayapāla, the manuscript of the Pañcharakshā in the University Library at Cambridge. But there are two manuscripts in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal written in Bengali hand, which may be assigned to about the end of the 10th or commencement of the 11th century A.D.:

(1) No. 9995 (unnamed). There are altogether four bundles of leaves in the number. They are all written in Bengali hand. The first bundle consists of two leaves marked 7 and 8. The character is Proto-Bengali of the 10th-11th century A.D. The rest are written in characters of the 12th century A.D.

(2) Laghukāla Chakraṭīkā.[6]

The manuscript of the Kālachakrāvatāra, Śaka 1047 = A.D. 1125, in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the Cambridge manuscripts of the reign of Gōvindapāladēva, who seems to have come to the throne in 1161 A.D., as the Gayā stone inscription of his reign distinctly mentions that his

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[1] *Origin of the Bengali Script*, pp. 81–84.
[2] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 81.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 140.
[4] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, p. 321.
[5] *A Descriptive Catalogue of Buddhist Manuscripts* (Vol. I). By Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstri; *Catalogue of the Buddhist Manuscripts* by Bendall (U.L. Cambridge).
[6] As this manuscript was taken by Prof. G. Tucci on loan from the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal I could not examine it.

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fourteenth regnal year fell in V.S. 1232 = 1174 A.D.,[1] show further development of the Proto-Bengali alphabet. The following are the Cambridge manuscripts of the reign of Gōvindapāladēva:—

(1) Guhyāvalīvivṛti, the 37th year of Gōvindapāla.
(2) Pañchākāra, the 38th year of his reign.
(3) Yōga-ratna-mālā, the 39th year of his reign.

We possess only one dated manuscript record of the 13th century, the manuscript of the Pañcharakshā in the collection of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is dated Śaka 1211 = A.D. 1289. The character is, as has been pointed out by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī, Bengali of the 'Kuṭila type'. There is, however, another manuscript, the manuscript of the Vajrayānē Sādhanāṅgāni, which has been assigned by the same scholar to the 13th century and which is written in Bengali hand. It is to be noticed, however, that the alphabets of these two manuscripts show no change or development.

We do not possess any record of the 14th century. Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen [2] has, however, shown from a reference given in one of Chaṇḍīdāsa's poems that Chaṇḍīdāsa composed 996 poems before A.D. 1403. Regarding the date of Chaṇḍīdāsa's Kṛshṇa Kīrttana it has been also remarked by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji [3] that 'Though the material is paper the script makes it impossible to assign the MS. to any date later than the 14th century A.D.' But on palæographical grounds the Kṛshṇa Kīrttana must be placed in the 15th century along with the Bōdhicharyāvatāra of A.D. 1435, as is shown below.

Two inscriptions have been found on the right door-jamb of the Gaṇeśa Temple in the Begunia group of four temples at Barākar in the district of Burdwan.[4] The earlier of them is dated Wednesday, the eighth of the bright half of the lunar month of Phālguna in the Śaka year 1383 counted by the figures represented by nētra (3), vasu (8), tri (3) and chandra (1). This date corresponds to the 18th February, A.D. 1461, as has been correctly shown by Mr. K. N. Dikshit. The second inscription gives Wednesday, the important day of *mitra saptamī* of the bright half of the lunar month Agrahāyaṇa in the Śaka year 1468 counted by the figures represented by vasu (8), rasa (6), samudra (4) and chandra (1). The equivalent English date works out as the 29th December, 1546 A.D. Now on the style of the characters Chaṇḍīdāsa's Kṛshṇa Kīrttana, in the collection of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya-Parishat, can be assigned to the date of the first inscription, and Raghunandan's Dharmapūjāvidhi, in the

[1] *Mem. A.S.B.*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 108-09.
[2] *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 119.
[3] *Origin of the Bengali Script*, p. 4.
[4] *A.R. Arch. Surv.*, 1922-23, p. 110; *J.R.A.S.B., Letters*, Vol. II, pp. 21ff.

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collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, which has been wrongly assigned by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī to the early nineteenth century, to the date of the second inscription.

During the 17th and 18th centuries A.D. the Bengali alphabet has not changed at all. And in the 19th century the forms of the letters became stereotyped by the introduction of the printing press.

## III. Growth of Bengali.

We shall now describe the changes in the forms of the letters leading up to the modern Bengali writing, as have been illustrated in the accompanying figures (Nos. II–IX).

### (*a*) *Vowels.*

1. In column I the initial *a* consists of two vertical parallel straight lines of unequal length, which are joined by a horizontal straight line. In column II the lower part of the left limb curves to the left, while in column III it curves to the right. In columns IV and V the letter has not changed much. In column VI the letter consists of a vertical straight line with a wedge at the top. A short horizontal straight line to the left stands at right angle to the right vertical at its middle point and supports a comma-shaped curve. In columns VII and VIII the letter has not changed much. In column IX the short vertical straight line joining the comma-shaped curve to the left end of the top line, which has taken the place of the wedge, has become slanting. In columns X and XI the short horizontal straight line joining the comma-shaped curve to the right vertical has become slanting. In column XII we find the modern Bengali form in which the line joining the comma-shaped curve to the top line has been suppressed.

2. In columns I, III and V the initial long *ā* is the initial short *a* with a comma-shaped curve to the right, which is attached to the lower extremity of the right limb. In columns IV, VI, VII, VIII, X and XI the curve has been replaced by a full length vertical straight line, which is placed on the right side of the right limb of the letter and drawn parallel to it. In column XII we find the modern Bengali form in which the straight line to the right, which denotes the length of the vowel, is joined to the main body of the letter by a short slanting straight line.

3. In column I the initial short *i* consists of two vertical dots or small loops on the left of a vertical curved line, which has become a vertical straight line with a wedge at the top in column II. In column III the letter consists of two horizontal dots above a horizontal curve. In columns IV and V we find two forms: (1) two horizontal loops below a wedge, (2) two

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| | I BAIGRAM GRANT OF THE TIME OF KUMARA-GUPTA I. | II FARIDPUR GRANTS OF DHAM-ADITTA. | III TIPPERAH GRANT OF LOKA NĀTHA. | IV KHALIM-PUR GRANT OF DHARMA PĀLA. | V ASWRAFPUR GRANT OF DEVA-KHADGA | VI BADAL PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF NĀRĀYANA PĀLA | VII BANGARH GRANT OF MAHIPĀLA I | VIII ARGACHHI GRANT OF VIGRAHA-PĀLA. | IX DEOPARA INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA-SENA | X ANULIA GRANT OF LAKSHMANA-SENA | XI CALCUTTA SAHITYA-PARISHAT GRANT OF VISVARŪPA-SENA | XII SUNDAR-VAN GRANT, ŚAKA 1118 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ā | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| I | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ī | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| U | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ū | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ṛ | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| E | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ai | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| O | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Au | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Aṁ | | | | | | | | | | | | |

FIGURE II.

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| | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII | VIII | IX | X | XI | XII |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aḥ | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ka | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kha | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ga | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gha | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| N | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ca | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cha | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ja | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Jha | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ña | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ṭa | | | | | | | | | | | | |

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| | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII | VIII | IX | X | XI | XII |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ṭha | 𑖞 | 𑖞 | 𑖞 | 𑖞 | | ০ | ০ | ০ | ৯ | ৯ | ৯ | ৯ |
| Ḍa | 𑖠 | 𑖠 | 𑖠 | 𑖠 | 𑖠 | ৲ | ৲ | ২ | ৩ | ৩ | ৩ | ৩ |
| Ḍha | | | | | | | ২ | ২ | ২ | | | |
| Ṇa | 𑖡 | 𑖡 | 𑖡 | 𑖡 | 𑖡 | ৭ | ৭ | ৭ | ৭ | ৭ | ৭ | ৭ |
| Ṭa | 𑖟 | 𑖟 | 𑖟 | 𑖟 | 𑖟 | 𑖟 | 𑖟 | 𑖟 | ৫ | ৫ | ৫ | ৫ |
| Tha | 𑖢 | 𑖢 | 𑖢 | 𑖢 | 𑖢 | 𑖢 | 𑖢 | 𑖢 | 𑖢 | 𑖢 | 𑖢 | ০ |
| Da | 𑖣 | 𑖣 | 𑖣 | 𑖣 | 𑖣 | 𑖣 | 𑖣 | ৯ | ৯ | ৯ | ৯ | ৯ |
| Dha | 𑖤 | 𑖤 | 𑖤 | 𑖤 | 𑖤 | 𑖤 | 𑖤 | 𑖤 | 𑖤 | 𑖤 | 𑖤 | 𑖤 |
| Na | 𑖥 | 𑖥 | 𑖥 | 𑖥 | 𑖥 | 𑖥 | 𑖥 | 𑖥 | 𑖥 | 𑖥 | 𑖥 | 𑖥 |
| Pa | 𑖦 | 𑖦 | 𑖦 | 𑖦 | 𑖦 | 𑖦 | 𑖦 | ৷ | ৷ | ৷ | ৷ | ৷ |
| Pha | 𑖧 | | | 𑖧 | 𑖧 | 𑖧 | | ৸ | ৸ | ৸ | ৸ | ৸ |
| Ba | 𑖨 | 𑖨 | ৰ | | ৰ | ৰ | ৰ | ৰ | ৰ | ৰ | ৰ | ৰ |

FIGURE IV.

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| | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII | VIII | IX | X | XI | XII |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bha | ব | ব | ক | ক | ক | ক | ক | ক | ক | ক | ক | ক |
| Ma | ম | ম | ম | ম | ম | ম | ম | ম | ম | ম | ম | ম |
| ya | য | ৩৩৩ | য | য | য | য | য | য | য | য | য | য |
| Ra | ৰ্য | ৰ্য | ৰ্য | ৰ্য | ৰ্য | ৰ্য | ৰ্য | ৰ্য | ৰ্য | ৰ্য | ৰ্য | ৰ্য |
| La | ল | ল | ল | ল | ল | ল | ল | ল | ল | ল | ল | ল |
| va | ব | ব | ব | ব | ব | ব | ব | ব | ব | ব | ব | ব |
| śa | শ | শ | শ | শ | শ | শ | শ | শ | শ | শ | শ | শ |
| ṣa | ষ | ষ | ষ | ষ | ষ | ষ | ষ | ষ | ষ | ষ | ষ | ষ |
| sa | স | স | স | স | স | স | স | স | স | স | স | স |
| Ha | হ | হ | হ | হ | হ | হ | হ | হ | হ | হ | হ | হ |
| La | ৢ | | | | | | | | | | | |

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| | I No. 9995. A.S.B FIRST BUNDLE. | II No. 4732. A.S.B. KĀLACHA- KRAVATARA | III GUHYĀVA- LĪVIVṚITI (U.L., CAM.) | IV No. 4837. A.S.B. VAJRAYĀNE SĀDHA- NĀṄGĀNI. | V No. 4078. A.S.B.. PANCHA- RAKSHA. | VI No. 8067. A.S.B., BODHI- CHARYAVA- TĀRA. | VII V S. P., KRISHNA- KIRTTANA. | VIII No. 5438. A.S.B., DHARMA- PŪJĀVIDHI. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | | | | | | | | |
| Ā | | | | | | | | |
| I | | | | | | | | |
| Ī | | | | | | | | |
| J | | | | | | | | |
| Ū | | | | | | | | |
| Ṛ | | | | | | | | |
| Ṝ | | | | | | | | |
| Ḷ | | | | | | | | |
| Ḹ | | | | | | | | |
| E | | | | | | | | |
| Ai | | | | | | | | |
| O | | | | | | | | |

| | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII | VIII |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Au | | | | | | | | |
| Aṁ | | | | | | | | |
| Aḥ | | | | | | | | |
| Ka | | | | | | | | |
| Kha | | | | | | | | |
| Ga | | | | | | | | |
| Gha | | | | | | | | |
| Ṅa | | | | | | | | |
| Ca | | | | | | | | |
| Cha | | | | | | | | |
| Ja | | | | | | | | |
| Jha | | | | | | | | |
| Ña | | | | | | | | |

FIGURES VI AND VII.

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| | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII | VIII |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ṭa | | | | | | | | |
| Ṭha | | | | | | | | |
| Ḍa | | | | | | | | |
| Ḍha | | | | | | | | |
| Ṇa | | | | | | | | |
| Ta | | | | | | | | |
| Tha | | | | | | | | |
| Da | | | | | | | | |
| Dha | | | | | | | | |
| Na | | | | | | | | |
| Pa | | | | | | | | |
| Pha | | | | | | | | |
| Ba | | | | | | | | |

FIGURE VIII.

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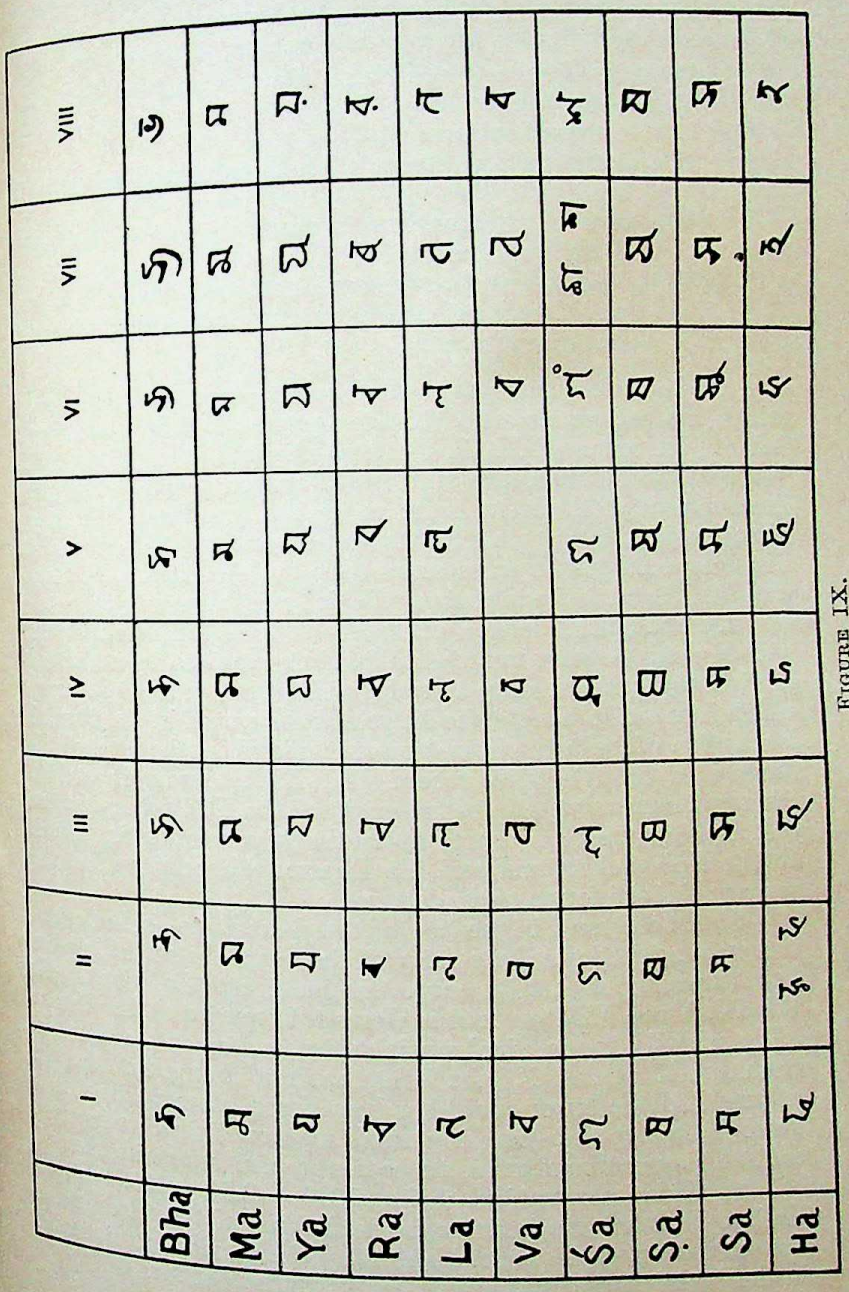



FIGURE IX.

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horizontal loops above a slight vertical curve. In column VI the first form of columns IV and V occurs. In columns VII and VIII the wedge slightly protrudes downwards. In column IX we find the following changes in the form of the letter:—

(1) the wedge has given place to a straight top line;
(2) the two loops have become joined together and ellipsoid in form;
(3) a short vertical straight line joins them to the top line;
(4) a vertical straight line is drawn from the right end of the top line;
(5) the right loop has become detached to the bottom, and the slight horizontal curve below the two loops has disappeared.

In the Madanapāḍā grant of Viśvarūpasēna [1] the right loop, which has become detached to the bottom, has been produced below. In column XII the vertical straight line to the right has been transformed into an upward curved stroke. Thus the development of the letter is more or less complete. The only change needed is the gradual diminution of the left loop until it disappears altogether or becomes a dot. The Kṛshṇa Kīrttana and the Dharmapūjāvidhi show the fully developed form.

4. The initial long *ī* is rarely found. In the Nālandā seal of king Śarvavarman Maukhari it consists of a vertical straight line and two dots on either side of it. The slight curve, which is taken to denote the length of the vowel in the Sārnāth inscription of Mahīpāla I, is, however, found in the form of the short *i* in the Deopārā record (iti, L.I.). Again in a 15th century manuscript, the manuscript of the Bōdhicharyāvatāra of A.D. 1435, the long *ī* as well as the short *i* are not distinguished. In the Kṛshṇa Kīrttana and the Dharmapūjāvidhi we find the modern Bengali forms of the letters.

5. In column I in the case of the short *u* the old horizontal line at the right lower extremity of the vertical straight line has been transformed into a curve to the right. In columns II, III, IV, V and VI the curve is elongated upwards. In columns VII and VIII the vertical straight line curves to the left. In columns IX, X and XI the letter has not changed much. In column XII the lower curve has been forced downwards with a bend to the left and there is a small loop or a curve at its right end. This peculiar form is to be found also in the manuscript of the Kālachakrāvatāra, Śaka 1047 = A.D. 1125. In the Kṛshṇa Kīrttana we find the modern form of the letter minus the curved upward stroke. The fully developed form is found in the Bōdhicharyāvatāra and the Dharmapūjāvidhi.

[1] *J.A.S.B.*, 1896, Pt. I, pp. 6–15, Pl. I-II.

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6. The initial long *ū* is of very rare occurrence. It occurs in the Naihāṭī grant of Vallālasēna [1] and the Madanapāḍā grant of Viśvarūpasēna, where the length of the vowel is denoted by the addition of a second curve to the bottom of the short *u*. The only change needed is the addition of a curve above the top line. The letter in the final form occurs in the Dharmapūjāvidhi.

7. The initial *ṚR* is of very rare occurrence. It occurs in the Kamauli grant,[2] where it consists of a triangular *va*, with a wedge at the top and a vertical straight line to the right, which is joined to the main body of the letter by a slanting straight line. The subsequent changes in the final development of the letter are the following: (1) the wedge gives place to a straight top line, (2) the triangle in the left limb opens at the top and a curve is added to the top of the open side, (3) the right limb decreases in length and is produced upwards. The modern form is found in the Dharmapūjāvidhi.

8. In columns I and II the initial *ē* consists of a triangle with its apex a little projecting. In columns III and IV the triangle is turned upside down. In column V the letter has not changed much. In column VI we find two forms of the letter. The first form shows a triangle. In the second form the slightly curved left vertical has snapped leaving a curve at the top of the right vertical and part of it at the lower end. In column IX the letter-form is more advanced than the second form of column VI. In column XI we find the modern Bengali form, in which the elongated base line, which slants upwards, has been transformed into a horizontal curved line, and the curve at the top slightly slants downwards.

9. The initial *ai* is found in the manuscripts of the Kālachakrāvatāra and the Guhyāvalīvivṛti, where a curved stroke is added to the top of the initial *ē*. The fully developed form occurs in the Dharmapūjāvidhi.

10. The initial *ō* is rarely found in the inscriptions. It occurs in the Naihāṭī grant of Vallālasēna, where we find the Bengali form. The fully developed form is found in the Guhyāvalīvivṛti, the Kṛshṇa Kīrttana and the Dharmapūjāvidhi.

11. The initial *au* is of rare occurrence. It occurs in the Gōvindapur copperplate of Lakshmaṇasēna,[3] where we find the Bengali form. In column XI as well as in the manuscript of the Guhyāvalīvivṛti the length of the vowel is denoted by adding the curve to the vertical straight line, which stands on the right side of the main body of letter. The Dharmapūjāvidhi shows the final form.

12. The *anusvāra* is a dot or a small circle above the top line of an *akshara*. In the Khālimpur grant of Dharmapāla,

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 156–163.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 347.
[3] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 92–98.

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the Mungīr grant of Dēvapāla and the Āmgāchhi grant of Vigrahapāla III we find, besides the old form, the modern Bengali one. In column XII we find the use of the later or modern form. In the Guhyāvalīvivṛti and the Dharmapūjāvidhi the old form with a dot or small circle above the top line is still to be found.

13. The *Visarga* consists of two vertical dots or small circles to the right of an *akshara*. It shows the old form even in modern Bengali. In column IX the upper circle is joined with a slightly elongated wedge above. In the Dācca image inscription of Lakshmaṇasēna [1] and in columns XI and XII *aḥ* has the form of 8 (eight). This form is found also in the Guhyāvalīvivṛti, the Bōdhicharyāvatāra and the Dharmapūjāvidhi.

(*b*) *Consonants.*

1. In columns I and II *ka* has the dagger-shaped form, consisting of a vertical straight line and a hoirzontal curved line. In column III it has a loop or a curve to the left. In column IV the right end of the horizontal curved line has been forced downwards with a slight bend to the left. In columns V and VI the letter has not changed its form. In columns VII and VIII the loop has become a semi-circle. In columns IX, X, XI and XII the semi-circular curve, which projects out on the right, is turned downwards with a bend to the right. The only change needed is the angular back. The Bōdhicharyāvatāra and the Dharmapūjāvidhi show the fully developed form.

2. In column I *kha* consists of a triangle with an elongated curve to the left touching the apex. In columns II and III the left limb has changed into an open square and the right limb into a straight line and a curve. In columns IV and V the open square has given place to a curve with a thin wedge or a short straight line at its end. In column VI the wedge has changed into a curve, which is much smaller than the upper one. In columns VII and VIII the left limb, now consisting of the curve at the top and the transformed sides of the triangle, joins the vertical straight line to the right at its lower end as well as at the top. In columns IX, X and XI the top of the letter is open. In column XII the formation of an acute angle at the bottom has given the letter its modern form.

3. In column I *ga* has a round top. In columns II and III the top of the letter is an open square. In columns IV and V the open square has changed into a curve with a wedge at the lower extremity of its left limb. In column VI the wedge has changed into a curve and there is a tendency of projecting the vertical straight line upwards beyond the point of its junction with the curve. In column VII the upper curve of *ga* has given

[1] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, pp. 116-117.

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place to a straight line from the left end of which hangs a curved line ending in a curve and from the right end of which hangs a straight line at right angle to it. In column VIII we find a wedge at the top. In columns IX, X and XI the wedge has disappeared giving place to a straight top line but the right angle is still to be seen. In column XII we find the modern Bengali form which shows the elimination of the right angle at the top as well as the upward elongation of the vertical line.

4. In column I the base line of *gha* slightly slants downwards to the left as well as to the right. In column II it has become a curve on the left side and a slanting line to the right, forming an acute angle with the right vertical. In columns III and V the right base line shows the tendency to become a curve. In column IV the open top of the letter is closed. In column VI the acute angle at the bottom has disappeared. In columns VII and VIII the left curve has changed into a loop and is joined with the left end of the wedge at the top and the left lower end of the right vertical by two slight curves. In columns IX and X the wedge has given place to a straight top line and the curve above the loop is to the right. In column XI the curve is to the left. The modern Bengali form is to be found in the Bōdhicharyāvatāra and the Dharmapūjāvidhi.

5. The initial *ña* does not occur in the inscriptions. It is found only in ligatures. In columns I, II and III *ña* consists of a vertical line and two horizontal lines at its right upper and lower extremities. In columns IV and VI the upper horizontal line has changed into a wedge and the vertical line into a curve. In columns VII and VIII the back of the letter is, however, angular. In column IX we have the cursive back and a small square attached to the right end of the top line. In column X the square is, however, dropped. In column XI the angular back reappears. In column XII we find the transitional form which consists of a cursive back and a loop attached to the right end of the top line. The changes needed for the final development of the letter are the formation of a terminal curve, which is to be elongated upwards, and the transposition of the loop from the right end of the top line to the right end of the upper curve. The fully developed form of the letter is found in the Dharmapūjāvidhi.

6. In columns I and II *cha* consists of two vertical curves to the right, which are joined at their ends. In columns III, IV, V and VI the letter-form is a triangle. In columns VII and VIII the upper curve has become a horizontal straight line. In column IX *cha* has the Nāgarī form. The hollow triangle at the lower extremity is still to the left. In columns X and XI the letter has not changed much, save that we find the cursive back. In column XII we find the first transitional form in which the vertical line has become very much cursive. In the Bōdhicharyāvatāra the letter-form has not changed much. In

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the Kṛshṇa Kīrttana the left limb (the former cursive back) is slightly curved and tends to become straightened. In the Dharmapūjāvidhi we find the modern form of the letter.

7. The letter *chha* is often found in ligatures. It consists of two unequal curves on either side of the lower extremity of the vertical line. In some cases the vertical line is elongated downwards. In columns X and XI we find that the curves are detached to the bottom. The modern Bengali form is to be found in the Bōdhicharyāvatāra and the Dharmapūjāvidhi.

8. In columns I, II and III *ja* consists of a vertical line and three horizontal lines to the right, which are attached to its upper, lower and middle points. In column IV the upper horizontal line is converted into a wedge. The lower part of the vertical line and the lower horizontal line are perceptibly curved, and the central horizontal line is curved to the same extent as the base or the lower line. In column V the upper horizontal line is still to be seen. In column VI it has, again, become a wedge. In column VII the lower curved line is produced upwards and the central horizontal line, which has been slantingly forced downwards, slightly curves to the left at its lower end. This form resembles the modern Bengali one. In column VIII the upper part of the vertical line does not yet curve to the left and the wedge at the top still survives. In column IX the wedge gives place to a straight top line. In column X we find, again, a hollow wedge at the top of the letter. In column XI the straight top line reappears. In column XII the upper part of the vertical line curves to the left. The changes needed for the final development of the letter are the following:—

(1) the formation of a well-developed terminal curve;
(2) the upward elongation of the terminal curve;
(3) the transformation of the upper part of the right limb (the old central horizontal line) into a slightly slanting horizontal curve and the lower part into a slight vertical curve.

The fully developed form occurs in the Kṛshṇa Kirttana and the Dharmapūjāvidhi.

9. The initial *jha* is of rare occurrence. In column III it consists of a vertical straight line from the middle point of which a short horizontal line, which sharply slants downwards, is drawn. A vertical straight line is drawn upwards from the lower end of the latter. In column X we find a hollow wedge at the top and a triangle at the left lower extremity of the left vertical. In columns XI and XII the letter is more or less complete. The modern form is to be found in the Dharmapūjāvidhi.

10. The letter *ña* is often found in ligatures. In columns I, II, III and V we have the cursive form. In the other columns the modern Bengali form occurs.

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11. In columns I, II and III *ṭa* is a vertical curve to the left. In column IV the letter consists of a top line, a vertical line attached to its right extremity and a curve attached to its left extremity by means of another curve. In column V *ṭa* does not differ much from the form in column III. It is a horizontal curve open below and the right end of the curve has a slanting downward stroke. In column VI the form is similar to that found in column IV, save for the suppression of the vertical straight line attached to the right end of the top line. In column VII its residue is still to be seen and the upper curve has become a straight line. In column VIII the vertical straight line to the right has entirely disappeared and the letter has a wedge at the top. In column IX the right vertical line reappears, but the top line and the straight left limb have combined to form a curve. In columns X and XI the letter has not changed. In column XII the right vertical line has been transformed into a hook stroke above. The modern form is found in the Bŏdhicharyāvatāra and the Dharmapūjāvidhi.

12. The letter *ṭha* is often found in ligatures. In column VI the letter occurs in its initial form and consists of a plain circle. In columns VII and VIII *ṭha* occurs in its initial form and shows a wedge at the top. In column XII the form approaches the modern Bengali one. In the Kṛshṇa Kīrttana and the Dharmapūjāvidhi we find the modern Bengali form of the letter.

13. In columns I, II and III *ḍa* consists of two small vertical curves to the right. In columns IV and V we find the angular back. In column VI the angular form is found to have given its place to the archaic cursive one. In columns VII and VIII the lower limb sharply curves to the right. In column IX the lower part of the upper limb sharply curves to the left. In column X the curve at the end has developed. In column XI the vertical line joining the upper curve to the top line has become slanting. In column XII the upper limb as a whole curves to the left. The changes needed are the transformation of the upper curve into a vertical straight line and the upward elongation of the terminal curve. The Bŏdhicharyāvatāra, the Kṛshṇa Kīrttana and the Dharmapūjāvidhi show the modern Bengali form of the letter.

14. The letter *ḍha* occurs in columns VII, VIII and IX. It consists of a scroll with a wedge at the top. The only change needed is the straightening of the curve to the left. In the Bŏdhicharyāvatāra and the Dharmapūjāvidhi we find the fully developed form.

15. In column I we find a loop at the left lower extremity of *ṇa*. In column II the loop has been dropped and the two hooks have been lengthened downwards. In column III the base line has become slanting, forming an acute angle at the right lower extremity. In columns IV and V the two hooks or curves have been further lengthened downwards. In

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column VI the base line is still intact, but the right curve has been transformed into a vertical straight line slightly curving towards the lower end. In columns VII and VIII the base line has disappeared. The left curve is joined to the left end of the right vertical straight line by a small curve. In columns IX, X and XI the semi-circular curve to the left has decreased in length. In column XII the vertical line is projected slightly beyond the point of its junction with the left limb and the letter resembles the modern Bengali *la* minus the top line. The Kṛshṇa Kīrttana shows the modern form of the letter in which we find the fusion of the two curves into a single whole. In the Bōdhicharyāvatāra and the Dharmapūjāvidhi we find, however, the modern Bengali *la* minus the top line.

16. In columns I and II the right limb of *ta* has been lengthened downwards. In column III the letter has a round top. In columns IV and V the right limb becomes slightly curved at its lower extremity. In column VI we find two forms of the letter: (1) the form of column IV, (2) the form in which the right limb has become a straight line. In columns VII and VIII the left limb has changed into a long slight curve attached to the vertical straight line to the right. In column IX we find the following changes in the form of the letter:—

(1) the upper part of the vertical line curves to the left and the lower part to the right;
(2) the long slight curve to the left, having become shortened, has the form of a knob.

In column X the curve at the lower extremity of the letter has developed. In columns XI and XII the line joining the curve to the top line has become perfectly vertical. The changes needed are the upward elongation of the terminal curve and the suppression of the vertical line. The final development of the letter is clearly shown in the Dharmapūjāvidhi.

17. In column I *tha* is an ellipse, the upper part of which is broadened. A horizontal straight line divides it. In column II the ellipse is pointed below. In column III *tha* consists of a loop and a curve with an acute angle at the bottom formed by a side of the curve and the right vertical straight line. In column IV the letter has not changed much. In column V we find two forms of the letter:—

(1) the first form in which the horizontal straight line has been suppressed, but the curve has not opened out at the top as yet;
(2) the second form in which the curve has become open.

In columns VI, VII and VIII the horizontal straight line is still to be seen and the upper curve has not become open as yet. In column IX we find two forms: (1) the second form of column V, (2) the form of column VI. In column X the upper

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curve has become open but the horizontal straight line has not been suppressed. In column XI we find the second form of column IX. The only change needed is the formation of an acute angle at the bottom. In column XII we find, however, the old form consisting of a circle with a dot above the centre. The fully developed form is found in the Bōdhicharyāvatāra and the Dharmapūjāvidhi.

18. In columns I and II we find a curve at the middle of the letter *da*. In columns III, IV and V the curve has been changed into a sharp acute angle and the slight curve at the bottom lengthened downwards. In columns VI, VII and VIII the form of the letter has not changed much. In column IX *da* shows a curve at the back and is transitional in form. In columns X and XI it has not changed. In the Dacca image inscription of Lakshmaṇasēna (*Dāmōdra*, B-L. 1) as well as in column XII we find the completely developed Bengali form.

19. In column I *dha* is elliptical in form. In column II it is pointed below. In column III *dha* shows a broadening of the upper part and a sharpening of the acute angle formed by a side of the curve and the right vertical straight line. In columns IV, V and VI it shows a slanting downward stroke at its lower extremity and there is a perceptible narrowing of its upper part. In columns VII and VIII *dha* shows the prolongation of the vertical straight line and its lower part has been distinctly broadened. In column IX the letter has not changed. In columns X and XI a slanting straight line has been added to the top. In column XII *dha* does not show the horn which characterizes the modern Bengali form. The only change needed is the formation of an acute angle at the bottom and the addition of a comma-shaped curve to the top. The Dharmapūjāvidhi shows the fully developed form.

20. In column I we find a loop to the left of the letter *na*. In column II the loop has changed into a triangle. In columns III, IV and V the loop has become smaller in size and the slanting right base line has been forced downwards with a slight bend at its lower end to the left. In column VI the vertical line and the right base line tend to become a vertical straight line. In columns VII and VIII the loop has become separated from the main body of the letter and attached to the right vertical straight line by a short horizontal straight line. In column IX the short line joining the loop to the vertical line is still horizontal. In column X it has become slanting. In column XI we find the form of column IX. In column XII the modern form is to be found.

21. In column I we find the cursive form of the letter *pa*. In column II the form of the letter is an open square. In column III the base line slants downwards to the left forming an acute angle with the right vertical straight line. In columns IV and V the acute angle has given place to a downward elongation

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of the right vertical line. The letter consists of a wedge at the top, a vertical straight line attached to its right end, and a curve attached to its left end and the lower part of the vertical line. In columns VI and VII the upper part of the left limb shows a short inward curve. In column VIII the upper part of *pa* has narrowed. In column IX the acute angle at the bottom has entirely disappeared, the upper part of the letter has gained in breadth and the inward curve in the outwardly curving left limb is much pronounced. In columns X and XI the letter does not change. In the Dacca image inscription of Lakshmaṇasēna as well as in column XII the development of the letter is more or less complete. The Bōdhicharyāvatāra and the Dharmapūjāvidhi show the fully developed form.

22. In column I *pha* is the letter *pa* with an inward loop at the upper end of its right limb. In columns IV and V a small outward loop or a curve is attached to the upper part of the right vertical line. In columns VI and VII the letter has not changed. In column IX the inward curve in the outwardly curving left limb is much pronounced and the letter has acquired the modern Bengali form. In columns X and XI the transitional cursive form is used. In column XII the form of the letter is more or less complete. The Dharmapūjāvidhi shows the fully developed form.

23. In columns I and II *ba* consists of a square. In column III it is triangular in form. From this point onward we shall have to discard *ba* from the alphabet as its form is the same as that of *va*.

24. The left hook of *bha* in columns I and II has changed into a hollow wedge in column III, separating the right limb of the letter from the upper part. In columns IV and V the lower angle has been sharpened and the right limb has a slanting downward stroke with a bend to the left. In columns VI, VII and VIII *bha* has not changed much. In column IX the letter consists of a top line, a right vertical straight limb, and a long narrow wedge which is joined to the left side of the vertical line. The solid wedge has been formed by the closing in of the sides supporting the obtuse and acute angles in the older form. The lower extremity of the letter now curves to the right and not to the left. Thus in *bha* we find the almost completely developed form. The only change in the later periods is the curvature of the solid wedge and an upward elongation of the lower extremity. In column X the hollow wedge reappears. In column XI the line joining the solid wedge has become slanting and the curve at the lower extremity of the letter has developed. In column XII the hollow wedge is still to be seen. In the Dharmapūjāvidhi we find the fully developed form.

25. In column I we find the straight-sided *ma*, with a small solid knob attached to the left of the letter. In column II the base line sharply slants downwards to the right. In column III

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there is no change, save the decrease in the size of the acute angle. In columns IV and V the letter-form has not changed much. In column VI we find the following changes in the form of the letter:—

(1) the base line has become almost horizontal;
(2) the acute angle has been entirely suppressed;
(3) there is a loop at the left end of the base line.

In columns VII and VIII the letter has not changed much. In columns IX, X and XI the vertical line joining the loop to the left end of the top line curves to the left and the horizontal line joining the loop to the lower extremity of the right vertical straight line has become slanting. The development of the letter is complete in column XII, where the acute angle at the bottom has become sharp.

26. In columns I and II we find the tripartite form of *ya*. In column III the bipartite form has been used in all cases. In columns IV and V we find a wedge at the top of the letter. The right limb has been elongated downwards beyond the point of the junction with the curve. In column VI there is a shortage in the breadth of the letter. In columns VII and VIII we find the formation of the angle in the left limb and the curve in the upper part of the left limb has a short inward curve. In columns IX, X and XI the inward curve in the outwardly curving upper left limb is much pronounced. In column XII the acute angle at the bottom has appeared, but the angle in the left limb has changed into a curve. In the Dharmapūjāvidhi we find the fully developed form with a dot below.

27. In columns I, II and III *ra* consists of a vertical straight line with a short horizontal straight line or a wedge at the top. In columns IV, V and VI we find a pointed wedge or arrow-head at the left lower extremity of the vertical line. In column VII *ra* shows a widening of the wedge. In column VIII the wedge-shaped form of the letter continues without change. In column IX we find a solid wedge at the lower extremity of the letter. The modern triangular form minus dot is used in columns X and XI. In column XII the dot is found for the first time. The only change needed is the formation of an acute angle at the bottom. In the Kṛshṇa Kīrttana a slanting cross-bar in the interior of *va* denotes *ra* as in modern Assamese. The Dharmapūjāvidhi shows the fully developed form.

28. In column I the left limb of *la* is turned sharply downwards. In column II the left limb has acquired an inward length. In column III the hook or curve in the left limb is joined to the left extremity of the right limb by a slanting line. In columns IV, V and VI the curve in the left limb is joined to the middle of the right limb by a horizontal line. In columns VII and VIII the long curve in the left limb is joined to the right limb by a small curve. In column IX we find the *ta*-shaped

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form of *la*. In column X *la* is almost complete. There is, however, a hollow wedge at the top. In column XI the wedge at the top has been suppressed. Column XII shows the modern Bengali form of the letter in which the well-formed curves are attached to the upper part of the right vertical straight line. In the Kṛshṇa Kīrttana and the Dharmapūjāvidhi we find the *ta*-shaped form of *la*. It differs from the form of *ṇa* in the Kṛshṇa Kīrttana in that it has a top line.

29. In columns I and II *va* is triangular in form. In column III two sides of the triangle are converted into a curve. In columns IV and V the third side is lengthened downwards. In column VI the acute angle at the bottom has entirely disappeared and the letter consists of a wedge at the top, a vertical straight line at right angle to the above, and a semi-circle attached to the left side of the vertical. In columns VII and VIII *va* shows no difference except the presence of the acute angle. In columns IX, X, XI and XII the back of the letter is still cursive and not angular. The only change needed is the formation of a triangle with an acute angle at the bottom. The Bōdhicharyāvatāra and the Dharmapūjāvidhi show the fully developed form.

30. In columns I and II we find the palatal *śa* with a round top, while in column III with a straight-lined top. In column IV we find the looped form of the letter. In column V three distinct forms of the letter are found:—

(1) the looped form of column IV ;
(2) the transitional form in which the loop has not yet opened at the bottom ;
(3) the transitional form in which the loop has opened at the bottom and the cross-bar lingers.

In column VI we find also three forms of the letter:—

(1) the looped form ;
(2) the transitional form in which the loop has opened at the bottom and the cross-bar lingers ;
(3) the later form with two semi-circles at the top.

In column VII the later form has been used. In column VIII we come across, besides the form of column VII, the Nāgari form of the letter. In columns IX, X, XI and XII the letter shows no change or development. In later years the separate curve attached to the lower end of the left limb gradually evolved into two small circles of the modern Bengali as we find in the Kṛshṇa Kīrttana and the Dharmapūjāvidhi.

31. In column I the base stroke of *sha* is attached as a closed curve to the left of the horizontal central bar. In column II the central bar has become sharply slanting. In column III we find the western variety form of the letter, which consists of the slanting base line and the slightly curved horizontal

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central bar. In columns IV and V the left lower limb of the letter curves to the left, the central bar has become slanting, the vertical straight line has been elongated downwards, and there is a wedge at the top. In column VI the letter has not changed much. In columns VII and VIII we find the formation of an angle in the left limb and a decrease in the breadth of the upper part of the letter. The upper part of the left limb shows a short inward curve. In column IX this inward curve in the outwardly curving upper left limb is much pronounced. The breadth of the letter is the same in the upper and lower parts. The wedge has given place to a straight top line. In columns X, XI and XII the form of the letter shows no development. The only change needed is the formation of an acute angle at the bottom. The Bōdhicharyāvatāra and the Dharmapūjāvidhi show the final form.

32. In column I we find the looped form of *sa*. In column II the loop has changed into a hollow wedge and the horizontal base line has become slanting. In column III the apex of the wedge has slightly separated. In column IV we find two forms of the letter:—

(1) the form in which the apex of the wedge has not separated;
(2) the form in which it has opened out.

The right vertical straight line has been elongated downwards. In columns VI, VII and VIII the letter has not changed. In columns IX and XI the final development of the form of *sa* is to be found. The closing in of the sides has caused the formation of a solid wedge and the line joining the wedge to the left end of the top line curves to the left and the curve in the upper part of the left limb shows a short inward curve. In columns X and XII the wedge in the left limb of the letter is still hollow and open. The Bōdhicharyāvatāra, the Kṛshṇa Kīrttana and the Dharmapūjāvidhi show the fully developed form.

33. In column I the base stroke of *ha* is completely suppressed. In column II it is slightly revived. But the hook attached to the right lower extremity of the vertical line is turned sharply to the left. There is, however, a second form in which the base stroke has been perceptibly revived. In column III the base line has become slanting and the curve or hook in the right limb of the letter has a downward stroke. In column IV the upper angle has been changed into a curve and the lower angle replaced by a short downward stroke. So the letter consists of a wedge at the top, a curve below and two short downward strokes. In column V the lower angle has not yet developed into a second downward stroke. In column VI *ha* shows the later form in which the downward stroke which has taken the place of the lower acute angle becomes transformed

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into a curve. In columns VII and VIII the letter has not changed. In column IX we find the transitional form of the letter. The later changes are the formation of a knob instead of the curve to the left in the upper part of the letter, and the addition of a downward stroke to the bottom. The forms of the letter in columns X and XI do not differ much from those in columns VII and VIII. In column XII the letter-form is still transitional. In the Kṛshṇa Kīrttana the development of the letter is more or less complete. The Dharmapūjāvidhi shows the fully developed form.

## Appendix A.

### *The Numerals of the Brāhmī* [1] *; Figure X.*

The numeral signs in column I are drawn [2] from Nos. 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 19, 23–26, 38, 59, 62, 63, 65, 70, 71 at Fleet's Gupta inscriptions, the Dāmōdarpur copperplate inscriptions (EI. XV), the Baigrām copperplate inscription (EI. XXI), the Pāhārpur copperplate inscription (EI. XX), the Gunaighar grant of Vainyagupta (IHQ., 1930) and the Amauna grant of the Mahārāja Nandana (EI. X). In the Bhumarā pillar inscription of the Mahārājas Hastin and Śarvanātha (F.G.I., No. 24) and the Kōh plates of the Mahārāja Samkshōbha (F.G.I., No. 25) the numeral sign which has been read as 9 is to be read as 8.[3] The unit figure which is a vertical line with a slight bend, and a seriph or small horizontal line at the top end, must be taken as the sign for 8, while the sign for 9 has a loop at the top. In the Pāhārpur copperplate grant of the (Gupta) year 159 the symbol for 9 resembles the *au* vowel. This symbol for 9 is found also in the Nandapur copperplate grant of the (Gupta) year 169.[4] In one of the three copperplate grants from East Bengal (IA., XXXIX), that of Gōpachandra, the date is to be read as 18 instead of 19.

The numeral signs in column II are drawn [5] from the Khālimpur plate of Dharmapāla (J.A.S.B., 1894, Pt. I), the Mungīr plate of Dēvapāla (EI., XVIII), the Nālandā plate of Dēvapāla (EI. XVII), the Hilsā inscription of Dēvapāla (Eastern Indian School of Mediæval Sculpture, Pl. II, *b*), the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla (Mem. A.S.B., Vol. V), the Sārnāth inscription of Mahīpāla I (A.R. Arch. Surv., 1903-04), the

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[1] Compare Bühler's Indian Palæography, pp. 77ff.

[2] Of the signs for 5 the last is drawn from the grant of Dharmāditya of the year 3, the third sign for 8 and the last sign for 10 from the grant of Gōpachandra of the year 18.

[3] Fleet also suggested 7 or 8 as the only other possibilities.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 52.

[5] Of the signs for 5 the last two are drawn from the Bēlāva copper-plate of Bhōjavarman (Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, No. III) and the Dighwā Dubauli grant of Mahēndrapāla respectively, and the sign for 50 from the last-mentioned grant.

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| | I GUPTA | II PALA | III SENA |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | | |
| 2 | | | |
| 3 | | | |
| 4 | | | |
| 5 | | | |
| 6 | | | |
| 7 | | | |
| 8 | | | |
| 9 | | | |
| 10 | | 0 | 0 |
| 20 | | | |
| 30 | | | |
| 50 | | | |
| 60 | | | |
| 70 | | | |
| 80 | | | |
| 90 | | | |
| 100 | | | |
| 200 | | | |

FIGURE X.

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Nālandā inscription of Mahīpāla I (J.P.A.S.B., N.S., 1908), the Indian Museum image inscription of Vigrahapāla III (Mem. A.S.B., Vol. V), the Bihar inscription of Rāmapāla (J.P.A.S.B., N.S., 1908), and the Chaṇḍimau image inscription of Rāmapāla (Mem. A.S.B., Vol. V). In the Hilsā inscription of Dēvapāla the date which has been read as 35 is to be read as 25. The symbol for 3 is the symbol for 2 (the *ō* vowel) plus a hook or wedge at the end of the second or lower curve. In the same way the date of the inscriptions of Sūrapāla must be read as 3 instead of 2 and that of the Indian Museum inscription of Vigrahapāla III as 12 instead of 13. In the Bihar inscription of Rāmapāla, the date which has been read as Samvat 2 Vaiśākhadinē 28 is to be read as Samvat 3 Vaiśākhadinē 28. The two numeral signs for 2 are not of the same appearance. Therefore, they represent different values.

The numeral signs in column III are drawn from Nos. VII, VIII, IX, XII, XV at Majumdar's inscriptions of Bengal, the Barrackpur copperplate of Vijayasēna (EI. XV), the Tarpaṇadīghi copperplate of Lakshmaṇasēna (EI. XII), the Śaktipur copperplate of Laḳshmaṇasēna (EI. XXI), the Edilpur copperplate of Kēśavasēna (J.A.S.B., Vol. VII), the Madanapāḍā copperplate of Viśvarūpasēna (J.A.S.B., 1896, Pt. I), and a dated copperplate grant from Sundarban (I.H.Q., 1934).

In column I letter numerals have been used exclusively. In this system, the first three numerals are expressed by one, two and three 'horizontal strokes or cursive combinations of such', the rest (4 to 9, 10 to 90, 100, and 200) by separate signs (usually by a Mātṛkā or a ligature). The intermediate numbers are expressed by groups of fundamental signs, the symbols for the smaller numbers being placed to the right of those for the higher ones. Thus, for 19 we have 10 9; for 128, 100 20 8. There is no use of the zero. In columns II and III, in which the numeral signs for 1 to 9 are transformations from those in column I, the decimal system of notation is used with a zero and position value. But the old system is also found in use. Thus, for 955 we have 900 50 5 in the Dighwā Dubauli Grant of Mahēndrapāla.

The origin of the Indian system of notation has, however, been, like the alphabet, the subject of numerous theories. Owing to a peculiar use of the Mātṛkās and certain ligatures for numeral notation Bhagavanlal Indraji[1] conjectured that the numeral signs of the Brāhmī are of Indian origin. Bühler agreed with him. Burnell,[2] who, however, differed, held that the 'cave-numerals', with the exception of rare cases, do not bear any resemblance to letters. He further pointed out the general

[1] *IA.*, Vol. VI, pp. 42ff.; *J.Bo.Br.R.A.S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 225ff.
[2] South Indian Palæography, pp. 59ff.

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similarity of the Indian system to the Egyptian demotic and from the striking resemblance of the Egyptian demotic signs for 1 to 9 to the corresponding 'cave-numerals', he inferred that the 'cave-numerals' were derived from Egypt, but developed in India. Bayley [1] tried to show that, though the Indian system has been derived from the Egyptian hieroglyphic, a great proportion of the numeral symbols have been derived from the Phœnician, Bactrian, and Akkadian figures or letters, while the remaining few cannot be harmonized. Bühler was disinclined to accept a number of sources, partly very ancient and partly more modern, for the Indian system of notation. But Bayley's comparative table of Egyptian and Indian signs and his remarks about the agreement of their methods in marking the hundreds induced Bühler to reject Bhagvanlal's view, and to adopt, with certain modifications, Burnell's view. According to him, the Indian numeral symbols were derived from the Egyptian hieratic figures, but transformed into *aksharas* in harmony with the indigenous system of expressing numerals by words.

The problem of the origin of the Indian system of notation is, however, far from being solved. The discoveries at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa induce us to believe that the Indian numeral symbols, like the alphabet, were not derived from abroad. Their use is probably to be followed back to the Indus valley seals.

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[1] *J.R.A.S.*, N.S., Vol. XIV, 335ff.; Vol. XV, pp. 1ff.

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Article No. 15.

# Bhārata-Battle Traditions.

By P. C. Sengupta.

(*Communicated by Prof. M. N. Saha.*)

There are three traditions as to the date of Bhārata battle, viz., (1) the Āryabhaṭa tradition that it was fought in 3102-3101 B.C., (2) the Vṛddha Garga tradition that the Yudhiṣṭhira era began from 2449 B.C., and (3) the *Purāṇic* tradition or traditions which variously state that the time-interval between the birth of Parīkṣit to the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda, was either 1,015, 1,050, 1,115 or even 1,500 years.

In a paper named 'Some Astronomical References from the Mahābhārata and their Significance' published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, Vol. III, 1937, it has been shown that these astronomical references justify the conclusion that the very first year of King Yudhiṣṭhira's era, was the date of the Bhārata battle or that the great fight took place in 2449 B.C. itself. In the present paper we propose critically to examine the other two traditions.

## 1. The Āryabhaṭa Tradition.

Āryabhaṭa I (499 A.D.) in his *Daśagītikā*[1] has said that 'of the present *Kalpa* or *Æon*, six *Manus*, 27 *Mahāyugas* and three quarter *yugas* were elapsed before the Bhārata Thursday'. The three quarter *yugas* were *Kṛta*, *Treta* and *Dvāpara* which elapsed before some Thursday in the time of Pāṇḍavas which was connected with the time of the Bhārata battle. There are indeed certain statements in the *Mahābhārata* itself which say that the battle was fought at the junction of *Kali* and *Dvāpara* ages:—

(1) 'The battle between the Kuru and Pāṇḍava armies was fought at Syamantapañcaka, when it was the junction (*antara*) of the *Kali* and *Dvāpara* ages.'[2]

(2) 'This is *Kaliyuga* by name which has just begun (or which will just begin).'[3]

(3) You should know that the *Kaliyuga* has begun and also of the oath the Pāṇḍava (Bhīma) had taken before; so let the

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[1] *Āryabhaṭīya, Daśagītikā*, 3.

[2] सन्धौ चैव संप्राप्ते कलिद्वापरयोरभूत् । समन्तपञ्चके युद्धं कुरुपाण्डवसेनयोः ॥ *MBh., Adi*, 2, 13.

[3] एतत् कलियुगं नाम यचिराद् यत् प्रवर्त्तते । *MBh., Vana*, 149, 39.



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Pāṇḍava have the freedom from the debt (*ānṛṇya*) of his word of honour and of his enmity.'[1]

These passages show that there was a *Kali*-reckoning from about the time of the Bhārata battle. This *Kaliyuga* which we choose to call the *Mahābhārata Kaliyuga*, cannot be identified with the Astronomical *Kaliyuga* for the following reasons:—

### (*a*) *Astronomical Kaliyuga, an Astronomical Fiction.*

At the beginning of the astronomical *Kaliyuga*, all the 'planets', viz., the sun, moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn are taken to have been in conjunction at the beginning of the Hindu sphere; the moon's apogee and her ascending node at respectively a quarter circle and a half circle ahead of the same initial point. Under such a conjunction of all the planets there should also be a total eclipse of the sun; but no such things happened at the time. The beginning of this *Kaliyuga* was the midnight at Ujjayini terminating the 17th February of 3102 B.C. according to *Sūrya Siddhānta*[2] and the *ārdharātrika* system of Āryabhaṭa's astronomy as described in the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* of Brahmagupta.[3] Again this *Kaliyuga* is said to have begun according to *Āryabhaṭīya*,[4] from the sunrise at Laṅkā (supposed to be on the equator and on the same meridian with Ujjayini)—from the mean sunrise on the 18th February, 3102 B.C.

Now astronomical events of the type described above and more specially the conjunction of the sun and the moon cannot happen both at midnight and at the next mean sunrise. This shows that this *Kaliyuga* had an unreal beginning.

The researches of Bailly, Bentley and Burgess have shown that a conjunction of all the 'planets' did not happen at the beginning of this *Kaliyuga*. Burgess rightly observes: 'it seems hardly to admit of a doubt that the epoch (the beginning of the astronomical *Kaliyuga*) was arrived at by astronomical calculation carried backward'.[5]

So far as the new-moon at the beginning of this astronomical *Kaliyuga* is concerned, we may see that the year 3102 B.C. is

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[1] प्राप्तं कलियुगं विद्धि प्रतिज्ञां पाण्डवस्य च। आनृण्यं यातु वैरस्य प्रतिज्ञायाश्च पाण्डवः॥ *MBh., Salya*, 61, 31.

[2] Burgess' Translation of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, Cal. Univ. Reprint, p. 19.

[3] P. C. Sengupta's Translation of the '*Khaṇḍakhādyaka*, Cal. Univ. Press. Introduction, pp. xiv, *et seq.*; cf. also p. 9, also all the rules for finding the mean places of planets in Chapters I and II.

[4] Cf. 'बुधाङ्गजार्कोदयाच्च लङ्कायाम्'—*Daśagītikā*, 2.

[5] Burgess' *Sūrya Siddhānta*, Cal. Univ. Reprint, page 20.

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similar to the year 1935 A.D. in respect to the moons phases near to the fixed stars thus:—

The number of years between 3102 B.C. and 1935 A.D. = 5,036 years.
Now $5036 = 1939 \times 2 + 160 \times 7 + 19 \times 2$.
Or 5,036 years comprise 2 periods of 1,939 years.
7 periods of 160 years and 2 periods of 19 years.[1]

Hence this new-moon at the beginning of the astronomical *Kaliyuga* was similar to the new-moon of the 3rd April, 1935 A.D., which happened at about 10° behind the first point of the Hindu sphere as it is now taken and at about 7° behind the Hindu initial point as understood by Burgess.

It is thus clear that the beginning of the Hindu Astronomical *Kaliyuga* was the result of a back calculation wrong in its data, and was thus started wrongly.

It is thus established that the astronomical *Kaliyuga* reckoning is a pure astronomical fiction created for some astronomical calculation which was designed to be correct only for 499 A.D.[2] This *Kali*-reckoning cannot be earlier than the date when the Hindu scientific *Siddhāntas* really came into being. As this conclusion cannot but be true no Sanskrit work or epigraphic evidences would be forthcoming as to the use of this astronomical *Kali*-reckoning prior to the date 499 A.D.

### (*b*) *Astronomical Kali-reckoning, a possible creation of Āryabhaṭa I.*

Āryabhaṭa I in his *Kālakriyā* says, 'Now when 3,600 years and three quarter *yugas* had elapsed, 23 years were over since my birth'.[3] We may interpret how he could arrive at 3,600 years of *Kaliyuga* elapsed, when he was 23 years old, in the following way:—

Varāhamihira in his *Pañcasiddhāntikā* says that the longitude of *Regulus* was 126°.[4] This was probably known to Āryabhaṭa I,

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[1] P. C. Sengupta—'Some Astronomical References from the Mahābhārata', in JRASBL, Vol. III, 1937, p. 113, ll. 21–23.

[2] P. C. Sengupta—Translation of the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*; Introduction, p. xix—अस्मिन् काले गीतिकोक्तभगणैस्त्रैराशिकेनानीता ग्रहमध्यमोच्चपाताः स्फुटाः स्युः.—observation by Sūryadeva Jajvan, the commentator of the *Āryabhaṭīya*.

[3] *Āryabhaṭīya, Kālakriyā*, 10, which is—षष्ट्यब्दानां षष्टिर्यदा व्यतीतास्त्रयश्च युगपादाः। व्यधिका विंशतिरब्दास्तदेह मम जन्मनोऽतीताः॥

[4] पित्र्यस्य स्वक्षेत्रे षष्ठे चांशे समायोगः। *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, Chapter XIV, 34.

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as we feel inclined to conclude that it was the old *Sūrya Siddhānta* that was quoted by Varāha when stating the 'polar' longitude of the seven 'junction' stars in his work. In Pāṇḍava time further, it is stated in many places in Sanskrit literature that 'the *ṛṣis* or the stars of the Great Bear were conjoined with the *Maghās*'. Āryabhaṭa I may have assumed from it that the summer solstitial colure of the Pāṇḍava time passed straight through the star *Maghā* or *Regulus* [1] for which the longitude was known in his time most probably as 126° as measured from the vernal equinox. In Pāṇḍava time its assumed value was taken at 90°. This would show a solstitial shifting of 36°. If we assume further that he knew of Ptolemy's precession rate of 1° per 100 years, the time from the year of the battle to Āryabhaṭa I's time (499 A.D.) would be 3,600 years. The battle year would be 3102 B.C. Thus we see that Āryabhaṭa I may have made the statement about 'Bharata Thursday' depending not on an actual tradition handed down to his time, but on some wrong back calculation based on an incorrect assumption about the position of the solstices of the Pāṇḍava time, and an incorrect annual rate of precession of the equinoxes transmitted to India at that time.

(c) *Conflict of Āryabhaṭa Tradition with Mahābhārata Evidences.*

As pointed out already the year 3102-3101 B.C. was similar to 1935-36 A.D. In 1935 the new-moon near *Antares* took place on the 26th November, 1935.[2] The anniversary of Bhīṣma's expiry fell on the 15th February in 1936. But the total shifting of the solstices up to 1935 A.D. from 3102 B.C. works out to be 69° 32′ nearly. The sun had the longitude of 339° 32′ at about noon (Calcutta) of the 29th February, 1936. Hence, if we take the year of the Kurukṣetra battle to be 3102 B.C. the day of Bhiṣma's expiry becomes 14 days before the sun's turning north. Thus 3102 B.C. for the year of the Bhārata battle becomes an absurdity as judged by the *Mahābhārata* references.

We thus see that the Āryabhaṭa tradition that the Bhārata battle was fought in 3102 B.C. is an impossible proposition. First of all this astronomical *Kali*-reckoning is a pure astronomical myth created with a definite purpose. It was the result of a back calculation wrong in its data, the reckoning itself cannot be traced to a date possibly earlier than 499 A.D., a creation most probably of Āryabhaṭa I. The beginning year of the astronomical *Kaliyuga* or 3102 B.C. is at serious conflict with

[1] An accurate calculation on this hypothesis would lead to the year 2350 B.C.

[2] Cf. my paper on 'Some Astronomical References from the *Mahābhārata*', pp. 102–107, for the *Mahābhārata* evidences (JRASBL, Vol. III, 1937).

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the *Mahābhārata* evidences we have used for determining the year of the Bhārata battle. Hence, Āryabhaṭa tradition is totally untenable.

### (*d*) *Mahābhārata Kaliyuga.*

As the *Mahābhārata* says that the Bhārata battle was fought at the junction (*antara*) of the *Kali* and *Dvāpara* ages, we should now try to ascertain when this *Mahābhārata Kaliyuga* was started.

The beginning of the five yearly luni-solar cycles or *Yugas* of the *Vedaṅgas* is associated with the day of the winter solstice thus:

'When the sun, the moon and the nakṣatra *Dhaniṣṭhā* (Delphinis) ascend (or cross) the heavens together, it is the beginning of the *Yuga* (cycle), of the month of *Māgha* or *Tapas*, of the light half and of the sun's northerly course'.[1]

Again all Hindu calendars and the *Purāṇas*[2] say that the *Kaliyuga* began with full-moon day of *Māgha*. This *Kali*-beginning is quite different from the astronomical *Kali* epoch, this latter started from the light half of *Caitra*. Judging by the beginning of the luni-solar cycles of the *Vedāṅga* period, we should in finding the beginning the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇic Kaliyuga*, identify the day of winter solstice with the full-moon day of *Māgha*. This month of *Māgha* is used in the *Brāhmaṇa* literature for stating the day of winter solstice in successive ages. Some of these statements are:—

(1) The sun turned north on the new-moon of *Māgha* ended.[3]
(2) ,, ,, ,, ,, at the last quarter of *Māgha*.[4]
(3) ,, ,, ,, ,, at the full-moon of *Māgha*.[5]

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[1] स्वराक्रमते सोमार्कौ यदा साकं सवासवौ ।
स्यात्तदादियुगं माघस्यपः शुक्लोऽयनं ह्युदक् ॥ *Yājuṣa Jyautiṣa*, 6.

[2] वैशाखमासस्य तु या तृतीया नवम्यसौ कार्त्तिकशुक्लपक्षे ।
नभस्य मासस्य तमिस्रपक्षे त्रयोदशी पञ्चदशी च माघे ॥
एता युगाद्याः कथिताः पुराणैरनन्तपुण्यास्तिथयस्ततस्तः ॥ *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, III, 14, 12-13.

(*b*) वैशाखस्य तृतीया या नवमी कार्त्तिकस्य च ।
पञ्चदशी च माघस्य नभस्ये च त्रयोदशी ।
युगादयः स्मृता ह्येते दत्तस्याक्षय्यकारिकाः ॥ *Matsya Purāṇa*, 17, 4-5.

[3] *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, XIX, 3.
[4] *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, VII. 4, 8.
[5] *Mahābhārata*, III, 82, 31 and 37; also III, 84, 52; again, XIII, 25, 46.

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(4) The sun turned north one day before the full-moon of *Māgha*.[1]

(5) ,, ,, ,, ,, 4 days before the full-moon of *Māgha*.[2]

(6) ,, ,, ,, ,, on the day of *Māgha* begun.[3]

All these statements must mean a peculiar month of *Māgha* as used for starting the Vedic five-yearly luni-solar cycles. It was not only *Māgha* but was also, in the time of the *Vedāṅgas*, *Tapas* or the first tropical month of winter which was reckoned from the day of winter-solstice itself.

We have seen that this month of *Māgha* had one peculiarity, viz. that it should begin with the new-moon near the star group *Dhaniṣṭhā* (*Delphinis*). The next peculiarity that we may infer is that the month of *Māgha* must have its full-moon near *Regulus* (*Maghā*). The third peculiarity was that its last quarter should happen with the dichotomized moon near the star *Jyeṣṭhā* (*Antares*) according to the *Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra*.[4] 'The *Vyaṣṭakā* is that 8th day of the dark half, which comes after the full-moon near the star *Regulus* (*Maghā*), in which the moon is conjoined with *Jyeṣṭha* or *Antares*.' The moon takes at the mean rate 7·545 days to pass from *Regulus* to *Antares*. This period is thus very nearly one quarter of the synodic month.

The characters of this *Māgha* were thus three, viz. beginning with a new-moon near *Delphinis*, full-moon at *Regulus* and last quarter at *Antares*. We shall call this *Māgha*, 'the standard month of *Māgha*' of the Vedic literature. It does not occur every year.

Now we assume that the *Purāṇic Kaliyuga* was started from the full-moon day of this standard month of *Māgha* and that day was also the day of winter solstice. We also understand that it is the same *Kaliyuga* of which we find mention in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*.

We can now settle how and when this standard month of *Māgha* may happen in our own times. For 1931, $\beta$ *Delphinis* had a longitude 315° 23′, $\alpha$ *Leonis* or *Regulus* 148° 53′, $\alpha$ *Scorpionis* or *Antares* 238° 48′ nearly. Hence the standard month of *Māgha* should begin about the 5th of February, have F.M. about 18th February, L.Q. about 28th February. If we look for such a month of *Māgha* in our own time we have it as follows:—

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[1] *Taitirīya Saṁhitā*, VII, 4, 8.
[2] *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, 16, 3.
[3] *Yājuṣa Jyautiṣa*, 6, quoted already.
[4] या माघ्याः पौर्णमास्या उपरिष्टाद् व्यष्टका तस्याष्टमी ज्येष्ठया सम्पद्यते तामेकाष्टकेत्याचक्षते । *Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra*, VIII, 21, 10.

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| Year. | Begining of N.M. | F.M. | L.Q. | Ending of N.M. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1924 .. | 5th Feb. | 20th Feb. | 27th Feb. | 5th March |
| 1927 .. | 2nd Feb. | 16th Feb. | 24th Feb. | 3rd March |
| 1932 .. | 6th Feb. | 22nd Feb. | 28th Feb. | 7th March |
| 1935 .. | 3rd Feb. | 18th Feb. | 26th Feb. | 5th March |

It is thus seen that the standard month of *Māgha* is not unique in its place in the sidereal year. All points considered we agree to accept that this standard month of *Māgha* happened in our own time in 1924 A.D. from the 5th February to the 5th March.

Now according to our finding the year of Bhārata battle was 2449 B.C. and in so far as the moon's phases near to the fixed stars are concerned it was similar to 1929 A.D.[1], Hence 2454 B.C. was in the same way similar to 1924 A.D.

It was in 2454 B.C., on the 9th January that a full-moon happened. At G.M. noon or 5-8 P.M. Kurukṣetra time on that date the apparent longitudes were for:—

Sun = 269° 35′ nearly.
Moon = 87° 4′ ,,

The moon was ahead of the sun by 177° 29′ nearly; and the full-moon happened about 5 hours later at about 1° 15′ ahead of the star *Regulus* or *Maghā*. The sun reached the winter solstice in 5 hours more. The day of the winter solstice and the full-moon day were the same day according to the *Mahābhārata* convention[2] of its ending with the sunrise.

Most likely the *Mahābhārata Kaliyuga* truly began from this year of 2454 B.C., 10th January, when the Pāṇḍavas were still on exile. The year of the Bhārata battle or 2449 B.C., marked the end of five-yearly cycle, was within the *sandhi* or junction of the *Dvāpara* and *Kali* ages. This *sandhi* was a period which was taken to last a hundred years, i.e. till 2359 B.C. most likely. During this period men were uncertain when the *Kaliyuga* began. Hence the year of Bhārata battle coming five years after 2454 B.C. was itself taken as the beginning of the *Kaliyuga*. The year of Kṛṣṇa's expiry coming 36 years[3] after the great battle and 41 years (= 38+3) after 2454 B.C. was also a beginning

[1] My paper in *JRASBL*, Vol. III, 1937, pp. 111–113.

[2] *MBh.*, *Aśvamedha*, 44, 2.

[3] यस्मिन् कृष्णो दिवं यातस्तस्मिन्नेव तदाऽहनि। प्रतिपन्नं कलियुगं.... *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV, 24, 110. Cf. also *MBh.*, *Mausala*, Ch. 1.

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of the *Kaliyuga*. In these years also the day of the winter solstice was not much removed from the full-moon day of *Māgha*. Hence followed a 'rule of the thumb' that in this period, whenever the standard month of *Māgha* should apparently return, the day of the full-moon was taken as the winter solstice day.

### (e) *Kṛṣṇa's Prediction of the Day of Bhīṣma's Expiry.*

We are now showing an example of this 'rule of the thumb'. It has been shown that the observed day of winter solstice must have been the same as the *Māgha* full-moon day of January 9th-10th, 2454 B.C. After the completion of the five-yearly luni-solar cycle in 2449 B.C., there was apparently a return of the standard month of *Māgha*. The full-moon fell on the 13th January, 2449 B.C. On this day at 5-8 P.M. Kurukṣetra time the apparent celestial longitudes were for:—

Sun = 275° 12′ nearly.
Moon = 98° 45′ ,,

The full-moon had happened about 7 hours before at about 6° 15′ ahead of *Regulus*. This 13th January of 2449 B.C. was most probably taken for the winter solstice day as estimated and not observed. Now the Vedic year was of 366 days or 12 lunar months + 12 nights. If we count full 366 days from the 13th January, 2449 B.C., the Vedic year would end on the 14th January, 2448 B.C. Thus 15th January of 2448 B.C. was the estimated day of the winter solstice of the year. Bhīṣma was to expire when it was estimated that the sun had turned north. He was thus expected to expire on the 16th January, 2448 B.C., according to this 'rule of the thumb'. Now from the *Mahābhārata* references we have established that Bhīṣma's expiry happened on the 10th January, 2448 B.C.[1] Hence the predicted day of Bhīṣma's expiry becomes six days later than the actual day of the event. The number of days between the end of the battle and the predicted day of Bhīṣma's expiry becomes now 56 days. This would explain Kṛṣṇa's prediction about the expiry of Bhīṣma most probably made on the day on which the battle ended—contained in a stanza misplaced in the *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*.[2]

'O chief of Kurus, there still remain 56 days more of your life; then by laying aside the body you will attain those blissful

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[1] My paper in *JRASBL*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 115. The date has been wrongly put there as 9th Jan.

[2] षट्पञ्चाशतं षट् च कुरुप्रवीर शेषं दिनानां तव जीवितस्य।
ततः शुभैः कर्म्मफलोदयैस्त्वं समेष्यसे भीष्म विमुच्य देहम्॥ *MBh., Śānti*, 51, 44.

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worlds which are the fitting rewards of your good deeds in this world.'

But we have shown that there was a fresh determination of the winter solstice in the year of the battle. It really fell on the day preceding the day of the L.Q. of *Māgha* of 2448 B.C.[1] This *Māgha* was not the standard month of *Māgha*.

### (*f*) *Evidences of the Mahābhārata Kali-reckoning.*

A question may now be asked if there is any evidence that this *Mahābhārata Kali*-reckoning was current in India for some time. The following instances may be cited:—

(1) A verse quoted in a commentary of the book named *Bhāgavatāmṛta* thus speaks of the time when the Buddha was accepted as an incarnation of Viṣṇu[2]:—

> 'He was revealed when 2,000 years of the *Kaliyuga* had elapsed; he was of a brown colour, two-handed and bald-headed.'

Now the Buddha's Nirvāṇa took place according to the latest authorities at his age of eighty in 483 B.C. He was thus born in 563 B.C. and began preaching the truth that came to him when he was thirty-five or about 528 B.C. Two thousand years before the Nirvāṇa year, was the date 2483 B.C. and our finding of the year of the battle is 2449 B.C. Hence according to the rough statement quoted above a *Kali*-reckoning was started near about the year of the battle.

(2) Again all orthodox Bengali almanacs record that[3] 'in the *Kali* age, Kings Yudhiṣṭhira, Parīkṣkit, Janamejaya, Śatānīka, Vikramāditya and others of the *lunar* race, 120 in number, ruled for 3,695 years 3 months and 18 days' till the Muhammadan conquest (of Bengal presumably, as it is essentially a Bengal tradition). The Sena dynasty of Bengal which claimed its descent from the *lunar* race reigned independently in East Bengal for some years even after the conquest of West Bengal by Muhammad Ibn Bakhtiyar. If we count 3,695 years from

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[1] My paper in *JRASBL*, Vol. III, 1937, page 115.

[2] ऋषौ व्यक्तः कलेरब्दसहस्रद्वितये गते। मूर्त्तिः पाटलवर्णस्य द्विभुजश्चिकुरोज्झितः॥ Quoted by Sir William Jones in his paper in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II, page 22.

[3] कल्यौ युधिष्ठिर-परीक्षिज्-जनमेजय-शतानीक-विक्रमादित्यप्रभृतयः त्रिंशत्यधिकशतसंख्यका इन्दुवंशोद्भवा राजानः साष्टाद्शदिन-त्रिमासाधिक-पञ्चनवति-वर्षाधिकषट्त्रिंशच्छतसंख्यवर्षाणि व्याप्य राज्यं कृत्वा स्वरारूढाः। ततः साद्वा सोलनान etc. etc.

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2449 B.C. we arrive at the year 1247 A.D. for the extinction of the Sena dynesty, and is very nearly true historically. Hence the *Mahābhārata Kali*-reckoning was started from the very first year of the Yudhiṣṭhira Era, the very year of the Bhārata battle.

I trust further evidences as to this *Mahābhārata Kali*-reckoning have all been supplanted by the astronomical *Kali* years started by Āryabhaṭa I, in 499 A.D. So great was the fame of Āryabhaṭa I as regards astronomy and reckoning time, that very few dared to contradict him. Ravikīrti, the famous writer of the Aihole inscription of Pulakesīn II (634 A.D.), accepts Āryabhaṭa's finding of the year of the Bhārata battle in speaking of his time as 3,735 years elapsed from that event.[1]

To sum up. The *Mahābhārata* indeed says that the Bhārata battle was fought at the junction of the *Kali* and *Dvāpara* ages; but the *Mahābhārata Kali* age was different from the astronomical *Kali* age started by a back calculation by Āryabhaṭa I in 499 A.D. The former *Kaliyuga* truly began from 2454 B.C. (10th January). Even the year of the Bhārata battle (2449 B.C.) was in itself a possible beginning of this *Kaliyuga*, starting from the 13th January, 2449 B.C. We have shown examples of the *Mahābhārata Kali*-reckoning that have continued up to the present time from some other sources. The astronomical *Kali*-reckoning is a mere astronomical fiction created by Āryabhaṭa I for some definite astronomical purpose, is an unreal thing as it was unconnected with any real astronomical event, is the result of a back calculation based on incorrect astronomical constants. It never could exist before 499 A.D. and thus cannot truly point out the time of any historical event prior to this date. Thus the Āryabhaṭa tradition that the Bhārata battle was fought in 3102 B.C. is totally indefensible—is a pure myth.

## 2. Purāṇic Traditions and Evidences.

Before we can consider the *Purāṇic* traditions and evidences as to the time of Bhārata battle, it is necessary for us to establish which of the *Purāṇas*, as we have them now, have the oldest strata in them and which the latest. In fact we have to settle which are to be believed and which not, or which were the originals and which the borrowers and interpreters. We have to think of:—

### (*a*) *The Sequence of the Purāṇas.*

The *Purāṇas* which apparently seem to throw any light as to the date of Bhārata battle are:—

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[1] त्रिंशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाहवादितः। सप्ताब्दशतयुक्तेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु।

*Epigraphica Indica*, VI, pp. 11-12.

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(1) The *Matsya Purāṇa*,
(2) The *Vāyu Purāṇa*,
(3) The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, and
(4) The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

In all these *Purāṇas* we have the records of some of the earlier positions of the equinoxes and solstices, which are mere traditions and were not true for the time of composition of these works. The latest positions of the solstices as given in these works may be some guide as to the real sequences of these *Purāṇas*. The *Matsya Purāṇa* says that the sun reached the southernmost limit in *Māgha* and northernmost limit in *Śrāvaṇa*.[1] This is of the same type as of the *Jyautiṣa Vedāṅga* rule '*Māgha-śrāvaṇayossadā*'[2] and this was true for about 1400 B.C. The same statement occurs also in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*,[3] together with the more definite statement as to the position of the solstices, viz. that of the *nakṣatras* the first was *Śraviṣṭhā*.[4] A little later the *Vāyu Purāṇa* again says that the circle of constellations began from the *nakṣatra Śravaṇā*.[5] Hence the latest indication of the position of the winter solstice was true for about 400 B.C. and it is the same as in the present recension of the *Mahābhārata*.[6] Thus from the astronomical indications it appears that the *Matsya Purāṇa* has the oldest *Purāṇic* stratum, then comes the *Vāyu* in the same respect.

Another evidence which helps our finding is that both the *Matsya* and *Vāyu Purāṇas* are mentioned and quoted in the present recension of the *Mahābhārata*.[7] According to Pargiter,[8] of the *Vāyu* and *Matsya Purāṇas*, the *Matsya* gives the oldest version, *Vāyu* the next in so far as the dynastic lists of the *Kali* age are concerned. Hence our finding of the sequence of the *Purāṇas* has some support from Pargiter and so also from V. A. Smith. It must be clearly understood that we do not mean to say that the *Purāṇas* as a class of literature did not exist before the present *Matsya* and *Vāyu Purāṇas* began to be compiled.

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[1] *Matsya Purāṇa*, 124, 44 and 50.

[2] प्रपद्येते श्रविष्ठादौ सूर्य्याचन्द्रमसावुदक्।
सार्पार्द्ध-दक्षिणार्कस्तु माघश्रावणयोः सदा॥ *Yājuṣa Jyautiṣa*, 7.

[3] *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 50, 172 and 127.
[4] *Ibid.*, 53, 111–116.
[5] *Ibid.*, 53, 119.
[6] *MBh., Aśvamedha*, 44, 2; for discussion cf. my paper in *JRASBL*, Vol. III, 1937, pp. 101-102.

[7] इत्येतत् मात्स्यकं नाम पुराणं परिकीर्त्तितम्। *MBh., Vana*, 187, 55; also
वायुप्रोक्तमनुस्मृत्य पुराणमृषिसंस्तुतम्। *MBh., Vana*, 191, 16.

[8] Pargiter's *Kali Age*, Introduction, p. xx.

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In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* or the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣat*,[1] we find the enumeration of different classes of literature in which the *Purāṇas* have a place. In the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, the *Purāṇas* and *Gāthā-Nāraśaṁsis*[2] are distinctly mentioned. We do not, however, know the names of the *Purāṇas* which were current in the age of the *Brāhmaṇas* or of the *Sūtras*.

Now coming to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, we find that it is the telling of Parāśara, the father of Vyāsa to one Maitreya during the reign of Parīkṣit,[3] the grandson of Arjuna. Thus Vyāsa being the grandfather of the Pāṇḍavas, Parāśara was the great-great-grandfather of Parīkṣit. In the *Mahābhārata* itself Parāśara is nowhere described as taking part in the events of the Pāṇḍava time. Hence the story of the origin of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* conflicts with our sense of historical perspective.

Again coming to the latest position of the solstices as stated in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* we find that it says[4] that the sun turned north at the first point of *Makara* (Capricorn) and turned south at the first point of *Karkata* (Cancer). *Such a statement at a vital point at once should place the present recension of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa between 499 A.D. to 700 A.D.* Similar remarks apply to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* also.

We thus come to the conclusion that the oldest *Purāṇas* are the *Matsya* and *Vāyu*, and the *Viṣṇu* and the *Bhāgavata* the latest from a consideration of the astronomical indications in them. So when we attempt at finding the year of the Bhārata battle from the *Purāṇas* we should place the greatest reliance on the *Matsya* and then on the *Vāyu* accounts. The *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* evidences should be considered as mere conjectures and misinterpretations of the *Matsya* texts and least reliable. We now proceed on to consider the *Purāṇic* dynastic lists as given in the *Matsya Purāṇa*.

### (*b*) *Purāṇic Dynastic Lists.*

The *Purāṇic* dynastic lists apparently seem to maintain a continuous record from the year of the Bhārata battle down to the extinction of the Andhras. The accounts of these lists contain two sorts of statements, viz. (1) in which the reign periods of the kings are severally stated, behind which there is apparently the character of real chronicling, and (2) the statements of the reign periods of the different dynasties made collectively, which are evidently the work of later summarizers. We shall consider chiefly the Magadhan dynasties, the first of

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[1] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣat*, IV, 5, 11.
[2] *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, 3, 3, 1.
[3] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV, 20, 13; I, 1, 16.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, 8, 28–30.

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which was the Bṛhadratha dynasty. The *Matsya* account reads as follows [1]:—

'Henceforward I will declare the Bṛhadrathas of Magadha who are kings in Sahadeva's lineage in Jarāsandha's race, *those past*, *those existing* and *those again who will exist*; I will declare *the prominent amongst them*; listen as I speak of them.'

The dynastic list is thus professedly incomplete as it contains only the names of chief kings and the durations of their rules. The narration next runs thus [2]:—

'When the Bhārata battle took place and Sahadeva was slain, his heir Somādhi became king in Girivraja; he reigned 58 years. In his lineage Śrutraśravas was 64 years. Ayutāyus reigned 26 years. His successor Niramitra enjoyed the earth 40 years and went to heaven. Sukṣatra obtained 56 years. Bṛhatkarman reigned 23 years. Senājit is also gone after enjoying the earth 50 years. Śrutañjaya

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[1] अत ऊर्द्धम् प्रवक्ष्यामि मागधा ये बृहद्रथाः।
जरासन्धस्य ये वंशे सहदेवान्वये नृपाः॥
अतीता वर्त्तमानाश्च भविष्याश्च तथा पुनः।
प्राधान्यतः प्रवक्ष्यामि गदतो मे निबोधत॥

[2] संग्रामे भारते वृत्ते सहदेवे निपातिते।
सोमाधिस्तस्य दायादो राजाऽभूत् स गिरिव्रजे॥
पञ्चाशतं तथाऽष्टौ च समा राज्यमकारयत्।
श्रुतश्रवाश्चतुःषष्टिं समास्तस्यान्वयेऽभवत्॥
अयुतायुस्तु षड्विंशद् राज्यं वर्षाण्यकारयत्।
चत्वारिंशत् समास्तस्य निरमित्रो दिवं गतः॥
पञ्चाशतं समा षट् च सुक्षत्रः प्राप्तवान् महीम्।
त्रयोविंशत् बृहत्कर्म्मा राज्यं वर्षाण्यकारयत्॥
सेनाजित् सम्प्रयातस्य भुक्त्वा पञ्चाशतं महीम्।
श्रुतञ्जयस्तु वर्षाणि चत्वारिंशद् भविष्यति॥
महाबलो महावाहुर्महाबुद्धिपराक्रमः।
अष्टाविंशति वर्षाणि महीं प्राप्स्यति वै विभुः॥
अष्ट पञ्चाशतं चाब्दान् राज्ये स्थास्यति वै शुचिः।
अष्टाविंशत् समा राजा क्षेमो भोक्ष्यति वै महीम्॥
सुव्रतस्तु चतुःषष्टिम् राज्यं प्राप्स्यति वीर्य्यवान्।
पञ्चत्रिंशतिवर्षाणि सुनेत्रो भोक्ष्यते महीम्॥

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will be for 40 years, great in strength, large of arm, great in mind and prowess. Vibhu will obtain 28 years; Suci will stand in the kingdom 58 years. King Kṣema will enjoy the earth 28 years. Valiant Suvrata will obtain the kingdom 64 years. Sunetra will enjoy the earth 35 years. And[1] Nirvṛti will enjoy this earth 58 years. Trinetra will next enjoy the kingdom 28 years. Dṛḍhasena will be 48 years. Mahīnetra will be resplendent 33 years. Sucala will be king 32 years. King Sunetra will enjoy the kingdom 40 years. King Satyajit will enjoy the earth 83 years. And Viśvajit will obtain this earth and be 25 years, Ripuñjaya will obtain the earth 50 years.'

[2]'These sixteen kings are to be known as future Bṛhadrathas. Their lifetime will exceed by twenty years (the normal span of life) and their kingdom will last 700 years.'

As we shall see these 16 kings are all named in the above list from Senājit to Ripuñjaya, and the sum total of their rules comes up correctly to 700 years. The account is concluded by[3]:—

'These future Bṛhadrathas will certainly be 32 kings in all and their kingdom will last full 1,000 years indeed.'

The list of these Bṛhadratha kings as named above may be made up as follows. It should be clearly borne in mind that there are gaps to be filled up in this list—the gaps which we do not know how to fill up:—

---

1 भोक्ष्यते निर्दहंस्त्वेमाम् अष्टपञ्चाशतं समाः।
अष्टाविंशत् समा राज्यम् चिनेत्रो भोक्ष्यते ततः॥
चत्वारिंशत् तथाऽष्टौ च दृढसेनो भविष्यति।
त्रयस्त्रिंशत्तु वर्षाणि महीनेत्रो प्रकाश्यते॥
द्वात्रिंशत् तु समा राजा सुचलस्तु भविष्यति।
चत्वारिंशत् समा राजा सुनेत्रो भोक्ष्यते ततः॥
सत्यजित् पृथिवीं राजा त्र्यशीतिर्भोक्ष्यते समाः।
प्राप्येमां विश्वजिच्चापि पञ्चविंशद् भविष्यति॥
रिपुञ्जयस्तु वर्षाणि पञ्चाशत् प्राप्स्यते महीम्।

2 षोड़शैते नृपा ज्ञेया भवितारो बृहद्रथाः।
वयोविंशाधिकं तेषां राज्यं च शतसप्तकम्॥

3 द्वात्रिंशति नृपा ह्येते भवितारो बृहद्रथाः।
पूर्णं वर्षसहस्रं वै तेषां राज्यं भविष्यति॥

The *Matsya* texts quoted above have been very carefully compiled from Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age*. In the translation also I have followed Pargiter.

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| 'Past' Kings | Years of Rule. |
|---|---|
| Somādhi .. .. | 58 |
| Śrutaśravas .. .. | 64 |
| Ayutayus .. .. | 26 |
| Niramitra .. .. | 40 |
| Sukṣatra .. .. | 56 |
| Bṛhatkarman .. | 23 |
| Total years of 'Past' Kings | 267 |

| 'Present' and 'Future' Kings. | Years of Rule. |
|---|---|
| Senājit .. .. | 50 |
| Śrutañjaya .. .. | 40 |
| Vibhu .. .. | 28 |
| Śuci .. .. | 58 |
| Kṣema .. .. | 28 |
| Suvrata .. .. | 64 |
| Sunetra I .. .. | 35 |
| Nirvṛti .. .. | 58 |
| Trinetra .. .. | 28 |
| Dṛḍhasena .. .. | 48 |
| Mahīnetra .. .. | 33 |
| Sucala .. .. | 32 |
| Sunetra II .. .. | 40 |
| Satyajit .. .. | 83 |
| Viśvajit .. .. | 25 |
| Ripuñjaya .. .. | 50 |
| Total years of 'Present' and 'Future' Kings | 700 |

In the above list there are named 22 kings in all; but nowhere do we find a clear statement that any one king was the son of the king named before him or he was the father of the next king. On the other hand we have the introductory statement that these were the chief kings of the line running from Somādhi, or that the list of kings is incomplete from the start to finish. The sixteen of the 'future' Bṛhadrathas named in the list were only those of extraordinary longevity. The total number of the 'future' Bṛhadrathas is again stated definitely to be 32 and that the total duration of their rule would be full 1,000 years. It is not possible to arrive at any definite conclusion as to the duration of the kingship of the Bṛhadrathas from such an incomplete list. In order to understand the statements of the *Purāṇic* summarizers we, however, take the incomplete list as complete and see what results we are led to. We have the series of dynasties as follows:—

| | Total years. |
|---|---|
| (1) Bṛhadrathas of Magadha from the year of Bhārata battle .. .. | 967 |
| (2) Pradyotas of Avantī [1] .. .. | 138 |
| | +52 [2] |
| (3) Śiśunāgas of Magadha [3] .. .. | 346 |
| TOTAL .. | 1,503 years. |

[1] बृहद्रथेष्वतीतेषु वीतिहोत्रेष्ववन्तिषु ।
पुलिकः (पुनिकः) स्वामिनं हत्वा स्वपुत्रमभिषेक्ष्यति ॥
Here compare the *Viṣṇu* statement which makes Pulika the minister of the last Bṛhadratha Ripuñjaya.

[2] द्वापञ्चाशत् ततो भुक्ता प्रणष्टा पञ्च ते नृपाः ।

[3] Here the collective statement runs thus: शतानि त्रीणि वर्षाणि षष्टि-वर्षाधिकानि च । शिशुनागा भविष्यन्ति राजानो ज्ञत्रबान्धवाः ॥ 'The Śiśunāgas who were Kṣatriyas of an inferior class will reign for 360 years.'

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Then came the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda who was the founder of the Nanda dynasty of Magadha which lasted according to the *Purāṇas* full 100 years.

Thus between the year of Bhārata battle or of the birth of Parīkṣit to the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda as worked out from the dyanstic lists there was the interval of 1,500 years nearly. This is in agreement with the following statement of the *Purāṇic* summarizer :—

यावत् परीक्षितो जन्म यावन्नन्दाभिषेचनम् ।
एवं वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चशतोत्तरम् ॥[1]

'From the birth of Parīkṣit to the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda, the interval is to be known as one thousand five hundred years.'

We should here be very careful to ascertain what the second half of the second line of the above verse was, according to *Purāṇic* summarizer. The variant readings are "ज्ञेयं पञ्चदशोत्तरम्", "शतं पञ्चदशोत्तरम्", "ज्ञेयं पञ्चाशदुत्तरम्" and "ज्ञेयं पञ्चशतोत्तरम्". The very next stanza runs thus:—

पुलोमास्तु तथान्ध्रास्तु महापद्मान्तरे पुनः ।
अन्तरं च शतान्यष्टौ षट्त्रिंशत् तु समास्तथा ।
तावत् कालान्तरं भाव्यं अन्ध्रान्ताद्याः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥

The substance of which is that between Mahāpadma and the extinction of the Andhras the time interval was 836 years. According to the dynastic lists the sum total of the durations works out as:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Nandas | .. .. | 100 years. |
| Mauryas | .. .. | 137 ,, |
| Śuṅgas | .. .. | 112 ,, |
| Kaṇvas | .. .. | 45 ,, |
| Andhras | .. .. | 460 ,, |
| | TOTAL .. | 854 years. |

Here a difference of 18 years is inexplicable as we do not know how long Mahāpadma Nanda ruled.

Now the interval between the birth of Parīkṣit and Nanda's accession = 1,503 years as shown before, and the inter-

[1] Pargiter has traced this reading in *cejMt., bMt., lnMt., blVs.*, recensions according to his notation in his *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 58.

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val between Nanda's accession and end of Andhras = 854 years as shown above. Hence the time between the birth of Parīkṣit and the extinction of the Andhras becomes according to the Purāṇic lists = 2,357 years.

Now in the mode of reckoning time by the cycle of *Ṛṣis*, the constellation of the Great Bear is taken to remain conjoined with one *nakṣatra* for 100 years. In 2,357 years, the *Ṛṣis* (Great Bear) would be taken to pass over 23 *nakṣatras* and reach the 24th *nakṣatra*. This is thus stated in the verse [1] :—

सप्तर्षयो मघायुक्ताः काले पारीक्षिते शतम् ।
अन्ध्रान्ते तु चतुर्विंशे भविष्यन्ति मते मम ॥

'The seven *Ṛṣis* were conjoined with *Maghās* 100 years in Parīkṣit's time; they will be in the 24th constellation (*nakṣatra*) according to my estimate at the end of the Andhras.'

Here we have a clear statement by the summarizer that between the birth of Parīkṣit and the extinction of the Andhras the interval was slightly less than 2,400 years. Hence it is clear that the true intention of the *Purāṇic* summarizer, as to the interval between the birth of Parīkṣit and the accession of Mahāpadma is, that it was about 1,500 years and the true reading of the second half of the second line of the verse in question is undoubtedly **"ज्ञेयं पञ्चशतोत्तरम्"**.

We have now to consider the following *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* statements that—

(*a*) [2] 'From the birth of Parīkṣit to the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda the time interval is to be known as 1,015 (or 1,050) years.'

(*b*) [3] 'When the G.B. will reach the nakṣatra *Pūrvāṣāḍhā*, the *Kali* age will have ascendency from the time of Nanda.'

These verses cannot be traced either to the *Matsya* or the *Vāyu* text. They are at variance with the dynastic lists as given in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* itself. Even Śrīdhara, the great commentator of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, could not reconcile these statements and in the second statement would substitute 'Pradyota' the first king of the Pradyota dynasty in place of

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[1] Pargiter's *Kali Age*, pp. 58-59.

[2] महापद्माभिषेकात्तु यावज्जन्मपरीक्षितः । एवं वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चदशोत्तरम् ॥ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

[3] प्रयास्यन्ति यदा चैते पूर्व्वाषाढ़ां मघर्षयः । तदा नन्दात् प्रभृत्येषः कलिर्वृद्धिं गमिष्यति ॥ Pargiter's *Kali Age*, p. 62.

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'Nanda'. In these *Purāṇas* (*Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata*) the summarizers were crazy in their arithmetic, and the *Purāṇas* themselves were written most probably in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods, and are not at all trustworthy in so far as historical matter is concerned. The main aim of the composers or compilers of these *Purāṇas* was to inculcate Vaiṣṇavism or the Viṣṇu cult and perhaps not to record any real history.

If we are to put any faith in the *Purāṇic* dynasty-lists and the *Purāṇic* summarizers the date of the Bhārata battle becomes 1924 B.C. as follows:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Interval between Parīkṣit and Nanda | = | 1503 years. |
| Duration of Nanda dynasty | = | 100 years. |
| Accession of *Chandra Gupta Maurya* | = | 321 B.C. |
| The total gives the year | = | 1924 B.C. |

But we cannot accept as correct these *Purāṇic* statements whether of the dynastic lists or of the *Purāṇic* summarizers. The Bṛhadratha dynastic list is incomplete; further there was probably one period of *interregnum* between the extinction of the Bṛhadrathas of Magadha and the rise of the Pradyotas of Avantī.

Again if we take that the 'future' Bṛhadrathas reigned for full 1,000 years and the 'past' Bṛhadrathas for 300 years, the dynastic lists would make the interval between the birth of Parīkṣit and the accession of Nanda 1,836 years. To this period we have to add 421 to have the year of the Bhārata battle, which would now stand at 2257 B.C. All such speculations are valueless or inconclusive when they are based on totally unreliable materials derived from the *Purāṇas*. By way of contrast we present how neatly and directly the *Mahābhārata* astronomical references lead us to the real year of the Bhārata battle.

### (c) *Excellence of the Mahābhārata Astronomical References.*

In my paper 'Some Astronomical References from the Mahābhārata and their Significance,' I have shown that the year of the Bhārata battle was similar to 1929-30 A.D. in respect to the moon's phases near to the fixed stars. The anniversary of Bhīṣma's expiry fell on the 20th February, 1930, and the anniversary of the observed winter solstice day of the Bhārata battle year fell on the 19th February, 1930, or one day earlier.

Now on the evening at Kurukṣetra of the 19th February, 1930, the sun's mean longitude at G.M. noon was = 328° 42′ nearly. If this longitude for 1930 be taken to have been equal to 270° in the year of the battle, we have a lapse of 4,244 years till 1930 A.D., as a first approximation. In 42 centuries the change in the longitude of the sun's apogee works out to be 72° 12′ 20″. Hence the longitude of the sun's apogee in the year of the battle was about 29°. Now allowing for the change in the

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eccentricity of the sun's orbit, the sun's equation for 270° of the mean longitude becomes 1° 51′ nearly.

Hence what was 270° of the longitude of the sun in the battle year was = 328° 42′+1° 51′ = 330° 33′ in 1930 A.D.

The total shifting of the solstices up to 1930 A.D. was thus = 60° 33′ representing a lapse of 4,379 years.

The battle year thus becomes very near to 2450 B.C. Now by using the luni-solar cycle of 19, 160 and 1,939 years we readily find that the nearest year similar to 1929-30 A.D. was 2449-48 B.C. which has been established as the year of the Bhārata battle in my paper already published.

If the *Purāṇic* faulty dynastic lists may lead us to 2257 B.C. we should more readily and preferably accept 2449 B.C. as the true year of Bhārata battle, since it is deduced from the *Mahābhārata incidental* statements, which are more definite and also consistent astronomically.

(*d*) *Further Purāṇic Evidences by the 'Position' of the Great Bear.*

We now proceed to consider another alleged *Purāṇic* evidence which states the position of the Great Bear in Parīkṣit's time. To us the statement that the Great Bear remains in one *nakṣatra* for 100 years is meaningless; still we have to make some attempt at understanding what the *Purāṇas* say about it. The *Purāṇic* description of the movement of the G.B. runs thus[1]:—

> 'The two front stars of the Great Bear, which are seen when risen at night, the lunar constellation which is seen equally between them in the sky, the Great Bear is to be known as conjoined with that constellation 100 years in the sky. This is the exposition of the conjunction of the lunar constellations and the Great Bear. The Great Bear was conjoined with the *Maghās* in Parīkṣit's time 100 years.'[2]

The two front stars are the two pointers, viz. α and β *Ursae Majoris*. We are to draw two great circles, one through each of the pointers and both passing through the celestial pole of the time: these circles will cut the ecliptic in two points; between these two points the *nakṣatra* in conjunction with the Great Bear

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[1] सप्तर्षीणाञ्च यौ पूर्व्वौ दृश्येते ह्युदितौ निशि।
तयोर्मध्ये तु नक्षत्रं दृश्यते यत् समं दिवि॥
तेन सप्तर्षयो युक्तास्तिष्ठन्त्यब्दशतं नृणाम्।
नक्षत्राणामृषीणाञ्च योगस्यैतन्निदर्शनम्॥
सप्तर्षयो मघायुक्ताः काले पारीक्षिते शतम्।
—Pargiter's *Kali Age*, p. 59.

[2] Pargiter's *Kali Age*, Translation on p. 75.

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will be equally distant. The Great Bear was conjoined with the *Maghās* ($\alpha$, $\eta$, $\gamma$, $\zeta$, $\mu$ and $\epsilon$ *Leonis*) in Parīkṣit's time according to the above *Purāṇic* statement. This means that the celestial pole of the time of Parīkṣit lay on the great circle passing through the central star of the *Maghās* ($\alpha$ *Leonis*) and the middle point of the arc joining the $\alpha$ and $\beta$ *Ursae Majoris*. The celestial pole moves in a small circle about the pole of the ecliptic of a mean radius of about 23° 30′. We have solved this problem and the time of this celestial event comes out to be 371 B.C. The above statement as to the alleged position of the G.B. in Parīkṣit's time is also equivalent to this: that the right ascension of $\alpha$ *Leonis* was equal to the mean of the right ascensions of $\alpha$ and $\beta$ *Ursae Majoris*. From Dr. Neugebauer's *Sterntafelen* (Leipzig, 1912) the time for the event becomes about 300 B.C. It should thus appear that the time indicated by this *Purāṇic* statement, as to the position of the Great Bear in Parīkṣit's time, belonged neither to Parīkṣit nor to this *Purāṇic* astronomer. It is absolutely valueless to our purpose. Any other interpretations, that may be sought to be given to this position of the G.B. as stated in the *Purāṇas* in Parīkṣit's time, are not acceptable as they would be mere speculations.

We have thus most carefully examined the *Purāṇic* evidences as to the date of the Bhārata battle. We have established that the oldest *Purāṇic* strata are to be found in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, then comes the *Vāyu Purāṇa* in time sequence. In so far as historical matter is concerned the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas* are not at all trustworthy. Even in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the dynastic list of the Bṛhadrathas of Magadha is incomplete in that it states the names of the chief kings only and the durations of their rules. We have also seen that the Purāṇic summarizers really mean that the time interval between the birth of Parīkṣit and the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda was about 1,500 years. The *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* summarizers' statement that the same period was about a thousand years is not reliable as it contradicts the dynastic lists of these *Purāṇas*, cannot be traced to the *Matsya* and *Vāyu Purāṇas* and not acceptable even to the great scholiast Śrīdhara of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. The incomplete dynastic lists of the *Matsya Purāṇa* properly interpreted may lead us to 2257 B.C. as the year of Bhārata battle. Any speculation with such faulty materials as the *Purāṇas* afford, can never lead to the real truth about the year of the Bhārata battle. On the other hand much better *data* have been derived by us from the *Mahābhārata* itself which directly lead us to 2449 B.C. as the year of the Bhārata battle and this was the first year of the Yudhiṣṭhira era according to the Vṛddha Garga tradition. We have also given the most careful consideration to the *Purāṇic* description of the position of the Great Bear in Parīkṣit's time. This only led us to the year 371 B.C.—a most hopelessly absurd result. Hence the *Purāṇic* evidences taken as a whole are

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incomplete and cannot lead us to the real year of the Bhārata battle. I trust my interpretations of all these evidences would be found to be rational and compare favourably with those given by Pargiter,[1] Dev,[2] Ray,[3] Bose [4] and others.

Thus in this paper we have shown that the Āryabhaṭa tradition, viz. 3102 B.C. as the year of the Bhārata battle, is wrong. The *Purāṇic* evidences are all incomplete and inadequate for our purpose. The *Mahābhārata* references lead us directly to the year 2449 B.C. as the year of the great battle. The *Kaliyuga* which the *Mahābhārata* speaks of beginning from about the year of the Bhārata battle truly started from the 10th January, 2454 B.C. Even in the year of the battle (2449 B.C.) this *Mahābhārata Kaliyuga* may have begun from the 13th January. We hope to discuss in a future paper other evidences, if any be forthcoming from the Buddhist and Jaina sources relating to the Pāṇḍava time. We may look for epigraphic evidences in this connection but none have been brought to light as yet. Let us hope that such may be discovered at no distant future, when only my finding may be tested.

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[1] Pargiter's *Indian Historical Tradition—The Date of the Bhārata Battle.*

[2] Dev in *J.P.A.S.B.*, 1925.

[3] Prof. J. C. Ray in ভারতবর্ষ for the Bengali year 1340, Nos. 3, 4 and 5.

[4] Dr. G. S. Bose in his পুরাণপ্রবেশ in Bengali.

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# Solstice Days in Vedic Literature.

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(*Communicated by Prof. M. N. Saha.*)

In this paper it is proposed to examine first if the Vedic Hindus knew of any method for determining the day of the winter or of the summer solstice, and secondly to interpret the various statements as to the solstice days as found in Vedic literature and to determine the approximate dates in Vedic chronology as indicated by these statements. In a paper named 'Some Astronomical References from the Mahābhārata and their Significance',[1] it has been established that those references lead to the result that the Bhārata battle was fought in 2449 B.C. It has also been shown in the same paper how the year of the Bhārata battle stands in relation to Vedic chronology. The present paper will, I hope, bring out this relationship in a clear and unmistakable way. It is also a revision and completion of my paper on the 'Age of the Brāhmaṇas', already published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta) for September, 1934.

## (i) THE METHOD OF FINDING THE SOLSTICE DAYS IN VEDIC LITERATURE.

The method of the Vedic Hindus for determining the solstice days is thus expressed in the following passage from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* :[2]

एकविंशमेतदहरुपयन्ति विषुवन्तं मध्ये संवत्सरस्य इति। एतेन वै देवा एकविंशेनाऽदित्यं स्वर्गाय लोकायोदयच्छन्, इति। स एष इत एकविंशः इति। तस्य दशावस्तादहानि दिवाकीर्त्तस्य भवन्ति दशपरस्तान् मध्य एष एकविंश उभयतो विराजि प्रतिष्ठितः उभयतो हि वा एष विराजि प्रतिष्ठितस्तस्मादेषोन्तरेमाँल्लोकान् यन्न व्यथते, इति।

तस्य वै देवा आदित्यस्य स्वर्गाल्लोकावपातादबिभयुस्तं त्रिभिः स्वर्गैर्लोकैरवस्तात् प्रत्युत्तभ्नुवन् स्तोमा वै त्रयः स्वर्गा लोकास्तस्य पराचो-

[1] Published in the *JRASBL*, Vol. III, 1937, vide p. 115 and also pp. 117-118.

[2] *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 18, 18, quoted by S. B. Dīkṣita in his भारतीय ज्योतिःशास्त्र, p. 47.



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ऽतिपातादबिभयुस्तं त्रिभिः स्वर्गैर्लोकैः परस्तात् प्रत्यस्तभ्नुवन् स्तोमा वै त्रयः स्वर्गा लोकास्तत्त्रयोऽवस्तात् सप्तदशा भवन्ति त्रयः परस्तान् मध्य एष एकविंश उभयतः स्वरसामभिर्धृतः उभयतो हि वा एष स्वरसामभिर्धृतस्तस्मादेषोऽन्तरेमाँल्लोकान् यन्न व्यथते, इति।

Sāyana has failed in his exposition of this passage which relates to observational astronomy, and no one who is unacquainted with this branch of science can possibly bring out any sense of it. We follow Keith generally with some modifications in the translation which is given below:

'They perform the *Ekaviṁśa* day, the *Viṣuvān*, in the middle of the year; by this *Ekaviṁśa* day the gods raised up the sun towards the world of heaven (the highest region of the heavens, viz., the zenith). For this reason this sun (as raised up) is (called) *Ekaviṁśa*. Of this *Ekaviṁśa* sun (or the day), the ten days before are ordained for the hymns to be chanted during the day; the ten days after are also ordained in the same way; in the middle lies the *Ekaviṁśa* established on both sides in the *Virāj* (a period of ten days). It is certainly established in the *Virāj*. Therefore he going between (the two periods of 10 days) over these worlds, does not waver.'

'The gods were afraid of this Āditya (the sun) falling from the world of heaven (the highest place in the heavens); him with three worlds (diurnal circles) of heaven (in the heavens) from below they propped up; the *Stomas* are the three worlds of heaven (diurnal circles in the heavens). They were also afraid of his falling away upward; him with three worlds of heaven (diurnal circles in the heavens) from above they propped up; the *Stomas* are the three worlds of heaven (diurnal circles in the heavens) indeed. Thus three below are the *saptadaśas* (seventeen),[1] three above; in the middle is the *Ekaviṁśa* on both sides supported by *Svarasāmans*. Therefore he going between these *Svarasāmans* over these worlds does not waver.'

The Vedic year-long sacrifices were begun in the earliest times on the day following the winter solstice. Hence the *Viṣuvān* or the middle day of the year was the summer solstice day. The above passage shows that the sun was observed by the Vedic

[1] Perhaps in an estimated period of 21 days, the observation of the sun was begun 7 days earlier; the 21 days were observed as split up into 17+1+3=21. This 3 *Svarasāmans* become 17, in the middle lay the *Ekaviṁśa*, then came the next 3 *Svarasāmans*. Or the breaking up of 21 days into (17+1+3) days, may have taken place thus: in one and a half years after the starting of the Vedic cycle on the day following the winter solstice, the *Viṣuvān* came after 18 lunations+17 days as 1½ year was taken equal to 18 months+18 days.

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Hindus to remain stationary, i.e. without any change in the meridian zenith distance for 21 days near the summer solstice. The argument was this that if the sun remained stationary for 21 days, he must have had 10 days of northerly motion, 10 days of southerly motion, and the middle (eleventh) day was certainly the day of the summer solstice; hence the sun going, in the interval between the two periods of 10 days on either side, over these worlds did not 'waver'. Thus from a rough observation the Vedic Hindu could find the real day of the summer or winter solstice.

The next passage from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (not quoted) divides the *Virāj* of 10 days thus: $10 = 6+1+3$; the first 6 days were set apart for a *Ṣaḍaha* period, followed by an *atirātra* or extra day and then came the three days of the three *Stomas* or *Svarasāmans*. The *atirātrā* days before and after the solstice day were respectively styled *Abhijit* and *Viśvajit* days. It may thus be inferred that the Vedic Hindus by more accurate observation found later on that the sun remained stationary at the summer solstice for 7 and not 21 days.

Question may now be asked how could they observe that the sun remained stationary for 21 days and not for 23, 27, 29 or 31 days. This depended on the degree of accuracy of observation possible for the Vedic Hindus by their methods of measurement. They probably observed the noon-shadow of a vertical pole. If we assume that the observation was made at the latitude of Kurukṣetra (about 30°N) and when the obliquity of the ecliptic was about 24° 15′, and the height of the pole was taken equal to say 6 ft., then:

(*a*) When the sun had a longitude of 80°, the length of the noon-shadow = 7·44 in.

(*b*) When the sun had a longitude of 87°, the length of the noon-shadow = 6·98 in.

(*c*) When the sun had a longitude of 90°, the length of the noon-shadow = 6·93 in.

Now 7·44 in.—6·93 in.=0·51 in. and 6·98 in.—6·93 in.=0·05 in.

Hence by using any sort of measuring rods, they could perhaps easily discern a change in the noon-shadow of about half an inch, but a difference of ·05 in. was, of course, quite impossible of perception with them. They could thus infer that the sun remained stationary at the summer solstice for 7 days when they used any measuring rods and when they used rougher methods they could conclude that the sun remained stationary for 21 days at the summer solstice.

At the winter solstice, the corresponding lengths of the noon-shadow would be 8 ft. 3·46 in., 8 ft. 4·84 in. and 8 ft. 4·95 in. respectively. The changes in the length of the shadow were consequently 1·48 in. and 0·1 in. respectively.

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It should thus be clear that the Vedic Hindu knew how to determine the summer or the winter solstice day. When they found that the sun apparently remained stationary at the solstice for 21 days, the true solstice day was the 11th and when they found that the sun remained stationary for 7 days, they took the 4th day as the real solstice day.

This finishes the first part of our paper. We now pass on to consider how the Vedic Hindu stated his day of the winter solstice in successive ages. Some of these statements are the following:—

(*a*) The sun turned north on the new-moon of *Māgha* ended.
(*b*) ,, ,, ,, ,, on the last quarter of *Māgha*.
(*c*) ,, ,, ,, ,, on the full-moon of *Māgha*.
(*d*) ,, ,, ,, ,, one day before full-moon of *Māgha*.
(*e*) ,, ,, ,, ,, four days before full-moon of *Māgha*.
(*f*) ,, ,, ,, ,, on the new-moon of *Māgha* begun.

As we shall see later on, these statements as to the day of the winter solstice occur in Vedic literature. The month of *Māgha* (lunar) may begin now-a-days from the 15th of January to the 11th of February. What then is the meaning of this month of *Māgha* as referred to in the above statements? Why should the sun's turning north be connected with a particular phase of the moon of such a moveable month? Unless and until we can answer the above questions satisfactorily we cannot hope to interpret any of the above statements.

We have very carefully considered the above questions and we may state our finding in the following way:

The Vedic Hindus did not have a sidereal reckoning of the year; they followed a reckoning by lunar months of which 12 or 13 formed the year; in their reckoning the month of *Māgha* as it came every year did not begin in the same part of the sidereal or the tropical year as it does not begin now also. If they had in use a sidereal calendar, they could state the solstice days by exact dates of such a calendar. Unfortunately this they had not. They found out a particular lunar month of *Māgha* (not occurring every year) to fix the beginning or the end of the five-yearly luni-solar Vedic cycle, and they stated the solstice days in reference to the phase of the moon of such a month of *Māgha*. The winter solstice day was the beginning of the Vedic five-yearly cycles or *Yugas*, and *Sāmvatsara* or year-long Vedic sacrifices were begun in the earliest times also from the day of the winter solstice. It is thus necessary for us to find the true meaning of this peculiar month of *Māgha*: how it began and what were its characteristics?

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*Meaning of the Month of Māgha for Vedic Cycles.*

As to the beginning of the month of *Māgha* which was used for starting the Vedic five-yearly cycles the *Jyautiṣa Vedāṁgas* (1400 B.C.) say:

स्वराक्रमते सोमार्कौ यदा साकं सवासवौ ।
स्यात् तदादियुगं माघस्तपः शुक्लोऽयनं ह्युदक् ॥ ६ ॥

'When the sun, the moon and the *Dhaniṣṭhās* (*Delphinis*) cross the heaven together, it is the beginning of the *Yuga* (i.e. five-yearly luni-solar cycle), of the month of *Māgha* or *Tapas*, of the light half and of *the sun's northerly course.*' Hence this month of *Māgha* as used for starting the Vedic cycles must begin with the new-moon at *Delphinis*. In the *Jyautiṣa Vedāṁga* time the day of the very beginning of such a *Māgha* was the day of winter solstice and thus it marked the beginning of the tropical month of *Tapas*—the first of winter.

As to the time when the use of this month of *Māgha* was accepted for making the Vedic calendar we have the following passage from the *Mahābhārata* :[1]

'अभिजित् स्पर्द्धमाना तु रोहिण्याः कन्यसी स्वसा ।
इच्छन्ती ज्येष्ठतां तात तपस्तप्तुं वनं गता ॥
तत्र मूढोऽस्मि भद्रं ते नक्षत्रं गगनाच्च्युतम् ।
कालं त्विमं परं स्कन्द ब्रह्मणा सह चिन्तय ॥
धनिष्ठादिस्तदा कालो ब्रह्मणा परिकल्पितः ।
रोहिणी ह्यभवत् पूर्व्वम् एवं संख्या समाऽभवत् ॥
एवमुक्ते तु शक्रेण कृत्तिकास्त्रिदिवं गताः ।
नक्षत्रं सप्तर्षीणामं भाति तद्वह्निदैवतं ॥

'"Lady Abhijit (i.e. α *Lyra*), the younger sister of Rohiṇī, being jealous of her, has gone to the forest to perform austerities with the desire of attaining the position of the elder. I am thus confounded at this incident as one *nakṣatra* has been deflected from the heavens. Hence O Skanda, please find this time in consultation with Brahma." Then Brahmā fixed the time, beginning from the *Dhaniṣṭhās*, and *Rohiṇī* (α *Tauri* or *Aldebaran*) became the first star. In this way the number of *nakṣatras* became proper (*sama*). When Indra thus spoke to Skanda, the *Kṛttikās* flew to the heavens as the *nakṣatra* (star group)

[1] *MBh., Vana*, 230, 8–11.

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with seven heads, as it were, and it still shines as the one of which the presiding deity is *Agni* (Fire).'

The passage quoted above shows that it was Brahmā who started the reckoning of time from the new-moon at the *Delphinis*, when Rohiṇī became the first star, and the *Kṛttikās* rose very probably exactly at the east. Here we have the time when the Vedic five-yearly luni-solar cycles came to be started with reference to the month of *Māgha*.

Now in Vedic literature Rohiṇī means two stars, viz., *Rohiṇī* proper (*Aldebaran*) or *Jyeṣṭhā* (*Antares*).[1] According to Burgess these stars had the celestial longitudes of 49° 45′ and 229° 44′ in 560 A.D.[2] For 1931 A.D. their longitudes were 68° 49′ and 248° 48′, according to our calculation. Hence these stars differ in longitude by almost 180°, and had respectively the longitudes of 0° and 180° at about *3050 B.C. This was the approximate date when the month of Māgha with its beginning with a new-moon at Delphinis was agreed upon as the standard month with reference to which the five-yearly Vedic luni-solar cycles were started and intercalary months were determined.* It was about this time that the number of *nakṣatras* (lunar mansions) was fixed at 27 by rejecting *Abhijit* (α *Lyra*). It is here not necessary for us to attempt an explanation of the rivalry between either of the *Rohiṇīs* and *Abhijit*.

We have up to now settled that one feature of this standard month of *Māgha* was that it should begin with a new-moon near the *Delphinis*. Another feature which follows from this is that it should have the full-moon near the star *Maghā* or *Regulus*, as the moon takes about 14·685 days, at the mean rate, to pass from β *Delphinis* to α *Leonis* or *Maghā*.

The third feature of this standard month of *Māgha* was that at its last quarter (*aṣṭakā*), the moon should be conjoined with *Jyeṣṭhā* or *Antares* as the *Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra says*[3]:

या माघ्याः पौर्णमास्या उपरिष्टाद् व्यष्टका तस्याष्टमी ज्येष्ठया सम्पद्यते तामेकाष्टकेत्याचक्षते ।

'The *Vyaṣṭakā* which comes after the full-moon at *Māgha* (Regulus), has its eighth day or last quarter with the moon at the star *Jyeṣṭhā* or *Antares*; that is called *Ekāṣṭakā*.'

The moon takes at the mean rate 7·545 days or roughly a quarter of a synodic month to pass from *Regulus* to *Antares*.

Thus we come to the conclusion that the Vedic standard month of *Māgha* in reference to which the Vedic five-yearly

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[1] *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, 4, 4, 10.

[2] Translation of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*. Calcutta University Reprint, p. 243.

[3] *Apastamba Gṛhya Sūtra*, viii, 21, 10.

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luni-solar cycles were started and the winter solstice days in successive ages were determined and stated had three characters, viz., (1) New-moon at *Delphinis*, (2) Full-moon at *Regulus*, and (3) Last quarter at *Antares*. This month of *Māgha* did not and also does not come every year. We shall henceforth call this month the *Vedic Standard Month of Māgha*.

*The Vedic Standard Month of Māgha in Present Times.*

We can now ascertain how and when such a standard *Māgha* occurred or may occur in our own times. For 1931 A.D., *β Delphinis* had a longitude of 315° 23′; *α Leonis* 148° 53′; *α Scorpionis* or *Antares* 238° 48′ nearly. Hence this standard month of *Māgha* should begin about the 5th February, should have the full-moon about the 18th February, and the last quarter about the 28th February. If we look for such a month coming in our own times we had it as shown below:—

| Year | Beginning New-moon | Full-moon | Last Quarter | Ending New-moon |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1924 | Feb. 5 | Feb. 20 | Feb. 27 | Mar. 5. |
| 1927 | Feb. 2 | Feb. 16 | Feb. 24 | Mar. 3. |
| 1932 | Feb. 6 | Feb. 22 | Feb. 28 | Mar. 7. |
| 1935 | Feb. 3 | Feb. 18 | Feb. 26 | Mar.5. |

The Vedic standard month of *Māgha* is thus not strictly unique in its position in the sidereal year. All points considered we are inclined to take that this *Māgha* happened in our time in 1924 A.D. from the 5th February till the 5th March. This year and this month we shall use as our gauge year and month in interpreting the different statements of the days of the winter solstice as occurring in Vedic literature.

(ii) STATEMENTS OF SOLSTICE DAYS IN VEDIC LITERATURE.

We are now going to state and explain the references from the *Brāhmaṇas* and other works which either directly state or indicate the winter solstice day of the successive Vedic periods.

(A) The first reference is from the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, and it was first found by Weber.

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स वै माघस्यामावास्यायामुपवसत्युदङ्ङावर्त्मन्नुपेमे वसन्ति प्राय-णीयेनातिरात्रेण यज्यमाणास्तदेनं प्रथममाप्नुवन्ति तं चतुर्विंशेनारभन्ते तदारम्भनीयस्यारम्भनीयत्वं स षण्मासानुदङ्ङेति तमूर्ध्वैः षडहैरनुयन्ति स षण्मासानुदङ्ङित्वा तिष्ठते दक्षिणावर्त्मन्नुपेमे वसन्ति वैषुवतीयेनाह्ना यज्यमाणास्तदेनं द्वितीयमाप्नुवन्ति स षण्मासान् दक्षिणैति तमाहृतैः षडहैः अनुयन्ति स षण्मासान् दक्षिणेत्वा तिष्ठते उदङ्ङावर्त्मन्नुपेमे महाव्रतीयेनाह्ना यज्यमाणास्तदेनं तृतीयमाप्नुवन्ति तं यत्त्रिराप्नुवन्ति त्रेधाविहितो वै संवत्सरः संवत्सरस्यैवाप्त्यै तदुतैषाऽपि यज्ञगाथा गीयते।

अहोरात्राणि विदधद् ऊर्णा वा इव धीर्यः
षण्मासा दक्षिणा नित्यः षडुदङ्डेति सूर्य्यः।

इति षड्ह्येष उदङ्मासानेति षड्दक्षिणा तद्वैन तस्मिन् काले दीक्षेरन्ननागतं सस्यं भवति दहरकाण्यह्नानि भवन्ति संवेपमाना अव-भृथादुदायन्ति तस्मादत्र न दीक्षेरंश्चैत्रस्यामावास्याया एकाह उपरिष्टाद् दीक्षेरन् आगतं सस्यं भवति महान्त्यह्नानि भवन्त्यसंवेपमाना अवभृथा-दुदायन्ति तस्मादेतत् स्थितम्।[1]

This passage has thus been translated by Keith in his *Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas*.

'On the new-moon of Māgha he rests, being about to turn northwards; these also rest, being about to sacrifice with the introductory *atirātra*; thus for the first time they obtain him; on him they lay hold with the *caturviṁśa*; that is why the laying hold has its name. He goes north for six months; him they follow with six day periods in forward arrangement. Having gone north for six months he stands still being about to turn southwards; these also rest, being about to sacrifice with the *Viṣuvant* day; thus for the second time they obtain him. He goes south for six months; they follow him with six day periods in reverse order. Having gone south for six months he stands still, and they about to sacrifice with the *Mahāvrata* day obtain him for the third time. In that they obtain him thrice, the year is in three ways arranged. Verily it serves to obtain the year. With regard to this this sacrificial verse is sung,

[1] *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, xix, 3.

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Ordaining the days and nights,
Like a cunning spider,
For six months south constantly,
For six north the sun goeth.

For six months he goes north, six south. They should not consecrate themselves at this time; the corn has not arrived, the days are short, shivering they come out from the final bath (*avabhṛtha*). Therefore they should not consecrate themselves at this time. They should consecrate themselves one day after the new-moon of *Caitra*; the corn has come, the days are long, not shivering they come out from the final bath. Therefore that is the rule.'

Here it is definitely stated that on the new-moon *of Māgha* the sun reached the winter solstice. This new-moon is without any doubt that new-moon with which *Māgha* ended. The definition or meaning of this month of *Māgha* has been found before. This statement shows that the 5th of March, 1924 A.D., was the true anniversary of this determination of the winter solstice. Now on the 5th March, 1924, G.M. noon, the sun's mean longitude was $= 342° 57' 46''$
$= 342° 58'$ to the nearest minute.

This longitude was near to 270° in the year of this determination of the solstice day. It shows a shifting of the solstices by about 72° 58', representing a lapse of about 5,288 years till 1924 A.D. But we have yet to allow for the sun's equation. Now in 52·64 centuries before 1900 A.D., the longitude of the sun's apogee was $= 11° 30'$ nearly and the eccentricity of the solar orbit was about ·018951. Hence the sun's equation for the mean longitude of 270° was 2° 8' nearly.

The total shifting of the solstices becomes 75° 6' nearly; this indicates a lapse of 5,444 years till 1924 A.D., or the date of this determination of the solstice becomes near to 3521 B.C. Now as we want the year similar to 1924 A.D. as regards the moon's phases in relation to the fixed stars, it becomes the year 3517 B.C.

The sun then turned north in 3517 B.C. on the new-moon day of *Māgha* and the first year of the luni-solar cycle commenced from the said new-moon day. The question now is, 'how could they find the next winter solstice day?' They counted full 366 days or 12 months and 12 nights after which they estimated that the sun would reach the winter solstice. This sort of reckoning continued till the five-yearly cycle of 62 lunar months was exhausted. They then thought that the same type of *Māgha* returned. Or they might check their reckoning in 3, 5, 8, 11 or 19 years by actual observation. Hence their predicted day of the winter solstice, when not checked by actual observation, was almost always in error, but perhaps was still within their

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limit of 21 days. Their observed solstice days, however, never erred by more than a day.

It may be asked how the Vedic year came to have 366 days or 12 lunar months + 12 nights. Generally this year is stated in many places to consist of 360 days only. How is this discrepancy to be explained? In a half-year there were the ordinary 180 days + 2 *atirātra* days, then came the *Viṣuvān*, the middle day of the year which belonged to the neither half and then came the other half with 180 days+2 *atirātra* days, and lastly came the *Mahāvratra* day. In all, therefore, there were in the year 2(180+2)+2 or 366 days. Of the two *atirātras* of the northerly course, the first was the *Prāyanīya* and the second the *Abhijit* day. Similarly in the sun's southerly course, the first *atirātra* day was the *Viśvajit* day and the other had a suitable name. The Vedic year had thus 366 days or 12 lunations +12 'nights'.[1]

One point more that we want to settle is when the Vedic year was taken to begin. The answer is now easy. The Vedic year normally began on the day following the winter solstice, and winter then began and lasted for two months. Winter was thus the first season of the year. There was next felt the difficulty of beginning the year-long sacrifices with the winter solstice day, as the time was unsuitable on the ground of its being extremely cold, as it was the non-harvesting time and as the days were then very short. Then rule was made to begin these sacrifices, not from the winter solstice day but full two months and one day or exactly 60 days later, when spring set in, or as the text says, 'One day after the new-moon of Caitra'. Thus the first season though winter formerly, became spring in later reckoning and winter then became the last season of the year.

We have found out the year when the sun turned north on the new-moon of *Māgha* to have been 3517 B.C., by taking the standard month of *Māgha* as the one which happened from the 5th of February till the 5th of March, 1924 A.D. Our date is perhaps liable to shifting of about one or two centuries either way if we took the gauge year to be 1927 or 1932 A.D. This amount of possible shifting must be considered negligible at such a remote age. It is perhaps needless to point out that unless we can find out a correct interpretation of passages like the above no determination of time would be possible.

A question may yet be raised, if of the phrase 'the new moon of Māgha', the word *Māgha* means the full-moon ending month of *Māgha*. Our answer is that we have taken the month

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[1] Cf. त्रिंशत्यङ्गां षष्ट्यधिरब्दो पञ्चत्तेवो * * *Yājuṣa Jyautiṣa*, 28, also

प्रथमं सप्तमं चाऽऽर्तवानां त्रयोदशं ।
चतुर्थं दशमं चैव द्वियुग्मास्यं बऽऽले श्रुतौ ॥ *Yājuṣa Jyautiṣa*, 9.

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of *Māgha* as new-moon ending not without any reason. In the *Jyautiṣa Vedāṁgas* we get the new-moon ending months alone; not a single verse in them can be interpreted to mean the full-moon ending months. In the case of the new-moon ending *Māgha*, we have established three distinctive peculiarities as already pointed out and that such a month of *Māgha* was associated with the winter solstice day and the starting of the Vedic five-yearly cycle or *Yuga*. The word *Māgha* as used in connection with the solstice days must have a definite meaning, i.e. must mean more or less a unique synodic month not occurring every year. As to the full-moon ending *Māgha* we have not yet discovered any unique meaning either from the *Jyautiṣa Vedāṁgas* or from other Vedic literature. Thus while we are so much in doubt as to the characters of a unique full-moon ending month of *Māgha*, the characters of the new-moon ending *Māgha* are very clear and well pronounced. We thus consider it fruitless to speculate upon the characters of a Vedic full-moon ending unique *Māgha* to interpret the references like the above. We now pass on to our next reference.

(B) This reference was quoted by Tilak in his '*Orion*' on pp. 44-45 and runs as follows [1]:—

संवत्सराय दीक्षिष्यमाणा एकाष्टकायां दीक्षेरन्नेषा वै संवत्सरस्य पत्नी यदैकाष्टकैतस्यां वा एष एतां रात्रिं वसति साक्षादेव संवत्सरमारभ्य दीक्षंत आर्त्तिं वा एते संवत्सरस्याभिदीक्षंते य एकाष्टकायां दीक्षंते अन्तनामावृतू भवतः व्यृद्धं एते संवत्सरस्याभिदीक्षंते य एकाष्टकायां दीक्षंते अन्तनामावृतू भवतः फल्गुनी पूर्णमासे दीक्षेरन् मुखं वा एतत् संवत्सरस्य यत्फल्गुनी पूर्णमासो मुखत एव संवत्सरमारभ्य दीक्षंते तस्यैकैव निर्या यत् साम्मेघ्ये विषुवान् सम्पद्यते चित्रा पूर्णमासे दीक्षेरण् मुखं वा एतत् संवत्सरस्य यच्चित्रा पूर्णमासो मुखत एव संवत्सरमारभ्य दीक्षंते तस्य न काचन निर्या भवति चतुरहे पुरस्तात् पौर्णमास्यै दीक्षेरन् तेषामष्टकायां क्रयः सम्पद्यते तेनैकाष्टकां न क्रंबट कुर्व्वन्ति तेषां पूर्व्वपक्षे सुत्या सम्पद्यते पूर्व्वपक्षं मासा अभिसम्पद्यन्ते ते पूर्व्वपक्ष उत्तिष्ठन्ति तानुत्तिष्ठत ओषधयो वनस्पतयोऽनुतिष्ठन्ति तान् कल्याणी कीर्त्तिरनुत्तिष्ठत्यारत्सुरिमे यजमाना इति तदनु सर्व्वे राध्नुवन्ति ॥

This passage is from the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*. The Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa has also almost the same passage with slight altera-

[1] *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, vii, 4, 8, also *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa*, v, 9.

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tions as may be seen from Tilak's quotation in his '*Orion*'. We translate the above passage following him generally thus:

'Those who want to consecrate themselves for the yearly (year-long) sacrifice should do so on the *Ekāṣṭakā* day. This is the wife of the year what is called *Ekāṣṭakā* and he, the year lives in her for this night. Those that consecrate on the *Ekāṣṭakā* truly do so in a distressed condition, as it is the season (winter) which is reckoned the last of the year. Thus those that consecrate on the *Ekāṣṭakā* do so in the reversed order as it marks the last season of the year. They should consecrate on the full-moon at the *Phalgus* as it is the mouth of the year. They thus begin the yearly (year-long) sacrifices from the very mouth; but it has one defect that the *viṣuvān* (the middle day of the year) falls in the rainy season. They should consecrate themselves at the full-moon near *Citrā* (*Spica* or *α Virginis*), as it is the beginning of the year. They thus begin the sacrifice from the very mouth of the year. Of this time there is no fault whatsoever. They should consecrate themselves four days before the full-moon (near *Citrā*). Their *Kraya* (i.e. purchase of *Soma*) falls on the *Ekāṣṭakā* (here the last quarter of *Caitra*). Thereby they do not render the *Ekāṣṭakā* void (i.e. of no consequence). Their *Sutyā* (i.e. extraction of Soma juice) falls in the first (light) half of the month. Their months (monthly sacrifices) fall in the first half. They rise (finish) in the first half. On their rising, herbs and plants rise after them. After them rises the good fame that these sacrificers have prospered. Thereon all prosper.'

The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* here records three days of the winter solstice, the first two of which were traditional and the last one most likely belonged to the date of this book. These are:—

(1) The Day of *Ekāṣṭakā*.
(2) The Day of the full-moon at the *Phalgus*.
(3) The Day preceding the full-moon of *Māgha*.

As in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* here is expressed a dislike for beginning the yearly sacrifices with the beginning of winter. Some centuries later than the tradition recorded in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, it was observed that the winter solstice had preceded by nearly 8 days and fell on the *Ekāṣṭakā* day, i.e. on the day of the last quarter of the standard month of *Māgha* on which the moon was conjoined with *Antares*. This day corresponded with the 27th February of 1924 A.D. of our time. Hence the date for this position of the winter solstice as obtained by observation comes out to be about *2934 B.C.*

It was about this time taken as a rule that the yearly sacrifices should be begun from the day of *Ekāṣṭakā*. But as this was the beginning of winter, it was considered unsuitable for the purpose chiefly owing to the extreme cold nature of the

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season which made the sacrificer shiver on coming out of the water after the bath of *avabhṛtha*. People then came to think that the yearly sacrifices should be begun according to an older tradition, viz., that the day of the full-moon night near the *Phalgus* was the first day of the year. This day had been the day of the winter solstice many centuries before this time. As we shall see later on this tradition is recorded in all the *Brāhmaṇas* in the form that the full-moon at the *Pūrva Phalgus* was the last day of the year and the same at the *Uttara Phalgus* the first day of the year. The time when this was the position of the solstices, was about 3551 B.C. We cannot be sure if at this time there was anything like the standard month of *Māgha* agreed upon. Such a full-moon period as mentioned in this connection had its first day the *Anumati Paurṇamāsī* and the next day the *Rākā*—this period repeated itself on the 5th and 6th March, 1928 A.D.

But the sacrificers who thought that the *Ekāṣṭakā* day was unsuitable for beginning the yearly sacrifices, calculated that the full-moon at the *Phalgus* would happen $\frac{3}{4}$th of a month or 22 days later, and that the middle day of the year would happen 22 days after the sun crossed the summer solstice—a day which was almost at the middle of the rainy season. Hence if they began the yearly (year-long) sacrifices at the beginning of spring, i.e. full two solar months or two lunar (synodic) months + one day later, the *Viṣuvān* or the middle day of the sacrificial year would be the first day of autumn and there would be no inconvenience due to rainy weather on that day.

When the sun reached the winter solstice on the day of the last quarter of the standard month of *Māgha*, spring would begin full two synodic months *plus* one day, later; consequently the day most suitable for beginning the yearly sacrifices would be the day following the *Caitrī Ekāṣṭakā* the last quarter of *Caitra*. In its place the *Taittirīya Saṁhita* recommends that the yearly sacrifices should be begun from the full-moon day of *Caitra* or *Citrā Paurṇamāsī* day. This being the beginning of spring, the winter solstice day was one day before the full-moon day of the standard month of *Māgha*.

This full-moon day of *Māgha* corresponded with the 20th February, 1924 A.D., and the year in which the winter solstice day fell on the full-moon day of *Māgha* was 2454 B.C. The time indicated by the rule of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* becomes about 2378 B.C. or 76 years later.[1] Judged by this latest tradition

[1] It is interesting in this connection to notice that Yudhiṣṭhira began his year-long sacrifice of Aśvamedha on a *Caitri* full-moon day. Cf. *MBh.*, *Aśvamedha*, chs. 72, 82 and 84. The lines are (*a*) चैत्र्यां हि पौर्णमास्यां तु नव दीक्षा भविष्यति, (*b*) युधिष्ठिरस्याश्वमेधः परिचैत्रीं भविष्यति, (*c*) आगन्तव्यं परां चैत्रीमश्वमेधे नृपस्य नः। According to our finding the Bhārata battle was

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recorded in it the date of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* should be about 2378 B.C. The other two traditions which it contains were true for about 3551 B.C. and 2934 B.C. respectively.

(C) In the *Mahābhārata*, there are several passages which state directly or indirectly indicate that the nights of the full-moon at the *Kṛttikās* and *Maghās*, were respectively the autumnal equinox and the winter solstice days and thus particularly auspicious for the performance of some religious observances. These references have been quoted already in a previous paper, but I trust their repetition here would be permitted.

(1) कार्त्तिकीं तु विशेषेण योऽभिगच्छति पुष्करम् ।
प्राप्नुयात् स नरो लोकान् ब्रह्मणः सदनेऽक्षयान् ॥ [1]

'The man who goes to Puṣkara specially at the full-moon at the *Kṛttikās*, gets the blessed worlds for all times at the house of Brahma.'

(2) कृत्तिकामघयोश्चैव तीर्थमासाद्य भारत ।
अग्निष्टोमातिरात्राभ्यां फलमाप्नोति मानवः ॥ [2]

'A person reaching a holy bathing place at the full-moons at the *Kṛttikās* (*Pleiades*) and the *Maghās* (*Regulus, etc.*), gets the merit of having performed respectively the *Agniṣṭoma* and the *Atirātra* sacrifices.'

(3) दशतीर्थसहस्राणि तिस्रः कोट्यस्तथापराः ।
समागच्छन्ति माघ्यां तु प्रयागे भरतर्षभ ॥ [3]

'At Prayāga (the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuna) at the full-moon at Maghās, three crores and ten thousand holy waters meet.'

(4) ऊर्व्वशीं कृत्तिकायोगे गत्वा चैव समाहितः ।
लौहित्ये विधिवत् स्नात्वा पुण्डरीकफलं लभेत् ॥ [4]

'On the full-moon at the *Kṛttikās*, if a man should go to the bathing place called Ūrvaśī and bathe in the Lauhitya (the river Brahmaputra), according to the Śāstric rules with a devoted

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fought in 2449 B.C. It is therefore not unlikely that the date for the *Taittirīya Saṁhita* and of the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* was the same as of the Pāṇḍavas. We further know that Tāṇḍya was a pupil of Vaiśampāyana, the first *Mahābhārata* teller.

[1] *MBh., Vana*, 82, 31-32.
[2] *MBh., Vana*, 84, 51-52.
[3] *MBh., Anuśāsana*, 25, 35-36.
[4] *MBh., Anuśāsana*, 25, 46.

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or prayerful mind, he would get the religious merit of having performed the *Puṇḍarīka* sacrifice.'

We have already ascertained the time when the full-moon day of the standard month of *Māgha* was also the winter solstice day; it was the year *2454* B.C. The *Mahābhārata* references quoted above show that the old observers could ascertain that at this time the vernal equinox was near the *Kṛttikās* (*Pleiades*) and the summer solstice at the *Maghās* (or near the star *Regulus*). This position of the equinoxes and the solstices was perhaps regarded as correct till up to 2350 B.C. We next pass on to the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*.

(D) In this work the day for the beginning of the sacrifices lasting for a year is stated as follows[1]:—

ते चतुरहे पुरस्तान् माघ्यै पौर्णमास्यै दीक्षंते। तेषामष्टकायां क्रयः सम्पद्यते।

'They (who want to consecrate themselves for the year), do so four days before the *Māgha* full-moon day: their purchase of *Soma* falls on the *aṣṭakā* (*Ekāṣṭakā*).'

Here we have an indication that when this rule was adopted, the sun reached the winter solstice four days before the full-moon day of *Māgha*. It is further not stated that it was inconvenient to begin the yearly sacrifices at the time when winter began. This rule is quite distinct from, though similar to the rule of, the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*. Here we have the mention of the full-moon of *Māgha* (or the full-moon near *Maghā* or *Regulus*) and there we get the mention of the full-moon near *Citrā* or *Spica*. Taking for the gauge year, the year 1924 A.D. as before, we find that the year when the sun reached the winter solstice four days before the full-moon of *Māgha*, was about 2153 B.C.

(E) We now come to some different sort of statements, not connected with the month of *Māgha*, from the *Brāhmaṇas* as to the beginning of the year expressed in terms of the fullness of the moon near to the *Phalgus*:

(*a*) अथातश्चातुर्म्मास्यानां। चातुर्म्मास्यानि प्रयुञ्जानः फाल्गुन्यां पौर्णमास्यां प्रयुंक्ते। मुखं वा एतत् सम्वत्सरस्य यत् फाल्गुनी पौर्णमासी मुखमुत्तरे पुच्छं पूर्व्वे तद् यथा प्रवत्तस्यान्तौ समेतौ स्यातामेवमेतौ संवत्सरस्यान्तौ समेतौ।[2]

'Next as to the four-monthly sacrifices. He who prepares for the four-monthly sacrifices, begins on the full-moon night of

[1] *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, 16, 13.
[2] *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, 5, 1.

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the *Phalgunis*. The full-moon night of the *Phalgunis* is the beginning of the year; the latter two (*uttare*) *Phalgus* are the beginning and the former two (*Pūrve*) the end (i.e. *puccha* or the tail). Just as the two ends of what is round (viz., the circle) may unite, so these two ends of the year are connected.' (Keith.)

(*b*) एषाह संवत्सरस्य प्रथमा रात्रिर्यत् फाल्गुनी पौर्णमासी योत्तोरा एषोत्तमा या पूर्व्वा मुखत एव तत्संवत्सरमारभते।[1]

'It is the first night of the year, what is known as the full-moon at the *Phalgunis*, which falls near to the *Uttaras*; that is called *uttama* (the better) which falls near to the *Pūrvas*; the year is hence begun from the very mouth.'

The above passage from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, states two traditions, viz., (1) that first night of the year was the full-moon night at the *Uttara Phalgus* and (2) also that the first night of the year was preferably the full-moon night at *Pūrva Phalgus*.

(*c*) एषा वै जघन्या रात्रिः संवत्सरस्य यत्पूर्व्वे फल्गुनी। एष्ठित संवत्सरस्याग्निमाधाय पापीयान् भवति। उत्तरयोरादधीत एषा वै प्रथमा रात्रिः संवत्सरस्य यदुत्तरे फल्गुनी। मुखत एव संवत्सरस्याग्निमाधाय वसीयान् भवति।[2]

'It is the last night of the year what is the full-moon at the *Pūrva Phalgunis*; a man becomes a sinner by making fire for the year at the fag-end. The fire should be made in the full-moon night at the *Uttara Phalgunis*, it is the first night of the year—the full-moon night at the two *Uttara Phalgunis*. A man becomes wealthy by making fire from the very beginning.'

(*d*) फाल्गुन्यां पौर्णमास्यां चातुर्म्मास्यानि प्रयुञ्जीत। मुखं वा एतत् संवत्सरस्य यत् फाल्गुनी पौर्णमासी।[3]

'The four-monthly sacrifices should be begun on the full-moon at the *Phalgus*. It is the mouth of the year what is the full-moon at the *Phalgus*.'

Here no distinction is made between the two Phalguni full-moons.

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[1] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VI, 2, 2, 18.

[2] *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, I, 1, 28; quoted by Dīkṣita in his भारतीय ज्योतिःशास्त्र, p. 19 (1st edn.).

[3] *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, 6, 19; quoted also by Dīkṣita in his भारतीय ज्योतिःशास्त्र, p. 39 (1st edn.).

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*Meaning of the 'First Night of the Year'.*

There are two points to be settled in connection with the above statements, viz., (i) whether 'the first night of the year' means the beginning of spring or of winter, (ii) secondly where was the full-moon to happen to mark the beginning of the year.

*Not beginning of Spring but of Winter.*

With regard to the first point, we can easily prove that 'the first night of the year' in these statements does not mean the beginning of the Indian spring which happens when the sun's celestial longitude becomes 330° and not 360°.

The two stars δ and θ *Leonis* which constitute the two *Pūrva Phalgunis*, had respectively the longitudes of 160° 15′ and 162° 24′ nearly in 1931 A.D. On the 3rd of March, 1923 A.D., a full-moon happened near the star θ *Leonis* at 8-27 A.M. of Kurukṣetra time. The sun's longitude at G.M. noon or 5-4 P.M. of Kurukṣetra time was 341° 54′, the sun being almost in opposition to θ *Leonis*. If this position of the sun indicated the beginning of Indian spring at the time of the above *Brāhmaṇa* references, the sun's longitude was then 330°. As a first approximation this gives a shifting of the equinoxes by only 11° 54′, and would indicate a lapse of about 864 year. The time would be only 1059 A.D. Even if went to the next approximation we would not get much earlier date. This date of about 1059 A.D. would be impossible for any *Brāhmaṇas* quoted above.

Again the star β *Leonis*, the more important of the two *Uttara Phalgunis*, had the longitude of 170° 41′ in 1931 A.D. Now in 1933 A.D. a full-moon happened on the 12th March, at 3-15 A.M. of G.M.T. On that day at G.M. noon, the sun's longitude was 351° 28′ nearly, showing the shifting of the solstices by only 21° 28′ as a first approximation. This would lead to a date of about 400 A.D., which is also an impossibility.

In no way can we concur with Weber when he says, 'In the older division of the year the first or spring season begins with the month of Phālguna, that is the month when the moon is in conjunction with the nakṣatra of *Uttara Phalgunis*'.[1] Weber's interpretation is thus entirely untenable.

We thus come to the conclusion that 'the first night of the year' in the above statements indicates the beginning of winter and not of spring, or that this night has to be identified with the winter solstice night without any shade of doubt.

---

[1] Eggeling's *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Part III, footnote, p. 179, quoted from the *Nachrichten Vonder Naxatra*, II, p. 329.

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*Winter-solstitial Point and Deduced Date.*

We have now to settle the exact indication of the winter solstitial point from the above Brāhmaṇa references. The full-moon at the *Pūrva Phalgus* was the last night of the year, while the full-moon at the *Uttara Phalgus* the first night of the next year. If we take the meaning that the sun reached the winter solstice at the full-moon at the *Pūrva Phalgus*, from these references, we arrive at the year 3293 B.C. On the other hand, if we take that the sun in opposition to $\beta$ *Leonis* marked the winter solstice, the date comes out to be 3980 B.C. Here is thus produced a difference of about 700 years.

Now the Vedic full-moon nights were not *one* but *two* in a lunar month, the first of which was the *Anumati Paurṇamāsi* and the second was the *Rākā Paurṇamāsī*.[1] These two full-moon nights were consecutive. Hence we should take the full-moon occurring somewhere midway between the stars $\theta$ and $\beta$ *Leonis* as indicative of the winter solstice day of this Brāhmaṇa period.

Now the celestial longitude of $\theta$ *Leonis* for 1931 A.D.
$= 162° 24'$
and ,, ,, ,, ,, of $\beta$ *Leonis* for 1931 A.D.
$= 170° 41'$.
$\therefore$ The mean of the longitudes of these stars for 1931 A.D.
$= 166° 32'$.

Now on the 6th March, 1928, a full-moon happened at 12 hrs. 34 min. G.M.T. and the sun at G.M. noon had the longitude of 345° 40′ nearly. From which the total shifting of the solstices becomes 75° 40′ as a first approximation. The date comes out to be about 3550 B.C., which we understand to be earliest date of the *age of the Brāhmaṇas* as deduced from the above statements.

(F) Again in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, we have the following rule for beginning the *Cāturmāsya* sacrifices:

तदैके। रात्रीरापिपयिष्यन्ति स यदि रात्रिरापिपयिष्येद् यदः पुरस्तात् फाल्गुन्यै पौर्णमास्याऽउदृश्यं तच्छुनाशीर्य्येण यजेत।[2]

'Some want to have a few nights more; if they want some more nights, they should begin the *Śunāśīrya* sacrifices on the night on which the moon becomes first visible before the full-moon at the *Phalgus*.'

This passage seems to suggest that the sun turned north at the time of this rule of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, not on the day of the full-moon at the *Phalgunis*, but about 14 days earlier.

[1] *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, xxxii, 11, etc.
[2] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II, 6, 4, 11.

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As stated before a full-moon happened about half way between the two *Phalgunis* on the 6th March, 1928 A.D., and the moon became first visible on the 22nd February in Calcutta. On this day at G.M. noon, the sun had the longitude 323° 28′. The total shifting of the solstices becomes 62° 28′ as a first approximation, and the date becomes 2610 B.C. roughly. This, however, cannot be the date of compilation of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* for reasons set forth below.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* calls the full-moon at the Pūrva Phalgus *Uttama* or the better. Hence in Śatapatha reference quoted before 'the full-moon at Phalgus' more fitly means the full-moon at the Pūrva Phalgus or δ and *θ Leonis*. Hence the recommendation is that the *Śunāśīrya* sacrifices should be begun from the night on which the moon became first visible before the full-moon at the *Pūrva Phalgus*. We may take it that at the time of this rule the sun turned north on the day on which the moon became first visible before the full-moon at the star δ *Leonis*.

Now a full-moon near δ *Leonis* happened on the 1st March, 1934; the moon became first visible in Calcutta on the 15th February. The sun's longitude on this day at G.M. noon was = 326° 8′. The total shifting of the solstices up to the date was 56° 8′ as a first approximation. The date works out to be about 2125 B.C. Thus the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* was later than the Pāṇḍava times by about $3\frac{1}{4}$ centuries.[1]

## Conclusion.

We have thus shown from the direct statements as found in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, that the development of this class of literature and of the religious ceremonies prescribed in them began from about 3550 B.C. and terminated at about 2100 B.C. The actual dates arrived at are tabulated on the next page.

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[1] Cf. "क पारीक्षिता अभवन्निति" in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣat*, III, 3, 1. This *Upaniṣat* is the concluding part of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. In the *Mahābhārata*, *Śāntiparva*, it is said that Yājñavalkya was a contemporary of Vaiśampāyana, Sumantu, Jaimini and Paila; and that it was he who composed the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. *MBh.*, *Śānti*. 318. It may be that this Yajñavalkya was the first author of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. The verses from the *Mahābhārata* are:—

ततः शतपथं कृत्स्नं सरहस्यं ससंग्रहम् ।
चक्रे सपरिशेषं च हर्षेण महतेन ह ॥१९॥
कर्तुं शतपथं चेदमपूर्वं च कृतं मया ।
यथाऽभिलषितं मार्गं तथा तचोपपादितम् ॥२३॥

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| Date arrived at (approximate) | Reference or Basis of Date | Gauge year and date. Corr. to W.S. Day. |
|---|---|---|
| 3550 B.C. | (E) | 1928 A.D., 6th March. |
| 3517 B.C. | (A) | 1924 A.D., 5th March. |
| 2934 B.C. | (B) | Do. Do., 27th Feb. |
| 2454 B.C. | (C) | Do. Do., 20th Feb. |
| 2153 B.C. | (D) | Do. Do., 16th Feb. |
| 2125 B.C. | (F) | 1934 A.D., 15th Feb. |

When so many dates are indicated in the *Brāhmaṇas* they cannot be all classed as mere traditions; the range of dates extending over 1450 years nearly, forms, as it were, a chronological ladder. The year of the Bhārata battle falls within this range and was the year 2449 B.C. as established in my first paper.

As to the references which use the month of *Māgha* for stating the solstice days, the gauge year could as well be 1927 A.D., and we cannot say if the Vedic Hindus did not sometimes use the type of *Māgha* which happened this year. This would tend to lower some of the dates as connected with *Māgha* by about 200 years. The reference (A) would indicate the date 3308 B.C. nearly 'when *Rohiṇī* became the first star'.[1] The dates from references (E) and (F) are not liable to alteration.

The *Brāhmaṇa* references are quite clear as to the day of the winter solstice in successive ages and the dates arrived at appear more or less certain. Not such will perhaps be the references from the Vedas themselves. It is therefore very important to examine astronomically the interval evidences from the Vedas themselves to try to find the probable dates deducible from them and to see how those stand in relation to the chronological ladder established in this paper.

The present paper consists of two parts in the first of which we have shown that the Vedic Hindus knew of a method of finding the solstice day of any year. In the second half we have established that there was a standard month of *Māgha* in their statements of the solstice days in successive ages, and we have found out a chronological ladder extending from 3550 B.C. to 2100 B.C. during which the class of Sanskrit literature known as the Brāhmaṇas was developed.

[1] *MBh., Vana*, 230. 8–11, quoted before.

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ARTICLE No. 17.

# Madhu-Vidyā or the Science of Spring.

By P. C. SENGUPTA.

*(Communicated by Prof. M. N. Saha.)*

The aim of the present paper is to interpret the *Madhu-Vidyā* or the Science of Spring of the Vedic-Hindus. It may be objected at the outset that the term 'Madhu-Vidyā'[1] may not really mean 'The Science of Spring' as here translated. Our answer is that 'Madhu' and 'Mādhava' were the two months of spring of the Vedic tropical year.[1] Hence there is some justification for putting 'Madhu-Vidyā' as equivalent to 'Science of Spring'. I trust more reasons for this rendering into English of this word would be apparent with the development of the present paper.

To every Hindu the following Ṛks are well known :—

मधुवाताऽऋतायते मधुक्षरन्ति सिन्धवः। माध्वीर्नः सन्त्वोषधीः॥
मधुनक्तमुतोषसो मधुमत्पार्थिवं रजः। मधुद्यौरस्तु नः पिता॥
मधुमान्नो वनस्पतिर्मधुमाँऽस्तु सूर्यः। माध्वीर्गावो भवन्तु नः॥

*Ṛg-Veda*, M. I, 90, 6–8.

'Sweetness is blown by the winds and sweetness is discharged by the rivers ; may the herbs be full of sweetness to us. May the nights and twilights be sweet to us, may the dust of the earth be sweet ; may the sky father (Dyauspitṛ=Jupiter) to us be full of sweetness. May the trees be full of sweetness to us, may the sun be full of sweetness; may our kine be sweet to us.'

The *ṛṣi* here finds that with the advent of spring air becomes pleasant and the water of rivers delightful. This was the time for harvesting wheat and barley and he conjures up the herbs to yield him sweetness in the shape of a bumper crop. He expects the nights and twilights to lose the chillness of winter and be pleasant to him, and even the dust of the earth is to lose the cold touch of winter[2]. He expects, the benign sky would yield him timely rain. The trees (then bearing flowers), the sun, the cattle are all to become full of sweetness.

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[1] 'मधुश्च माधवश्च वासन्तिकावृतू'। *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, 4, 4, 11. Quoted by S. B. Dikṣita in his भारतीय ज्योतिःशास्त्र, p. 29 (2nd edn.).

[2] The description clearly refers to a change of weather—and it refers to the advent.



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The elements which bring him happiness or sweetness are:— (1) the winds, (2) the rivers, (3) the herbs, (4) the nights, (5) the twilights, (6) the earth, (7) the kindly sky bringing in timely spring, (8) the trees, (9) the sun, and (10) the cattle.

In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣat*, II, 5, 1–14, the elements bringing in sweetness or *Madhu* to all beings are elaborated and enumerated as: (1) the earth, (2) water, (3) fire, (4) the winds, (5) the sun, (6) the cardinal points of the sky, (7) the moon, (8) lightning, (9) thunder, (10) the sky, (11) right action, (12) truth, (13) human society, and (14) the self. Here the connection of the elements with the coming of spring is quite forgotten, but it is remembered that the *Madhu-Vidyā* or the science of spring was discovered by Tvaṣṭṛ from whom it passed to Dadhīci, who revealed this science to the Aśvins after they had replaced the head of Dadhīci with the head of a horse. This story was revealed to the *ṛṣi* Kakṣīvān according to the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣat*.

The first verse quoted in this *Upaniṣat* is the *Ṛk*. M. I, 116, 12 and runs as follows:—

तद्वां नरासनयेदंस उग्रम् आविष्कृणोमि तन्यतुर्न वृष्टिम्।
दधङ् हयन्मध्वाथर्वणो वाम् अश्वस्य शीर्ष्णा प्रयदीमुवाच॥

'As thunder announces rain, I proclaim, leaders, for the sake of acquiring wealth that great deed which you performed, when provided by you with the head of a horse, Dadhyañc, the son of Atharvan taught you the science of *Madhu* (i.e., spring).'

The next verse quoted by the *Upaniṣat* is *Ṛg-Veda*, M.I, 117, 22, which is :—

आथर्वणायाश्विना दधीचे ऽश्व्यं शिरः प्रत्यरयतम्।
स वां मधु प्रवोचदृतायं त्वाष्ट्रं यद्दस्रावपि कक्ष्यं वा॥

'You replaced, Aśvins, with the head of a horse, (the head of) Dadhīci, the son of Atharvan, and true to his promise he revealed to you the science of *Madhu* (spring) which he had learnt from Tvaṣṭṛ and which was a jealously guarded secret.'

These lines from the *Ṛg-Veda* suggest to us that the science of spring or Madhu-Vidyā was nothing but the knowledge of the celestial signal for the coming of spring. What that signal was is now the matter for our consideration.

The Aśvins are always spoken of and addressed in the dual number. The Vedic ṛṣis most probably identified the Aśvins with the stars $\alpha$ and $\beta$ *Arietis*—the prominent stars of the *nakṣatra Aśvinī*. Whether this be true or not, this much is certain that the Aśvins were and are even now regarded as the presiding deities of this *nakṣatra Aśvinī*. The three stars $\alpha$, $\beta$ and $\gamma$

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*Arietis* form a *constellation which is likened to the head of a horse* [1]. The Aśvins are spoken of as riding in the heavens in their triangular, three-wheeled and spring-bearing chariot in several places in the *Ṛg-Veda*, some of which are:—

(1) त्रयः पवयो मधुवाहने रथे सोमस्य वेनामनुविश्व इद् विदुः।
M. I, 34, 2.

'*Three* are the solid wheels of your *spring-bearing* (*Madhu-Vāhana*) chariot, as all the gods knew it to be when you attended on Venā (=Venus?) the beloved of Moon.'

(2) अर्वाङ् त्रिचक्रो मधुवाहनो रथो जीराश्वो अश्विनोर्यातु सुष्टुतः।
त्रिबन्धुरो मघवा विश्वसौभगः शं न आचक्षद् द्विपदे चतुष्पदे॥ [2]
M. I, 157, 3.

'May the three-wheeled car of the Aśvins, which is the harbinger of spring (*Madhu-Vāhana*), drawn by swift horses, three-canopied, filled with treasure, and everyway auspicious, come to our presence and bring prosperity to our people and our cattle.'

(3) प्रातर्युजं नासत्याधितिष्ठथः प्रातर्यावानं मधुवाहनं रथम्।
M. X, 41, 2.

'Ascend, Nāsatyas, your *spring-bearing chariot* which is *harnessed at dawn* and *set in motion at dawn, etc.*'

(4) क्व त्रीचक्रा त्रिवृतो रथस्य, क्व त्रयो बन्धुरो ये सनीलाः।
M. I, 34, 9.

'Where, Nāsatyas, are the three wheels of your triangular car? Where the three fastening and props (of the awning)?'
(Wilson.)

(5) त्रिबन्धुरेण त्रिवृतासुपेशसा रथेनायातमश्विना।
M. I, 47, 2.

'Come Aśvins, with your three-columned triangular car.'
(Wilson.)

(6) त्रिबन्धुरेण त्रिवृता रथेन त्रिचक्रेण सुवृतायातमर्वाक्।
M. I, 118, 2.

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[1] **अश्वयोनिचुरप्रख्यं** *Śākalya Saṁhita*, II, 162.

[2] I am indebted to Prof. Mm. Vidhuśekhara Śāstri, the head of the Department of Sanskrit, Calcutta University, for this and the next reference from the *Ṛg-Veda*. I owe it to him also that the adjective '**मधुवाहन**' 'Spring-bearing' is applied only to the car of the Aśvins and to the car of no other god in the *Ṛg-Veda*.

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'Come to us with your tri-columnar, triangular, three-wheeled and well-constructed car.' (Wilson.)

All these references speak of the triangular, tri-columnar three-wheeled car of the Aśvins. Here the three wheels of the car of the Aśvins were perhaps the three stars α, β and γ *Arietis*.[1] The first three references speak of the car of the Aśvins as '**मधुवाहन**' or *harbinger of spring*. The third, reference directly states that the car of the Aśvins which is '*spring-bearing*' is *harnessed at dawn* and *set in motion at dawn*. Inference is here irresistible that when the car of the Aśvins, viz., the constellation Aśvinī consisting of the stars α, β and γ *Arietis* became first visible at dawn, the season of spring began at the place of observation which we shall take to be of the latitude of Kurukshetra in the Punjab.

According to Wilson the Aśvins were 'the precursors of the dawn, at which season they ought to be worshipped with libations of Soma juice'. There are of course many passages in the *Ṛg-Veda* which justify the above statement made by Wilson, but we desist from quoting them here as they only tell us that first rose the Aśvins, then came the dawn, and then rose the sun.[2] The jealously guarded 'Madhu-Vidyā' or the 'Science of Spring' was thus nothing but the knowledge of the celestial signal for the advent of spring, and this was the heliacal rising of the stars α, β, γ *Arietis*. Of these three, α *Arietis* rises last, Hence the Aśvins rise completely when α *Arietis* rises.

For the beginning of the Indian spring the sun should have the tropical longitude of 330°. Hence when the star α *Arietis* became first visible at dawn it was the beginning of Indian spring with a celestial longitude of 330° for the sun—at a place in the Punjab of which the latitude was the same as that of Kurukṣetra (30°N). This furnishes sufficient data for the calculation of the time for this astronomical event. Now the dawn begins when the sun is 18° below the horizon. Thus at the time when α *Arietis* reached the eastern horizon with the sun at 18° below the horizon, '*Madhu vidyā*' was

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[1] Most probably the car of the Aśvins included one more star, α *Triangulum*, which with α and β *Arietis* formed a more stable triangle.

[2] Some of these references from the *Ṛg-Veda* are noted below:—

(*a*) **युवोर्हि पूर्व्वं सवितोषसो रथम् ऋताय चित्रं घृतवन्तमिष्यति।** M. I, 7, 4, 10 which means 'Before the dawn even, Savitri sends to bring you to the rite, your wonderful car shining with clarified butter'. (*b*) **उषसः सोमो अश्विनावजोगः।** M. III, 5, 5, 1. i.e. the praiser awakes to glorify the Aśvins before the dawn'. These translations are due to Wilson. Cf. other references:—M. I, 5, 5; M. I, 6, 7; M. I, 9, 3, 14; M. I, 9, 4, 9; M. III, 5, 5, 1; M. VII, 4, 14, 5; M. VIII, 1, 5, 2.

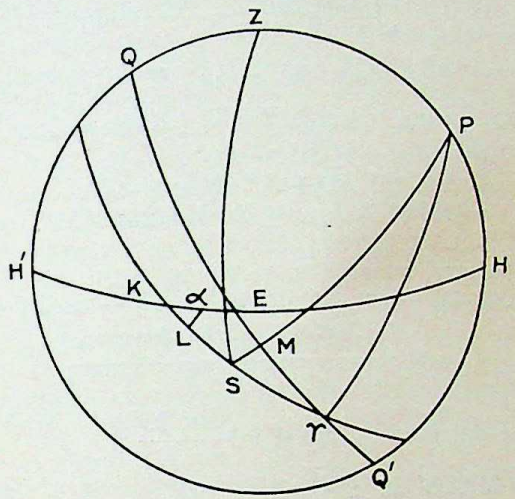
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discovered or it was known that spring began at the latitude of Kurukṣetra (30°N).

We now proceed to find the time when this astronomical phenomena took place.




Let the adjoining figure represent the observer's celestial sphere at the latitude of Kurukṣetra. Here, PZQH′ is the observer's meridian, HEαKH′ the horizon, QEQ′ the celestial equator and ϒSLK the ecliptic. S indicates the sun's position at 18° below the horizon. According to our interpretation Sϒ=30, when it was the beginning of Indian spring. α is the point on the horizon where α *Arietis* rose at the time. Z and P respectively denote the zenith and the celestial pole of the observer. Join Pϒ and PS by arcs of great circles, PS cutting the celestial equator at M. Draw αL perpendicular to the ecliptic.

For 1931 A.D., α *Arietis* had its—

(1) Mean celestial longitude = 36° 41′ 50″, and
(2) ,, ,, latitude = 9° 57′ 46″N., which is taken to remain constant.

The ∠Eϒ K = obliquity of the ecliptic
= 24° 6′ 35″according to our assumption which was true for 4000 B.C.

(*a*) In the triangle ϒSM we have ϒM = 27° 47′ 18″ and SM=11° 47′.

(*b*) In the triangle PZS, ZS = 108°, SP = 101°47′ and PZ = 60°.

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The angle ZPS is given by,

$$\tan\frac{ZPS}{2} = \sqrt{\frac{\sin\frac{ZS+PS-PZ}{2}\times\sin\frac{ZS+PZ-PS}{2}}{\sin\frac{ZS+PS+PZ}{2}\times\sin\frac{PS+PZ-ZS}{2}}}$$

Hence we find that the angle $ZPS = 103° 20' 54''$.

(*c*) Again in the triangle $E\Upsilon K$, $\angle KE\Upsilon = 120°$,

$$\begin{aligned} E\Upsilon &= \angle ZPS + \angle SP\Upsilon - 90° \\ &= 103° 20' 54'' + 27° 47' 18'' - 90° \\ &= 41° 8' 14'', \text{ and } \angle E\Upsilon K = 24° 6' 35''. \end{aligned}$$

The arc $\Upsilon K$ is given by,

$$\begin{aligned} \cot \Upsilon K \sin E\Upsilon &= \cos E\Upsilon \cos 24° 6' 35'' - \tan 30° \sin 24° 6' 35'' \\ &= \frac{\cos E\Upsilon \times \cos(24° 6' 35'' + \phi)}{\cos\phi}, \end{aligned}$$

where $\phi$ is given by $\tan\phi = \dfrac{\tan 30°}{\cos E\Upsilon}$,

whence $\phi = 37° 28' 25''$;

$\therefore \Upsilon K = 55° 31' 51''$.

(*d*) From the same triangle we then find the angle K, which becomes $= 43° 43' 17''$.

(*e*) Lastly from the small right-angled triangle $K\alpha L$, we obtain KL by the equation,

$$\begin{aligned} \sin KL &= \tan\alpha L \cot K \\ &= \tan 9° 57' 46'' \times \cot 43° 43' 17''; \end{aligned}$$

$\therefore KL = 10° 35' 17''$, $\alpha L$ being the celestial latitude of $\alpha$ *Arietis* for 1931 supposed to remain constant throughout.

Thus at the time which we want to determine the celestial longitude of $\alpha$ *Arietis* was $= -\Upsilon L$

$$\begin{aligned} &= -(\Upsilon K - KL) \\ &= -44° 56' 44''. \end{aligned}$$

For 1931 A.D. the mean celestial longitude of $\alpha$ *Arietis*, as stated before, was $= 36° 41' 50''$.

Hence the total change till 1931 A.D. in the celestial longitude of $\alpha$ *Arietis* works out to have been

$$\begin{aligned} &= 36° 41' 50'' + 44° 56' 44'' \\ &= 81° 38' 34''\ ^{1}, \text{ which} \end{aligned}$$

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[1] The calculation of this increase in the celestial longitude of $\alpha$ *Arietis* has been very kindly verified by Dr. M. N. Saha, F.R.S. and Dr. K. M. Basu, D.Sc.

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represents a lapse of 5,925 years, ignoring the proper motion of *α Arietis* The date becomes 3995 B.C. *which may be set down as* 4000 B.C.

This was very nearly the date when Tvaṣṭṛ communicated to Dadhīci the celestial signal of the heliacal rising of *α Arietis* for the advent of spring at the latitude of Kurukṣetra.

It may now be asked if the Vedic Hindus could accurately determine the beginning of spring. The answer must be yes. In the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*,[1] it is stated that when the sun turned north on the new-moon of Māgha, spring began one day after the new-moon of Caitra. They thus counted full sixty days after the winter solstice day and got the beginning of spring. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[2] has described the method by which the Vedic Hindus could accurately ascertain the winter solstice day. Hence we may be quite sure that the Vedic Hindus could accurately find the beginnings of the Indian winter, spring and all the seasons of the year.

We now proceed to find from our investigation the position of the equinoxes and solstices at the time we have determined, when the Vedic *Madhu-Vidyā* came into being, viz., the year 4000 B.C.

Burgess in his Translation of the *Sūryasiddhāntā*,[3] has given the celestial longitudes and latitudes of the ecliptic stars for the year 560 A.D. Now at the time when the first visibility of *α Arietis* marked the beginning of spring, the celestial long. of this star was $= -44° 57'$ nearly. For 560 A.D., Burgess gives the celestial longitude of *α Arietis* as $= 17° 37'$. Hence the total change in the longitude of the star becomes $62° 34'$, which must be the longitude of the required vernal equinox in Burgess's table; the summer solstice, autumnal equinox, and the winter solstice of the year 4000 B.C. will have respectively the longitudes $152° 34'$, $242° 34'$, and $332° 34'$ in the same table. Now:—

| Long. for 560 A.D. of the four cardinal pts. of the ecliptic for 4000 B.C. | Long. for 560 A.D. of some selected stars. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|
| Vernal Equinox—62° 34′. | *λ Orionis*—63° 40′ | V. Equinox near *Orionis* |
| Summ. Solstice—152° 34′. | *β Leonis*—151° 37′ | S. Solstice ,, *β Leonis* |
| Au. Equinox—242° 34′ | *λ Scorpionis*—244° 53′ | A. Equinox ,, *λ Scorpionis* |
| W. Solstice—332° 34′ | *α Pegasi*—333° 27′ | W. Solstice ,, *α Pegasi* |

[1] *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, XIX, 3.

[2] *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, XVIII, 18. I have dealt with this topic in a paper named 'Solstice Days in Vedic Literature.' *Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters*, Vol. IV, 1938, pp. 415–417.

[3] Burgess's Translation of the *Sūryasiddhānta*, Calcutta University Reprint, page 243.

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Hence at the time (4000 B.C.) when the heliacal rising of *α Arietis* marked the beginning of spring at the latitude of Kurukṣetra, the Vernal Equinox was in the constellation *Mṛgaśiras* (Orion's Head), the Summer Solstice in the *Uttara Phalgunis* (*β Leonis*), Autumnal Equinox in *Mūlā* (*λ Scorpionis*) and the Winter Solstice in *Pūrva Bhādrapad* (*α Pegasi*).

Here our interpretation of Madhu-Vidyā or the Science of Spring leads us to the same antiquity of the Vedas as was sought to be established by Tilak in his *Orion*.[1] The present paper corroborates Tilak's finding, I trust, with more definite and stronger reasons.

It may not be out of place to note here the epigraphic evidence of the establishment of an independent state in Mitanni (Bet. meridians 38° and 40°E and bet. 36° and 38° N parallels of latitude) in north Syria by a people named *Kharri* (? *Aryans*), as the following extracts from the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I, and the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, will show:—

(1) The *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I, page 312.

'In the reign of the *Khabur* and *Balikh*, the state of Mitanni was eventually set up, ruled by a royal house and aristocracy of horse-riding *Kharri* (*?Aryans*) and worshipping as we know from cuniform documents of the Amarna age, the gods Indra, Varuna and the Nāsatya twins (the Aśvins). Moreover the chief god of the Kassites is said to have been *Shuriyash*—the Indian *Sūrya*, the sun. This fact shows that the differentiation between the Indian and Iranian Aryans had not yet taken place.'

(2) *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Ancient India, page 72.

'In the German excavations at Boghaz Köi, the ancient Pteria, have been found inscriptions, containing as it appears the names of the deities which figure in the earliest Indian records, Indra, Varuna, and the great twin brethren Nāsatyas. The inscriptions date from about 1400 B.C. and the names appear not in the form which they took in the historical records of ancient Persia, but are, so far as syllabary will admit, identical with the forms, admittedly more original, which they show in the *Rg-Veda*.'

The actual names of the gods as found in the cuniform tablet referred to above are given on page 320 of this work as *Mi-it-ra*, *V-ru-w-na*, *In-da-ra*, and *Na-sa-at-ti-ia*, which are readily recognized as Mitra, Varuna, Indra and the Nāsatyas.

Here the epigraphic evidence is dated 1400 B.C. and it is not known if any earlier epigraphic evidence as to Vedic chronology may not be brought to light in future. It is therefore premature to try to form any hypothesis as to the antiquity of the Vedas from this source. In absence of epigraphic, we have to rely

[1] *Orion* or *The Antiquity of the Vedas*, a book by B. G. Tilak (Poona, 1893).

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on literary evidences alone. Our definite finding as to antiquity of the Vedas must remain, so long as it is not contradicted by epigraphic evidences which may be brought to light in future. I trust it is established that the civilization of the Vedic Hindus was earlier than that of the Indus valley as evidenced by the remains at Mahenjo-Dāro.

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ARTICLE No. 18.

# When Indra became Maghavan.

By P. C. SENGUPTA.

(*Communicated by Prof. M. N. Saha.*)

The Vedic god Indra was the 'shedder of rain' (Vṛṣan), 'wielder of the thunder-bolt' (Vajrin) and killer of Vṛtra or Ahi (Vṛtrahan). His former great deeds are thus told by *ṛṣi* Hiraṇyastūpa in the *Ṛg-Veda*, M. I, 32 thus [1]:—

'1. I declare the former valorous deeds of Indra, which the thunderer has achieved: he clove the cloud; he cast the waters down (to earth); he broke (a way) for the torrents of the mountain.

2. He clove the cloud, seeking refuge on the mountain: Tvaṣṭṛ sharpened his far-whirling bolt; the flowing waters (rivers) quickly hastened to the ocean, like cows hastening to their calves.

3. * * * * * * * * * * Maghavan took his shaft, the thunder-bolt, and with it struck the first born of the clouds.

4. Inasmuch as, Indra, as thou hast divided the first born of the clouds, thou hast destroyed the delusions of the deluders and then engendering the sun, the dawn, the firmament, thou hast not left an enemy (to oppose thee).

5. With his vast destroying thunder-bolt Indra struck the darkling mutilated Vṛtra: as the trunks of trees are felled by the axe, so lies Ahi prostrate on the earth.

6. The arrogant Vṛtra as if unequalled, defied Indra, the mighty hero, the destroyer of many, the scatterer of foes;—

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[1] इन्द्रस्यनुवीर्याणि प्रवोचं यानि चकार प्रथमानि वज्री ।
अहन्नहिमन्वपस्ततर्द प्रवक्षणा अभिनत् पर्व्वतानां ॥१॥
अहन्नहिं पर्वते शिश्रियाणं त्वष्टास्मै वज्रं स्वर्य्यं ततक्ष ।
वाश्राऽइव धेनवः स्यन्दमानाऽअंजः समुद्रमवजग्मुरापः ॥२॥
दृषायमानो वृणीत सोमं त्रिकद्रुकेष्वपिबत्सुतस्य ।
आसायकं मघवादत्तवज्रमहन्नेनं प्रथमजामहीनां ॥३॥
यदिन्द्राहन्प्रथमजामहीनामान्मायिना ममिनाः प्रोतमायाः ।
आत्सूर्य्यं जनयन् द्यामुषासंतादीत्नाश्नुं न किलाविवित्से ॥४॥
अहन् वृत्रं वृत्रतरं व्यंसमिन्द्रो वज्रेण महता वधेन ।
स्कन्धांसीव कुलिशेनाविवृक्णाहिः शयत उपपृक् पृथिव्या ॥५॥



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he has not escaped the contact of the fate of Indra's enemies. The foe of Indra has crushed the (banks of the) rivers.[1]

7. Having neither hand nor foot, he defied Indra who struck him with the thunder-bolt upon his mountain-like shoulder like one emasculated who pretends to virility; then Vṛtra, mutilated of many members, slept.

8. The waters that delight the minds of men, flow over him recumbent on this earth, as a river bursts through its broken banks. Ahi has been prostrated beneath the feet of waters which Vṛtra by his might had obstructed.

9. The mother of Vṛtra was bending over her son, when Indra struck her nether part with his shaft; so the mother was above and the son underneath, and Dānu slept (with her son), like a cow with its calf.

10. The waters carry off the nameless body of Vṛtra, tossed into the midst of the never-stopping, never-resting currents. The foe of Indra has slept a long darkness.

11. The waters, the wives of the destroyer, guarded by Ahi, stood obstructed, like the cows by Panin; but by laying Vṛtra, Indra set open the cave that had confined them.

12. When the single resplendent Vṛtra returned the blow (which had been inflicted), Indra, by thy thunder-bolt, thou

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अयोद्देव दुर्मदऽआहिजुर्क्षे महावीरं तु विवाधमृजीषं।
नातारिदस्य समृतिं वधानां संरुजानाः पिपिषऽइन्द्रशत्रुः ॥६॥
अपादहस्तोऽअपृतन्यदिन्द्रमास्यवज्रमधिसानौ जघान।
दृष्णोवध्रिः प्रतिमानं बुभुषन् पुरुत्रावृत्रोऽअशयद्व्यस्तः ॥७॥
नदं न भिन्नममुया शयानं मनोरुहाणाऽअतियन्त्यापः।
याश्चिद्वृत्रोमहिनापर्य्यतिष्ठत्तासामहिः पत्सुतः शीर्बभूव ॥८॥
नीचा वयाऽअभवद्वृत्रपुत्रेन्द्रोऽअस्याऽअववधर्जभार।
उत्तरासूरधरः पुत्रऽआसीदानुः शये सहवत्सा न धेनुः ॥९॥
अतिष्ठन्तीनामनिवेशनानां काष्ठानां मध्ये निहितं शरीरं।
वृत्रस्य निण्यं विचरन्त्यापो दीर्घं तमः आशयदिन्द्रशत्रुः ॥१०॥
दासपत्नीरहिगोपाऽअतिष्ठन् निरुद्धाऽआपः पणिनेव गावः।
अपां बिलमपिहितं यदासीद्वृत्रं जघन्वाँऽअपतद्वारः ॥११॥
अश्व्योवारोऽअभवस्तदिन्द्र सृकेयत्ता प्रत्यहं देव एकः।
अजयोगाऽअजयः शूरसोममवासृजः सर्त्तवे सप्तसिन्धून् ॥१२॥

[1] By the great volume of his watery body.

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becomest (furious), like a horse's tail. Thou hast rescued the kine; thou hast won, Hero, the *Soma* juice; thou hast let loose the seven rivers to flow.'

(Wilson's *Ṛg-Veda* Translation).

The sage or *ṛṣi* who thus sings in praise of these great former valorous deeds of Indra was, as we have said before, Hiraṇya-stūpa, who speaks of himself in the following terms (*Ṛg-Veda*, I, 31, 11 and 17):

'The gods formerly made thee, Agni the living general of Nahuṣa: they made Ila, the instructress of Manu, when the son of my father was born.'

'Pure Agni, who goest about (to receive oblations), go in thy presence to the hall of sacrifice, as did Manu, and Angiras, and Yayāti and others of old.'

We conclude that the *ṛṣi* lived sometime after king Yayāti of the lunar race. The story of the great deeds of Indra we have quoted above, divested of allegory suggests to us that this great god was none other than the god of the summer solstice.

All Vedic scholars agree that Vṛtra or Ahi means the cloud and the fight of Indra, the rain-giver, with Vṛtra is a mere allegory. The clouds are represented as a demon and quite unwilling to part with their watery stores until assailed and sundered with the thunder-bolt hurled by Indra. Wilson explains that 'the cloud, personified as a demon named Ahi or Vṛtra, is represented as combating Indra with all the attributes of a personal enemy, and as suffering in the battle mutilation, wounds and death [1].' The Indian monsoons which bring in the rains really burst about the 22nd of June, there is generally a drought which lasts for about a month or so, before the monsoons come. Drought itself is also represented as a demon named Śuṣṇa (I, 101, 2 and I, 103, 8, etc.) who is also killed by Indra. When Vṛtra has been killed the waters of the sky are set free to fall upon the earth and the seven rivers of the Punjab are filled up to the banks and roll quickly towards the sea. The seven rivers are undoubtedly the river Indus with five tributaries from the east and one from the west.

Indra was thus the god of the summer solstice; and as Indian rains begin when the sun reaches the summer solstice, Indra's fight with Vṛtra was or is an annual affair. According to Kālidāsa 'Indra withdrew his rain-giving (or annual) bow with the coming of autumn'.[2] Every year Indra has thus to fight Vṛtra or dark-clouds to set free the waters of the sky to fall upon the earth.

That Indra is identified with the sun at the summer solstice is thus expressed in *Ṛg-Veda*, I, 10, 1, thus:

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[1] Wilson's Introduction to his *Ṛg-Veda* Translation.

[2] वार्षिकं संजहारेन्द्रो धनुर्जैत्रं रघुर्दधौ in the *Raghuvaṁśa*.

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'The chanters of the Gāyatrī hymn thee, Śatakratu, the worshippers of the Sun praise thee, the *Brahmāṇas raise thee aloft like a bomboo pole*'.[1]

This reminds us of a passage from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, ch. xviii, 18, which says that '*by this Ekaviṁśa, the gods raised up the sun towards the highest point of the heavens*'.[2] The Vedic Hindus had found by observation that the sun remained stationary, i.e. without any change of meridian zenith distance for 21 days near the summer solstice ; they called the eleventh day or the middle day of this period, the *Ekaviṁśa* or the true summer solstice day. Here '*Brahmāṇah*' of the *Ṛg-Veda* were the observers of the sun for determining the *Ekaviṁśa* day.

Hence Indra is identified with the sun of the summer solstice day.

Thus far we have tried to explain who this Vedic god Indra was—that Indra the rain-giver was the god of the summer solstice and that his place in the heavens coincided with that of the sun at the summer solstice. Stationed at his place Indra's another deed may here be stated:—*Ṛg-Veda*, I, 7, 3—viz., that 'Indra in order to make the duration of light longer elevates the sun in the sky'[3].

We next pass on to consider when Indra became Vṛtrahan or killer of Vṛtra in those ancient times. The *Ṛg-Vedic* text on this point runs as follows:—"इन्द्रो मघैर्मघवा वृत्रहाऽभवत्" (M. X, 23, 2).

'Indra by (the heliacal rising of) the Maghas became Maghavan, and thus became the slayer of Vṛtra.'

Here the word 'Maghavan' means 'one that owns Magha'; the word 'Magha' to us means the constellation *Maghās* consisting of the stars, $\alpha$, $\eta$, $\gamma$, $\zeta$, $\mu$, and $\epsilon$ *Leonis*. We understand when at the latitude of Kurukṣetra, the most prominent star, $\alpha$ *Leonis*, of this group became first visible in the east at dawn, the sun reached the Indra's place or the summer solstice. We cannot accept that the word 'Magha' can mean anything else than the constellation *Maghā*. If Indra is 'a personification of a phenomenon of the firmament'[4]. and 'Vṛtra' or cloud is also another phenomena of the firmament, the word 'Magha' must also mean another phenomena of the same firmament, viz., the constellation *Maghās*. Besides, if 'Magha' be here taken to mean 'wealth'—its acquisition cannot possibly increase the fighting capability of this Indra. Further, instances are not wanting in Sanskrit literature where the word 'Magha'

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[1] गायन्ति त्वाऽगायत्रिणोऽर्चन्त्यर्कमर्किणः। ब्रह्माणस्त्वा शतक्रतऽ उद्वंशमिव येमिरे॥

[2] एतेन वै देवा एकविंशेनाऽदित्यं स्वर्गाय लोकायोदयच्छन्।

[3] इन्द्रो दीर्घाय चक्षसऽ आसूर्यं रोहयद्दिवि।

[4] Wilson's Introduction to his *Ṛg-Veda* Translation.

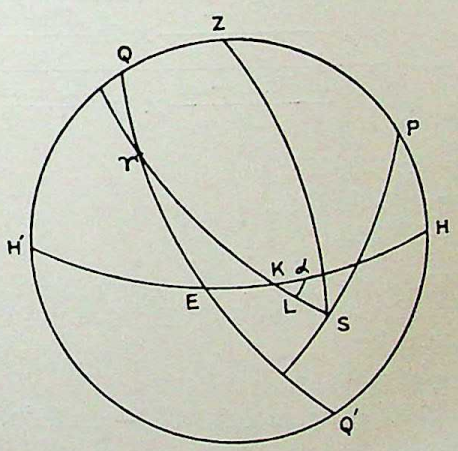
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has been used in place of *Maghā* [1]—the 10th lunar constellation counting from the *Aśvins*.

It may yet be urged why '*Maghai-r-maghavā*' etc. should mean the heliacal rising of the *Maghās*, and not the conjunction of the sun with the *Maghās* (or *α Leonis*), as indicative of the time of the summer solstice the date for which was 2350 B.C. The date of the Bhārata battle was 2449 B.C. as we have established in a previous paper [2]. Here the *ṛṣi* is Vimada who is spoken of as the son of Indra or of Prajāpati and must be much anterior to the Pāṇḍavas. This Vimada is spoken of by Kakṣivat in M. 1, 116, 1 ('who gave a bride to the youthful Vimada' as the passage runs). We are thus unable to assign the date of the phenomena '*Maghai-r-maghavā*, etc. to 2350 B.C. In the paper on *Madhu-Vidyā* or the Science of Spring, we have shown that the practical rule for detecting the advent of spring was taken as the heliacal rising of the star *α Arietis* about 4000 B.C. At this age, the seasons were determined no doubt by observation of the sun at the summer and winter solstices, and for future prediction of the beginning of spring or of the rains, the heliacal rising of some bright stars were noted, viz., *α Arietis* for the beginning of spring and *α Leonis* for the advent of the rains. Our investigation will show that both these rules for the beginnings of spring and the rains belonged almost to the same age.




We are thus led to conclude that when Indra, the shedder of rain, became Maghavan, i.e. when he began the function with

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[1] (*a*) "अश्विनीमघमूलानां तिस्रो गण्डाद्यनाड़िकाः", (*b*) "सौम्यानिलेशमघरौद्रिणमूलहस्ते," (*c*) "मघेसशोकाप्यथभेऽदितौ ये"।

[2] *JRASBL*, Vol. III, 1937, page 118.

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the heliacal rising of Maghā (or $\alpha$ *Leonis*), it was a Vedic age when people counted the seasons by the heliacal rising of some bright star at dawn. To put it plainly it was the age when at the latitude of Kurukṣetra (lat. 30°N) the sun reached the summer solstice on the day of the first visibility of $\alpha$ *Leonis*.

Let the above figure represent the observer's sphere at the latitude of Kurukṣetra, $HPZQH'$ is the meridian, $H\alpha KEH'$ the horizon, $QEQ'$ the celestial equator, $Z$ and $P$ are respectively the zenith and the celestial pole.

Let $S$ be the position of the sun at 18° below the horizon, so that $ZS=108°$. The sun is at the summer solstice.

We take $\omega$ the obliquity of ecliptic$=24°\ 6'\ 35''$ which was true for 4000 B.C. In the figure $\Upsilon KS$ is the ecliptic, cutting the horizon at the point $K$. The point $\alpha$ on the horizon is the position of $\alpha$ *Leonis* when it is just on the horizon, although it would be raised above it by about 35′. From $\alpha$ let $\alpha L$ be drawn perpendicular to the ecliptic so that $\Upsilon L$ was the celestial longitude of $\alpha$ *Leonis* at the time we propose to determine.

The celestial longitude of $\alpha$ *Leonis* for 1931 A.D.$=148°\ 52'\ 11''$; the celestial latitude of $\alpha$ *Leonis* for 1931 A.D.$=0°\ 27'\ 26''$, which is supposed to remain constant for ever,

(1) In the triangle $ZPS$, the side, $ZP=60°$, $PS=65°\ 53'\ 25''$ and $ZS=108°$; the angle $ZPS$ is given by

$$\tan\frac{ZPS}{2}=\sqrt{\frac{\sin\frac{ZS+PS-ZP}{2}\times\sin\frac{ZS+PZ-PS}{2}}{\sin\frac{ZS+PS+ZP}{2}\times\sin\frac{PS+ZP-ZS}{2}}}$$

$\therefore\ ZPS=130°\ 29'\ 16''$;

$\therefore\ EPS=40°\ 29'\ 16''$;

$\therefore\ \Upsilon E=49°\ 30'\ 44''$.

(2) In the triangle $KE\Upsilon$, the four consecutive parts are, $\angle KE\Upsilon=120°$, $E\Upsilon=49°\ 30'\ 44''$, $E\Upsilon K=24°\ 6'\ 35''$ and $\Upsilon K$. Hence $\Upsilon$K is given by,

$$\cot\Upsilon K\sin 49°\ 30'\ 44''$$
$$=\cos 49°\ 30'\ 44''\times\cos 24°\ 6'\ 35''-\tan 30°\times\sin 24°\ 6'\ 35''.$$

We use the auxiliary angle given by

$$\tan\phi=\frac{\tan 30°}{\cos 49°\ 30'\ 44''};$$

$$\therefore\ \phi=41°\ 38'\ 38''.$$

$$\therefore\ \cot\Upsilon K=\frac{\cot 49°\ 30'\ 44''\times\cos 65°\ 45'\ 13''}{\cos 41°\ 38'\ 38''};$$

$$\therefore\ \Upsilon K=64°\ 50'\ 38''.$$

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(3) In the same triangle $KE\Upsilon$ the angle $K$ is given by

$$\sin K = \frac{\sin \Upsilon E \times \sin 120^\circ}{\sin \Upsilon K};$$

$$\therefore K = 46^\circ\, 41'\, 29''.$$

(4) In the triangle $K\alpha L$; we have $K = 46^\circ\, 41'\, 29''$, the angle is a rt. angle; and $\alpha L = 27'\, 26''$;

$$\therefore KL = 25'\, 51''.$$

We have found before that

$$\Upsilon K = 64^\circ\, 50'\, 38''$$

Now $KL = \quad 25'\, 51''$

$$\therefore \Upsilon L = 65^\circ\, 16'\, 29''$$

Now the celestial longitude of $\alpha$ *Leonis* for 1931 A.D.= $148^\circ\, 52'\, 11''$;

and the celestial longitude of $\alpha$ *Leonis* for the reqd. past date=$65^\circ\, 16'\, 29$ ;

$\therefore$ the increase in C. long. of $\alpha$ *Leonis* during the entire period=$83^\circ\, 35'\, 42''$.

The mean procession rate for the period=$49''{\cdot}5938$.

Annual prop. motion of $\alpha$ *Leonis*= $-0''{\cdot}2609$,

$\therefore$ the mean annual variation in long. of $\alpha$ *Leonis*=$49''{\cdot}3329$,

$\therefore$ the lapse of years till 1931 A.D.=$6100{\cdot}2$,

$\therefore$ the Date=4170 B.C.

Hence 4170 B.C. was the date when the Vedic god Indra the god of the summer solstice became *Maghavan*. We have now to find the position of the equinoxes and the solstices about 4170 B.C., when Indra became Maghavan. The longitude of *Regulus* in 560 A.D. was $129^\circ\, 49'$ according to Burgess. In 4170 B.C. the same was $= 65^\circ\, 16'$; thus the change in the C. longitude of *Regulus* was till 560 A.D.=$64^\circ\, 33'$ nearly. Now the celestial longitude of $\lambda$ *Orionis* was in 560 A.D. = $63^\circ\, 40'$. Hence vernal equinox for 4170 B.C. was near to the ecliptic place of $\lambda$ *Orionis*; and in a similar manner the summer solstice near to $\beta$ *Leonis*, autumnal equinox near $\lambda$ *Scorpionis* and the winter solstice near $\alpha$ *Pegasi* in 4170 B.C. In the Indian way the vernal equinox was in the *Mṛgaśiras*, s. solstice in the *U. Phalgunis*, a. equinox in the *Mūlās*, and w. solstice in the *P. Bhādrapadas*. These were almost the same as in 4000 B.C. as might be expected.

We have established above that Indra began to function when $\alpha$ *Leonis* or the constellation *Maghās* was heliacally visible at Kurukṣetra about the year 4170 B.C. Before the heliacal visibility of $\alpha$ *Leonis* or *Maghā*, the constellation of *Aśleṣā* or *Ahi* i.e. *Hydrae* became first visible. Vṛtra is also called *Ahi* in the *Ṛg-Veda*; the allegory implied is perhaps that *Ahi* means the clouds that were seen in the sky from the rising of *Ahi* or

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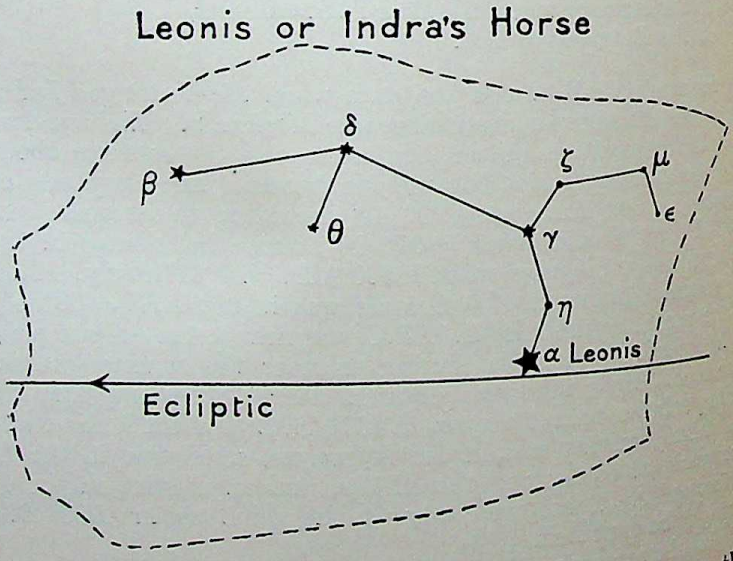
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*Aśleṣā*, which did not yield rain till the rising of *Maghā* (*Regulus*). Hence Vṛtra also meant *Ahi* or clouds which were unwilling to part with their watery stores. From the rising of *Ahi* till the rising *Maghā* (*Regulus*) was the period of drought called *Suṣṇa* in the *Ṛg-Veda*.

Again Indra had two other names Śatakratu and Valabhit. The first of these names means very probably that the phenomena of the bursting of the Indian monsoons and of the first visibility of the Maghas were established as synchronous in the course of observations extending over many (literally a hundred) years. Hence Indra, the god of summer solstice got the name Śatakratu (the performer of a hundred sacrifices). Again the demon Vala meant perhaps black clouds and his cave also existed in the clouds and when Indra opened the cave of Vala and rescued the cattle (गो, and गो also means water), Indra really clove the clouds and let the waters from them free to fall on the earth. So if Indra was Valabhit he was none other than the shedder of rain (*Ṛg-Veda*, I, 11, 5).

One thing more that strikes us in this connection is that the so-called horse of Indra was most probably the constellation *Leo*, which is ordinarily likened to a lion. It may be likened to a horse as well, as in the following diagram :—




The stars $\epsilon$, $\mu$, *Leonis* forming the head of Indra's horse, the line joining $\gamma$ and $\delta$ *Leonis* the back, $\alpha$ and $\theta$ *Leonis* the two legs, $\beta$ *Leonis* the end of the tail. Indra in his car took his seat a little behind $\beta$ *Leonis*.

As I have said before, in my previous paper on '*Madhu-Vidya*' I have established that when the first visibility of the

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Aśvins in the east was the signal for the advent of spring, the time was about 4000 B.C. These two papers show that about 4000 B.C. the Vedic Hindus recognized the coming of the Indian spring and of the rains, by the heliacal risings of *α Arietis* and *α Leonis* respectively.

This practice is similar to that of the ancient Egyptians, of reckoning the year by the heliacal rising of *α Canis Majoris Sirius*. In Homer's *Iliad*, we find in Bk. V that this star *Sirius* is called 'the summer star which shines very brightly', at least thus the translator interprets it. Again in *Iliad*, Bk. XXII, is mentioned a 'star which rises in autumn' which people call the 'dog of *Orion*'. It seems that the same star *Sirius* was both the summer star and the autumn star in Homer's time. In such a case very probably the first visibility of the star at dawn showed the beginning of summer in Greece and the position of the same star higher up at dawn, the beginning of autumn. We hope to deal with these Homeric references in a subsequent paper.

It now appears that the practice of recognizing the seasons by the heliacal risings of some or other of the bright stars was followed by all ancient nations.

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Article No. 19.

# Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa and his Works.

By Chintaharan Chakravarti.

A fairly large number of small treatises—principally on Purāṇa or Tantra topics—ascribed to one Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa Bhaḍa *alias* Śivānandanātha [1] are available in manuscript in different parts of Northern India. Very few of these works have been brought to the notice of scholars either through publication or through descriptive notes. Little again is known about the author. As a matter of fact, it was not an easy task to analyse the contents of these works and assess their importance, as the MSS. were scattered in different places, some of which were scarcely accessible. Fortunately the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses a large number of MSS. of the works of Kāśīnātha, which include a number of works not known from any other source. An attempt is made in the following pages to give an account of these works as well as of the author, so far as could be gathered from a survey of them, mainly on the basis of the numerous manuscripts of Kāśīnātha's little-known works, belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

It is gathered from the introductory verses and colophons of his various works that Kāśīnātha was the son of Jayarāma Bhaṭṭa and Vārāṇasī, and grandson of Śivarāma.[2] Both his father [3] and maternal grand-father,[4] Ananta, who appears to have been his preceptor, were learned men, to whom he was indebted for much of the information he put together in the works compiled by him. On several occasions he refers to the *Tattvabodha*, a work by Ananta,[5] while a compilation by him is mentioned in the *Rāmapūjātaraṅgiṇī*. We have it on the

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[1] This name is mentioned in the colophon of the commentary on the *Jñānārṇava Tantra* and in the *Catalogus Catalogorum*. It occurs as Visvanātha in the colophons of the *Yogasiddhāntamañjarī* and the *Śrīvidyāmantradīpikā* as found in the MSS. of the works in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

[2] This name is given as Śiṣyarāma in Ulwar Extr. 662.

[3]
नानातन्त्राणि विज्ञाय जयरामगुरोर्मुखात् ।
करोति काशीनाथोऽयं तारापूजारसायनम् ॥

[4]
अनन्ताख्यं गुरुं नौमि कविलप्रतिभाकरम् ।
शास्त्रवल्लीजलधरं स्फुरत्कीर्त्तिकरं परम् ॥

[5] *Mantracandrikā*, RASB Manuscript, Fol. 71B, 76A.



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authority of Brahmānanda who refuted the views expressed by Kāśīnātha in one of his works that he hailed from Benares.[1]

He was a worshipper of Śiva and Śakti and followed what is called the *dakṣiṇācāra* (*dakṣiṇācārānusārī*) or the more innocent form of worship of Śakti, which form he claims to have established on a firm footing (*dakṣinācāramatapravartaka*). He introduces himself as a worshipper of Dakṣiṇāmūrti (Śiva) in the beginning of many of his works, which commence with an introductory verse, the first half of which is identical in every case.[2] His father is also referred to in the colophons of his works as a devotee of Śiva (*Śivabhakta* or *Paramaśivabhakta*). But he was particularly in favour of Dakṣiṇācāra which he is stated to have reinstated apparently at a time when Vāmācāra with its revolting practices appears to have been the order of the day. He took pains to refute the views of the followers of the Vāmācāra in his *Vāmācāramatakhaṇḍana* and set forth the rites and practices of *dakṣinācāra* in works like the *Dakṣiṇācāradīpikā* and the *Dakṣiṇācāratantrarājaṭīkā*.

His scholarship which is testified to by his literary remains is indicated by a number of epithets found in the colophons of one or other of his many works. Thus he refers to himself as *Mantraśāstrapravīṇa* (well-versed in Tantra literature), *Śrutismṛtimatapramāṇapārāvārapārīṇa* (expert in Śruti and Smṛti) and *Sarvatantradakṣiṇācāratantradhurīṇa* (expert in all Tantras especially those pertaining to Daksiṇācāra).

Though Kāśīnātha has fortunately given some account of himself and of his family it is a matter of regret that no clear indication is available to help us in definitely ascertaining the time when he flourished. It would however appear that he belonged to a comparatively modern period, 17th-18th century; for, no manuscript of his numerous works is known to be old. Most of the manuscripts of his works belonging to the Society are of the 19th or even of the present century. Quite a good number of these manuscripts are stated to have been copied in 1961 or 1962 V.S. (1905-6 A.D.) and belonged to one Balmukunda Malaviya of Benares. One manuscript—the *Śāmbhavācārakaumudī*—was, however, copied in 1849 V.S. or 1793 A.D. by one Sevaram of Benares. Another manuscript of one of his works belonging to the early 19th century and now deposited in the India Office Library is the *Śivādvaitaprakāśikā* which was copied in 1858 V.S. (1802 A.D.). Manuscripts

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[1] Mad. XII, 5720. Nāgapura and Puṇyagrāma mentioned in the colophons of Śivamuktiprabodhinī, Śivādvaitaprakāśikā, Tārāpūjārasāyana and Śāstravyavasthā may not unlikely have been places where manuscripts of these works were copied.

[2] दक्षिणामूर्त्तिपादाब्जभ्रमरीभूतमौलिना ।
रच्यते काशीनाथेन ..... ॥

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of the *Āmnāyaprakāśa* and *Cakrasaṃketacandrikā* belonging to the Society (the original owner of the latter being Balmukunda of the beginning of the present century) which would appear to have been copied by Kāśīnātha himself, may only be copies of originals in the author's own handwriting.

An incomplete date, which may not unlikely be the date of Kāśīnātha, is found at the end of his commentary on the *Jñānārṇava Tantra*. It is stated there that the commentary was written in the month of Āśvina, on the fifth day of the bright fortnight in the Prabhava year of the sixty years cycle.[1] Though nothing can be said definitely in the absence of the mention of the Era, it is known that the year in question fell either in 1747, 1687 or 1627 A.D. And our author may not unreasonably be supposed to have composed the work in one of the above-mentioned years.

The upper limit of the age of the author may be ascertained by his references to earlier works and authors in his books, e.g., Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (16th century) in his *Tantrabhūṣā*, *Śyāmārahasya* in the *Kālībhaktirasāyana*, *Pratāparudranibandha*, Nṛsiṃhaprasāda, Rūpanārāyaṇa and Viśvarūpācārya in the *Caṇḍikārcanadīpikā* and *Rāmārcanacandrikā* in the *Rāmapūjātaraṅgiṇī*. Further, if he is the author of the *Avatārabhedaprakāśikā* he must be later than the 16th century when the Rādhāvallabhī sect, referred to in it, was founded by Hitaharivaṃśa.

He also appears to have been later than Amṛtānandanātha and Mahīdhara (16th century) authors of commentaries respectively on the *Yoginīhṛdaya* and the *Mantramahodadhi*, for though he does not refer to them by name, his commentaries on those works are based on and occasionally agree with those by the former two.

A list of his works given below, arranged according to subjects treated of,[2] with brief descriptive notes and with an indication of the catalogues and works in which manuscripts thereof are noticed and of the libraries in which they are deposited,

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[1] प्रभवाब्दे त्विषे शुक्लपञ्चम्यां ललिताह्नये।
त्रैशिवानन्दनाथेन काशीनाथाख्यशर्म्मणा।
कृता टीका गुरुप्रीत्यै भजन्तु सदुपासकाः॥

The readings लिपेः in place of त्विषे and भवन्तु for भजन्तु as given in L II. 826 appear to be wrong.

[2] A chronological list could not be attempted at the present stage, when little was known of the author and his works. The priority of some of the works, however, could be determined, from references made to them by the author himself in some of his subsequent productions. Thus he refers to the *Śivabhaktisudhārṇava* in the *Śivasiddhāntamañjarī*, *Mantrarājasamuccaya* and *Puraścaraṇadīpikā* in the *Kāmeśārcanacandrikā*, *Mantracandrikā* in the *Dakṣiṇācāratantrarājaṭīkā*, *Śārādāṭilakaṭīkā* in the *Kālībhaktirasāyana* and the *Puraścaraṇadīpikā* in the *Tārāpūjārasāyana*.

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will give an idea of the wide field covered by him. The works are generally of the nature of compilations from Tantras and Purāṇas, while there are a number of exegetical treatises. Most of his works pertain to rituals connected with the worship of various deities. It will be noticed that, himself a Śaiva-Śākta, he wrote on the cults of almost all the deities of the later Hindu Pantheon. A number of series (e.g., °Dīpikā series, °Candrikā series, °Taraṅgiṇī series and °Rasāyana series) may be distinguished among his works. The number of works of this author as referred to in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* is about 30, while the number mentioned in the following list, which takes note of the manuscripts of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,[1] is about double.[2]

It might be noted here that several works of Kāśīnātha appear to have gained some amount of popularity, so that manuscripts of them are found in different parts of India with more than one version of some of the works (e.g., *Mantracandrikā*, *Śivādvaitaprakāśikā*). One of his works, the *Durjanamukhacapeṭikā*, was translated into French by Burnouf.[3] The views expressed in another, the *Vāmācāramatakhaṇḍana*, were sought to be refuted by Brahmānanda who hailed from the bank of the Godāvarī. These are indirect evidences of the value and importance of the works.

## COMMENTARIES.

Gūḍārthādarśa (L II. 826, RASB). Commentary on the *Jñānārṇava Tantra*.

Cakrasaṃketacandrikā (RASB). Commentary on a selected number of verses of the *Yoginīhṛdaya*. It agrees so closely with the commentary of Amṛtānanda that it almost looks like an abridgement of the latter.

Trikūṭārahasyaṭīkā (NP VI. 56). This may be a commentary on the *Trikūṭārahasya* two MSS. of which have been described (L VII. 2266, HPS. I, 155).

Dakṣiṇācāratantrarājaṭīkā (RASB). This commentary, which is also called *Gūḍārthādarśa*, is found to have incorporated portions from Lakṣmīdhara's commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī*.

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[1] Few other Manuscript Libraries seem to be as rich with regard to the works of Kāśīnātha.

[2] As a matter of fact, it is more than double, for three works mentioned in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* had to be left out in the accompanying list as they are found to be works of authors different from Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa Bhaḍa. Thus the author of *Śyāmāsaparyāvidhi* and *Saparyāsāra* was Kāśīnātha Tarkālankāra while the name of the author of the *Mantrapradīpa* is given as Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭācārya (L II. 747).

[3] *Le Bhāgavata Purāṇa*—Preface, LXXXV.

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Mantramahodadhiṭīkā (RASB, L IV. 1714, NW 222, NP III. 28). It occasionally agrees with the commentary *Naukā* by Mahīdhara.

Śāradātilakaṭīkā (NW 224, NP III. 38; VI. 50).

Caṇḍīmāhātmyaṭīkā (NW 250).

Padārthādarśa (L VIII. 2756). Commentary on Kavicandrodaya, a Kośakāvya by Kavicandra, who may be identical with the author of the same name, many of whose works are mentioned in *Catalogus Catalogurum* (I. 87) and whose *Cikitsāratnāvalī* (IO. V. 2710) was completed in 1661 A.D.

Karpūrastavadīpikā (RASB). Commentary on a hymn to goddess Kālī known as Karpūrādisatva.

Mahimnaḥstotraṭīkā (ASB VII. 5598). Commentary on a well-known hymn to Śiva.

## Compilations.

### I. *General Works*:—

Āgamotpattyādivaidika-tāntrika-nirṇaya (RASB).

The work which is called *Āgamotpattinirṇaya* in one of the introductory verses concerns itself not only with a description of the origin of the Tantras and an enumeration of important Tantric texts, but incidentally gives an account of various Tantric rites, specially sacraments meant for a follower of the Tantras. It is presumably on account of the variety of the topics dealt with that the work is given in the colophon the long name noted above.

Vaidika-tāntrikādhikāri-nirṇaya (RASB).

The work shows how particular classes of Tantras are meant for particular classes of worshippers. Of the works and authors referred to mention may be made of Vidyāraṇya, Puruṣārthaprabodha and Ananta, maternal grandfather of the author.

Āmnāyaprakāśa (RASB).

This contains mantras for the worship of various deities.

Mantracandrika (Peters 6, p. 37, L. IV. 1709, RASB).

The work deals with Tantric rites in general and gives the mantras for the worship of various deities. The manuscript described by R. L. Mitra seems to contain a different recension of the work, for it begins from the middle of the manuscript belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the one described by Peterson, and has a different introductory verse.

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Mantrasiddhāntamañjārī (RASB).

The work which is divided into three sections gives in a general way the sense of Tantric mantras which are all supposed to refer to the Supreme Being, speaks of different types of initiation meant for different rites and followers of different sects and enumerates thirty-two kinds of shortcomings of human beings.

Mantrasārasamuccaya (Oudh XX. 248).

It is probably this work that is referred to as the *Mantrarājasamuccaya* in the *Kāmesārcanacandrikā*.

Tantrabhūṣā (RASB).

The work seeks to establish the authority of the Tantras. Of the works and authors referred to mention may be made of *Śaṅkaracāryakṛtasaṃgraha*, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, and *Prapañcasāravivaraṇa*.

Tantrasiddhāntakaumudī (RASB).

It deals in short with the philosophy of the Tantras. Of the works and authors referred to mention may be made of *Mṛtyujit Bhaṭṭāraka*, *Vijñānabhairava*, *Bhargaśikhā*, *Vīrāvali*, *Kulayukti*, *Lakṣmīkaulārṇava*, *Tantrasadbhāva*, *Śrīkaṇṭhīya-saṃhitā* and *Devīyāmala*.

Avatārabhedaprakāśikā (RASB).

The work gives an account of some of the religious sects of the Hindus, describes the origin of various deities including a number of Mahāvidyās and incarnations of Viṣṇu and points out the characteristics of their worship. The title as well as the name of the author is given in a later hand on the reverse of Fol. 1 and also at the end of the work.

Vāmācāramatakhaṇḍana (RASB).

The work, as the name implies, seeks to refute the views and practices of the followers of Vāmācāra or the apparently revolting form of worship of the Tantras. Brahmānandanātha wrote in reply his *Vāmācārasiddhāntasaṃgraha* which, *inter alia*, attempts to establish the doctrines of Vāmācāra.

Kaulagajamardana (NW 220).

It appears, from the name, to be a work similar to the one noticed above.

Dakṣiṇācāradīpikā (NP III. 64, RASBO).

The work is complete in 8 chapters of which the first three, together with a portion of the fourth, are missing

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in the Society's MS. The portion found in this MS. deals with the details of the worship of Dakṣiṇākālī.

Kāpālikamatavyavasthā (Rgb 958, RASB).

It begins by quoting from the *Śābaratantra* a list of the Ācāryas of the Kāpālika school and a mantra known as the *mahākāpālikamantra*. It then enumerates, from the *Kālīśābara*, the different types of Śābaratantras and the characteristic features of the worship described in them. It ends with an indication of persons for whom the Śābara—the unvedic type of worship—is meant.

Śāstravyavasthā (RASB).

It gives a brief account of the nature and contents of the various branches of Sanskrit learning.

Yantracandrikā (Ulwar 2299, Extr. 662).

It seems that the work deals with the Yantras or symbolic diagrams of the Tantric form of worship.

Puraścaraṇadīpikā (K 46).

It would appear that the work deals with the details of the Tantric rite known as *puraścaraṇa*.

Yogasiddhāntamañjarī (RASB).

It is an elementary treatise on yoga which speaks highly of Śaiva yoga.

Durjanamukhacapeṭikā (IO VI. 3367, ASB V. 4111).

A tract showing that the *Devībhāgavata* is the real *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. It may be that this very work has been noticed in Stein 209 under the title *Bhāgavatavyavasthā*.

Tristhalīsetu (Stein 91, 306).

It may be a work treating of the rites to be performed in places of pilgrimage. A work on the same subject and of the same name by Nārāyaṇa is well-known.

Kālanirṇayadīpikā (NP VI. 24).

It seems to deal with the proper times for the performance of various religious rites.

Tithidīpikā.

The work which seems to be of the same nature as the one noticed above is referred to by Kane in his *History of Dharmaśāstra* (p. 685).

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II. *Ritualistic works relating to various deities :—*

1. Śiva:

Śivasiddhāntamañjarī (RASB).

It seeks to demonstrate the supremacy of Śiva by quotations from various works, chiefly the Purāṇas. It also describes the characteristics and functions of a worshipper of the deity.

Śaivasiddhāntamaṇḍana (RASB).

The topic dealt with is the same as that in the previous work.

Śivabhaktisudhārṇava (RASBO).

It is complete in three chapters of which the last two, describing the worship of the earthen symbol of Śiva and the occasional worship of the deity, are preserved in the manuscript of the Society.

Śivabhaktirasāyana (RASB).

The work is complete in five chapters of which the first two speak of the efficacy of the worship of Śiva, the third chapter describes the process of worship of the deity beginning with the morning rites of the worshipper. The last two chapters deal with the worship of the deity on particular occasions.

Śāmbhavācārakaumudī (RASB).

The work deals with the details of the worship of Śiva.

Śivamuktiprabodhinī (RASB).

The main object of the book is to shew that salvation may be obtained only through the knowledge and worship of Śiva who alone has the power to grant it.

Śivādvaitaprakāśikā (RASB, IO. IV. 2513).

The work seeks to demonstrate, with the help of quotations from different works, that Śiva is the sole and supreme deity whose worship leads to salvation. It refers to the Vaidika form of worship of the deity as distinguished from the Tantric form. It is complete in three chapters. There is, however, no division of chapters in one of the two MSS. of the work belonging to the Society. The text in it also does not agree with that in the other, though the subject-matter in both is of the same nature.

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Śivapūjātaraṅgiṇī (Ulwar 2394, Extr. 671).

It seems to deal with the details of the worship of Śiva, beginning with the rites to be performed by the worshipper in the morning.

Dakṣiṇāmūrtikaustubha (RASB).

The work, which is metrical and complete in 91 verses, covers the same field as the preceding work.

Dakṣiṇāmūrtidīpika (RASB).

The subject-matter of the present work is the same as that of the two previous works.

Dakṣiṇāmūrticandrikā (Ulwar 2163, Extr. 628).

This also seems to be a work of the same nature as the above three.

Kāmeśārcanacandrikā (RASB).

The work, complete in three chapters, describes in detail the process of the worship of Kāmeśvara, an aspect of Śiva, and quotes from different authoritative texts extracts in support of the procedure prescribed.

Vaṭukārcanadīpika (NP VI. 50).

It seems to deal with the worship of Vaṭuka, an aspect of Śiva.

2. Rāma:

Rāmapūjātaraṅgiṇī (ASB III. 2882-3).

It lays down the process of the worship of Rāma beginning with the description of the morning rites to be performed by the worshipper. Two versions of the work are preserved in the two MSS. in the Society.

3. Kṛṣṇa:

Kṛṣṇapūjātaraṅgiṇī (ASB III. 2874).

It is a work of the same nature as the above, the only difference being that it relates to Kṛṣṇa.

4. Gaṇeśa:

Gaṇeśārcanadīpikā (ASB III. 2892).

This work, which deals with the worship of Gaṇeśa, is of the same nature as the above two.

5. Kālī:

Kālībhaktirasāyana (RASB).

The work in eight chapters deals with the details of the worship of Kālī.

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6. Tārā:

Tārāpūjārasāyana (RASB).

The work describes the details of the worship of Tārā beginning from the morning rites of the worshipper.

7. Tripurā:

Tripurasundaryarcanakrama (RASB).

This is a metrical work dealing with the details of the worship of Tripurā.

Śrīvidyāmantradīpikā (RSAB).

This gives the esoteric meaning of a mantra of Śrividyā and cites confirmatory evidence from various original tantras.

8. Caṇḍikā:

Caṇḍikārcanadīpikā (RASB, Ulwar 2125, Extr. 620).

The work deals with the details of the Navarātri or the great autumnal festival in honour of the Mother goddess. It describes the procedure, quoting extracts from different texts in justification thereof.

9. Gāyatrī:

Gāyatryarcanadīpikā (RASB).

This describes the process of the workship of Gāyatrī beginning with the morning rites of the worshipper.

Gāyatrīpuraścaraṇacandrikā (Rgb 961).

It appears to be clear from the title that the work deals with the details of the important Tantric ceremony called *puraścaraṇa* in connection with the worship of Gāyatrī.

Viprānandataraṅgiṇī (Saraswati Bhavan Studies, Vol. VII, pp. 190-1).

This seems to speak of the unique importance of the gāyātrī mantra to a Brahmin.

10. Gaṅgā:

Gaṅgābhaktirasāyana (RASB).

It elaborates the greatness of the Ganges.

11. Guru:

Gurupūjākrama (NW 254).

It seems to describe the process of the worship of Guru or the religious preceptor, who is regarded as a deity.

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### List of Abbreviations used in the paper.

ASB—Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts belonging to the Government Collections in the Asiatic Society of Bengal by H. P. Shastri.
HPS—Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts by H. P. Shastri.
IO—Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office by Eggeling.
K—Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in the Central Provinces. Edited by F. Kielhorn.
L—Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts by R. L. Mitra.
Mad—Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Oriental Library, Madras. By Kuppuswami Shastri.
NP—Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Private Libraries of North-Western Provinces. Parts I–X. Allahabad, 1877–86.
NW—Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Private Libraries of the North-West Provinces. Part I. Benares, 1874.
Oudh—Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in Oudh.
Peters—Report of operations in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Circle. By Peter Peterson.
RASB—Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Government Collection).
RASBO—Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Old Collection).
Rgb—Report on the search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during 1884-85, 1885-86, and 1886-87. By R. G. Bhandarkar.
Stein—Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Raghunath Temple Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. By M. A. Stein.
Ulwar—Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of His Highness the Mahāraja of Ulwar by Peter Peterson.
Ulwar Extr—Extracts quoted in the Ulwar Catalogue.

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ARTICLE NO. 20.

# Paramānandamatasaṃgraha—a hitherto-unknown work of the Pārānanda School.

By CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

The only work so far known expounding the doctrines and practices of the little-known, unsectarian, Pārānanda school of Tantric worship, which puts a taboo on ritualistic details as also on animal sacrifice, which latter is an essential feature of Śakti-worship in general, appears to be the *Pārānandasūtra* published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series (Volume LVI, Baroda, 1931). The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses a fragmentary manuscript [1] of another small work on the subject, called the *Paramānandamatasaṃgraha.* [2] It gives a brief account of the school. While the printed text, which is diffuse and full of repetitions, is at times difficult to follow, the present work though of small extent, is clear and systematic.

This is a metrical work, interspersed by a few prose lines containing about a hundred verses. [3] The portion of the work preserved in this manuscript gives a fair idea of the views of the school. The work is mainly in the form of an interlocution between Śiva and sages like Agastya, Nārada and Vaśiṣṭha, presumably to give it an old appearance. No opinion can possibly be expressed at the present stage with regard to the date of the work.

It opens with benedictory verses, four and a half in number, in which salutations are offered to deities like Gaṇeśa, Bhairava,

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[1] Substance, country-made paper. Size, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Folia, 1–18 of which Fol. 5, 9, 11, 13, 15 and 16 are missing. Lines, 6 on a page. Extent in ślokas, 85. Character, modern Nāgara. Appearance, fresh.

The MS. does not contain any colophon and there is no reference to the name of the author or even of the work. The name, *Paramānandamatasaṃgraha*, along with the name of the original owner of the manuscript, Raghunath Malaviya of Benares, a number of MSS. belonging to whom are in the Society's collection, is found on the obverse of Fol. 1, apparently written in a hand different from that of the copyist of the MS.

[2] Works like the *Paramānandatantra* or the *Pārānandapurāṇa*, at least the portions thereof preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Madras Oriental Library, do not appear to have anything to do with this school. While the Purāṇa describes legends concerning the greatness of Śiva, the Tantra deals with rites connected with Śrīvidyā.

[3] Some of the verses, which are apparently taken from earlier works, are also found in the printed text. The language in both works is occasionally almost identical.



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Śakti, Viṣṇu, Sūrya and Maheśvara as also to various sages such as Paramānanda, founder of the school, who is later on identified with Śiva, Devānanda, his disciple, Nityānanda, his brother, Nārada, Agastya, Vaśiṣṭha and others who belong to three different orders of the school (*Uttarācāra*, *Vāmācārā* and *Dakṣiṇācāra*).

The introductory portion that follows makes a passing reference to various schools of thought that gradually lead to the Supreme School of the Pārānanda. The next section enumerates and defines the different categories of the school (e.g., Paramātman, Īśvara and Jīva). A short description is given here of the Paramātmaloka or the region of the Supreme Being which is stated to be the final goal of all beings—earthly or divine. There is also a reference to the Sānanda region where all are taken at the time of the periodical dissolution of the world. A description of the order of the creation of the universe follows. It is stated how the Supreme Being after creating the universe created Brahman and the other deities who in their turn and in obedience to orders of the former, created different worlds of their own. They had separate functions allocated to each of them by the Supreme Being.

The rest of the work sets forth how different sages came to Paramānanda Śiva, and were initiated into different orders of the school. When Vaśiṣṭha and others approached Paramānanda, he pointed out the peculiarities of the school, e.g., absence of *nyāsa* or ritualistic details and of *hiṃsā* or killing of moving and non-moving things. When a sacrifice is prescribed an inanimate object should be offered in place of an animate one. Thus an image made of cake should be sacrificed when a goat is mentioned. An exception is, however, made at the end of the work in the case of a king who is allowed to kill animals under certain conditions. When doubt was expressed by the sages with regard to the propriety of this prohibitory injunction, the sages were silenced by Śiva saying that the statement of the preceptor should be followed without hesitation and regarded as nothing but true; for what he speaks is proper (*yukta*) and not ambiguous (*yojya*) or tinged by rancour (*yojita*). It is next indicated how different objects may be classified according to the school into *sādisānta* (with beginning and end), *anādy-ananta* (without beginning or end), *sādyananta* (with beginning but without end). Under the first classification comes the world, under the second fall paramātman, jīva, iśvara, paramānandaloka and objects found there, whilst under the last category come divine bodies. Two types of *karman* or action are referred to: one, that which is to one's credit (*sañcita*), two, that which is operative (*kriyamāṇaka*). *Jīvanmukti* or living emancipation is said to take place when one meets with *Iśvara*.

The next topic dealt with is the importance and nature of initiation. A description of the process is, however, unfortu-

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यह पुस्तक चिह्नित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED



nately missing in the present manuscript. It is stated that Vaśiṣṭha and other sages were duly initiated into the Dakṣiṇa-mārga or the Right-hand Order, and were instructed to follow, without any sectarian bias, all injunctions of Śruti, Smṛti and Purāṇa leaving aside nyāsa and animal sacrifice. It is emphasized that the system is not un-Vedic, for, only those who recognize the authority of the Vedas have a claim to join the school.

Nārada, Agastya and others came next and were, according to their wish, initiated into Vāmācāra or Left-hand Order. In pointing out the characteristic features of the Order, two types of it are mentioned—the superior and the inferior. Of the five M's—*Madya* (wine), *Māṃsa* (meat), *Matsya* (fish), *Mudrā* (parched or fried grain) and *Maithuna* (copulation)—only fish and meat are prohibited in the former as these seem to have been regarded as more objectionable than the rest. Those who are taken into the order are given names ending in *nātha*.

Then came two sages Deva and Devadeva by name who were initiated into the Uttara or Superior Order. Begging and serving people for money is condemned for persons entering the order. They can, however, accept things even from those who perpetrate evil if they are offered without asking. The names given to people of this order end in *ānanda*.

Kings following this school are allowed to take part in war, kill ferocious wild beasts giving trouble to people engaged in religious rites in hermitages, and offer them before the goddess Kālī. In fact the king by doing all these things gains religious merit.

The incomplete text of the *Paramānandamatasaṃgraha*, a running summary of the contents of which has already been given above, is published below on the basis of the only MS. belonging to the Society. Inspite of all imperfections due to its fragmentary character and irremediable corruptions [1] introduced by the ignorant copyist, it will be found to serve the purpose of a useful introduction to the study of the Pārānanda school as a helpful aid to the study of the larger and more informative *Pārānandasūtra*, ample reference to relevant portions of which has been given in the footnotes with a view to facilitating comparative study. It should be noticed that little that does not occur in the printed text is met with in the present work, save and except that it refers, in one of the introductory verses, to a brother of Paramānanda, who himself seems to have further on been identified with Śiva.

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[1] Spelling mistakes and other apparent inaccuracies have, however, been silently corrected in the following pages.

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
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[उपोद्घातप्रकरणम्[1]]

श्रीः। विघ्नेशं भैरवं शक्तिं विष्णुं सूर्यं महेश्वरम्।
भक्तेषु वात्सल्ययुतान् नमाम्येतान् पुनः पुनः ॥ १ ॥
आचार्यं परमानन्दं नमामि च जगद्गुरुम्।
शिष्यतापप्रहर्तारं दातारं सर्वसम्पदाम् ॥ २ ॥
देवानन्दं च तच्छिष्यं नित्यानन्दं तु भ्रातरम्।
सिद्धांश्च ह्युत्तमाचारान् उत्तराचारदीक्षितान् ॥ ३ ॥
नारदादीनगस्त्यादीन् वामाचारस्थितान् मुनीन्।
वसिष्ठादीन् मुनिवरान् दक्षिणाचारदीक्षितान् ॥ ४ ॥
नमा[Fol. 2A]मि परमान[न्द]मतस्थान् ऋषिपुङ्गवान् ॥ ५ ॥
मतानि च बहून्यत्र तामसादिप्रभेदतः ॥ १ ॥
वेदाप्रामाण्यवादीनि तन्मतस्था नराः क्वचित्।
तमोमुख्यानि तेष्वेव नास्तिकानां मतानि च ॥ १ ॥
कुर्वतश्चैव धर्मं स्वं यथोक्तं मतभावितम् ॥ २ ॥
क्वचिज्जन्मनि ते यान्ति वेदप्रामाण्यवादिषु।
जैमिन्याद्यास्तिकानां च राजसेषु मतेषु च ॥ ३ ॥
तत्रापि पुण्यपुञ्जानां सम्याद्यादीन् प्रयत्नतः ॥
परानन्दम[2B]ते चास्मिन् सर्वोत्कृष्टोत्तमे शुभे ॥ ४ ॥

इति उपोद्घातप्रकरणम् ॥

[परमात्मवर्णनम्[2]]

परानन्दमतं वक्ष्ये त्रैलोक्येपि सुदुर्लभम्।
परमात्मा चेश्वरश्च जीवश्चेति पृथक् पृथक् ॥ १ ॥
नित्यानन्दः सुरूपी च दिव्यश्चेश्वरभावितः।
ईश्वराणां स्वभक्तानां निग्रहानुग्रहक्षमः ॥ २ ॥

इति परमात्मवर्णनम्।

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1 P(ārānanda) S(ūtra), p. 1, Sūtra 19, p. 2, Sūtras, 20–31.
2 PS. 22-3, 5–39.

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[परमानन्दलोकवर्णनम्[1]]

तस्य लोको महान् दिव्यः परमानन्दसंज्ञकः ।
यत्र गत्वा न यात्यत्र पुनः संसारमण्डले ॥ ३ ॥
[3A]मुक्ताश्च चेश्वरा यत्र रमन्ते च यथासुखम् ।
यत्र ध्यानासक्तचित्ता ह्यनिर्देश्यश्रिया युताः ॥ ४ ॥
इति परमानन्दलोकवर्णनम् ।

[ईश्वरलक्षणम्]

अपि त्वैश्वर्ययुक्तोसौ परात्मध्यानतत्परः ।
एतेन लक्षणेनैव युक्ता ह्युक्ता महेश्वराः ॥
इतीश्वरलक्षणम् ।

[जीवलक्षणम्[2]]

ज्ञानवान् पुरुषोयं कर्ता सकलकर्मणाम् ।
मनसा च समायुक्तः तत्तदिन्द्रियसौख्यभृक् ॥ ६ ॥
पापं कुर्वन् नरकगः पुण्यं कुर्वन् हि स्वर्गगः ।
कुर्वन्नुपासनामैशीं तत्तदीशस्य लोकगः ॥ ७ ॥
एतेन लक्षणेनैव युक्ता जीवा ह्यसंख्यकाः ।
[3B]इति जीवलक्षणम् ।

[सानन्दलोकवर्णनम्[3]]

परानन्दैकदेशस्तु सानन्दश्चेत्यदाहृतः ॥ ८ ॥
कृतपापान् दुराचारान् कृतपुण्यांस्तथैव च ।
आगते प्रलये ह्येतान् सानन्दे स्थापयत्यसौ ॥ ९ ॥
वैष्णवा विष्णुना सार्धं गच्छन्ति परमं पदम् ।
स्वेन स्वेनेष्टदेवेन गच्छन्ति परमं पदम् ॥ १० ॥

[1] PS. 23-4, 42–92.
[2] PS. 25. 22–4, 1. 6, 16–18.
[3] PS. 26. 26-7.

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[ सृष्टिप्रकरणम् ]

परमात्मा कदाचित् स ब्रह्माण्डमसृजत् प्रभुः ।
परात्मा ज्ञापयामास जगत् कर्तुं महेश्वरान् ।
कृतायुताञ्च मेध्यं तु जीवसानन्दसंस्थितम् ॥ ११ ॥
सर्गस्य कारिणं देवं ब्रह्माणमकरोत् परः ।
पुण्यभारो यथा यस्य तथा तस्मै ददौ ततः ॥ १२ ॥
[4A]विष्णुत्वं वा शिवत्वं वा परात्मा भक्तभावितः ।
केचिदीश्वरानेवं मन्यन्ते ।
[1] जगत्यस्मिन् शून्यमये ह्यागता ईश्वरास्तु ये ॥ १३ ॥
ध्यायन्तस्ते परवपुर्जपन्तः परमं मनुम् ।
नीत्वा तु कतिचित् कालान् ब्रह्मा ब्राह्ममवासृजत् ॥ १४ ॥
लोकं दुष्टैस्तु दुष्प्रेक्ष्यं तपसा दिव्यमुत्तमम् ।
चक्रुः स्वकं स्वकं लोकमेवमीशास्तपोन्विताः ॥
[2] तत्र स्थित्वा ब्रह्मदेवस्त्रीन् लोकानसृजत् प्रभुः ॥ १५ ॥
आकाशाद् वायुमसृजत् वायोरग्निं चकार सः ।
चकारैवं त्रिलोकीं तां पुण्यपापोचितां दृढाम् ॥ १६ ॥
तस्यां प्रवेशयामास जीवान् सानन्दसंस्थितान् ।
पापान् जीवांस्तु ब्राह्मस्थस्तिर्यग्योन्यामपातयत् ॥ १७ ॥
राजसान् मानु[4B]षे ब्रह्मा सात्वान् दैवे ह्यपातयत् ।
सृष्टेषु त्रिषु लोकेषु पञ्चतत्त्वात्मकेषु च ॥ १८ ॥
शक्रादिभ्यो हि देवेभ्यो ह्यधिकारान् ददौ प्रभुः ।
विष्णुस्तु पालयामास चोज्जहार तथा शिवः ॥ १९ ॥
गते बऊयुगे काले प्रलयस्तूपजायते ।
प्रलीनेषु च सर्वेषु दिव्या लोकास्तु चैश्वराः ॥ २० ॥

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1 PS. 26. 38, 40.
2 PS. 27. 53-4, 74–77.

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न नाम्नं प्रतिगच्छन्ति तपसा भाविताः शुभाः ।
[1] एवं गते बऊलये लोकांस्त्यक्त्वा महेश्वराः ॥ २१ ॥
स्वैः स्वैर्भक्तवरैः सार्धं व्रजन्ति परमं पदम् ।
तैस्त्यक्ता नाम्नमायान्ति लोकाः परपु ... ॥ २२ ॥
... ... ... ...
.....[6A]र्गेण मुक्तिमिच्छन्ति योगिनः ॥ ३० ॥

[ परानन्दमतवर्णनम् ]

[2] ततोचुस्ते वसिष्ठाद्याः कुरु शिष्यान् कृपानिधे ।
आचार्यः परमानन्दस्ततोवाच महामुनीन् ॥ ३१ ॥
इयानेव विशेषोस्ति मन्मते मुनिसत्तमाः ।
न न्यासो न च हिंसास्ति जङ्गमस्य जडस्य वा [3] ॥ ३२ ॥
ततोचुर्मुनयः सर्वे यज्ञे हिंसाः श्रुताः शिव ।

शिव उवाच ।

अतएव मया प्रोक्तं मन्मते नास्त्यतो द्वयम् ॥ ३३ ॥
भाषणं त्रिविधं लोके युक्तं योग्यं च योजितम् ॥
[6B]यदुक्तं गुरुणा वाक्यं सत्यमित्यवधारयेत् ॥ ३४ ॥
न तत्र तर्कः कर्तव्यो न युक्तिर्नाथ नौचितिः ।
यद् यद् ब्रूयाद् गुरुः साक्षात्तत्तत् कुर्यादसंशयी ॥ ३५ ॥
इदं तु भाषणं युक्तं द्वितीयं परिकथ्यते ।
ध्वन्यर्थकं तु योज्यं स्याद् योजितं विजिगीषवः ॥ ३६ ॥
कुर्वन्ति भाषणं विप्रा वादिनो वादतत्पराः ।
न युष्माभिर्मया योज्यं योजितं नापि भाष्यते ॥ ३७ ॥
मया[7A] युक्तं भाषणं तु क्रियते सर्वदैव हि ।
श्रोतव्यं चेच् छृणुध्वं भो नो चेद्रुक्षत माचिरम् ॥ ३८ ॥

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[1] PS. 26. 37.
[2] PS. 91. 21–26.
[3] These lines (32b, 41b, 42a) are found also in PS. 8. 74-5.

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इत्युक्ता मुनयः सर्वे ववन्दुः पादपङ्कजम् ।
अब्रुवन् भो जगन्नाथ ह्यस्मासु त्वं कृपां कुरु ॥ ३९ ॥
नास्माभिस्तु कृतस्तर्कस्त्वद्वाक्ये पुरुषर्षभ ।
परन्तु श्रु[7B]तिवाक्यस्य प्रतिपत्तिर्विचार्यते ॥ ४० ॥

शिव उवाच ।

जङ्गमस्य जडस्यापि हिंसा नैवास्ति मन्मते ।
हिंसां कुर्यात्तु विहितां जडस्यैव न चान्यतः ॥ ४१ ॥
आलभेत च्छागवरं यत्र स्यात्तत्र पैष्टकम्[3] ।
पप्रच्छुर्मुनयः सर्वे साद्यादीन् स्वमते वद ॥ ४२ ॥
[1]तदोवाच शिवः साक्षात् सादिसान्तमतं[मिदं ?] जगत् ।
अना[8A]द्यनन्तः परमो जीवश्चेशो मते मम ॥ ४३ ॥
परमानन्दलोकश्च तत्रस्थास्तरवो जलम् । इति ।
साद्यनन्तानि दिव्यानि शरीराणि च मन्मते ॥ ४४ ॥
भवेत् कर्म द्विप्रकारं सञ्चितं क्रियमाणकम् ।
साक्षात्कारो यदेशस्य जीवन्मुक्तिस्तदेष्यते ॥
आकाशश्च परिच्छिन्नो भिन्नाश्चैवाणुशो परे ।
इति श्रुत्वा मतमिदं मुदिताः पुनरब्रुवन् ॥ ४५ ॥
[8B]कुरु शिष्यान् दक्षिणे त्वं मार्गे सर्वोत्तमे शुभे ।

[वसिष्ठादिदीक्षाविवरणम्]

शिव उवाच ।

न दीक्षया विना मार्गं दद्यात् कश्चित् क्वचिच्छुभम् ॥ ४६ ॥
तस्माद् यूयं मुनिश्रेष्ठा भवध्वं दीक्षया युताः ।
पप्रच्छुस्ते वसिष्ठाद्या वद दीक्षास्तु कीदृशीः ॥ ४७ ॥

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[1] PS. 28. 95–100, 6–8; 29. 14.

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शिव उवाच ।

आदित्या ... ... ... ... ।

... ... ... ... ...

[10A]अदीक्षिताय यो दद्यान्मन्त्रं वा मार्गमुत्तमम् ।
स पतेन्नरके घोरे वर्षाणामयुतं समाः ॥ ५७ ॥[1]
यथा ह्यनुपनीताय कन्यां दद्याद् विमूढधीः ।
तथा ह्यदीक्षितायैनं ददन्मार्गं पतेद्गुरुः ॥ ५८ ॥
अथ । द्विद्वादशदिनेष्वेव स्थिता वै दीक्षया युताः ।
निर्वर्त्य दीक्षां ते सर्वे शिवपादेपतन् द्विजाः ॥ ५९ ॥
उत्थाप्य तान् मुनिश्रेष्ठान् शिष्या[10B]न्मन्त्रैरयोजयत् ।
श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणोक्तान् धर्मान् कुरुत चानघाः ॥ ६० ॥
न्यासं सन्त्यज्य पूजादि कार्यं वै मन्मतस्थितैः ।
दीक्षया शुद्धचित्तत्वान्न न्यासस्तूपपद्यते ॥[2] ६१ ॥
परानन्दमतप्राप्तिर्यावन्नैवोपजायते ।
तावन्न्यासो यज्ञविधौ जङ्गमस्य च हिंसनम् ॥ ६२ ॥
परानन्दमते प्राप्ते न कुर्यात्तु त्विदं द्वयम् ।
श्रुत्यन्तर्वर्तिनामेव ह्यधिकारो मते मम ॥ ६३ ॥

... ... ... ... ...

... ... ... [12A]स्मार्तमार्गावलम्बिनः । इति ।
गृहान् गत्वा मतं सर्वे वर्धयामासुरञ्जसा ।

[ नारदादिदीक्षाविवरणम् ]

[3]नारदाद्या ह्यगस्त्याद्याः प्रणिपत्याब्रुवन् शिवम् ॥ ६८ ॥
अस्मभ्यं तु कृपासिन्धो वामाचारं प्रदीयताम् ।
ततस्तेभ्यो दीक्षितेभ्यो वामाचारं ददौ शिवः ॥ ६९ ॥

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[1] This and the following verse are found also in PS. 13. 89-90.
[2] Four lines beginning from the present one are also found in PS. 8. 79-80.
[3] PS. 91. 27.

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श्रुत्यागमाभ्यामुक्तांस्तु धर्मान् मच्छास्त्रसम्मतान् ।[1]
उपासध्वं मुनिश्रेष्ठास्ततः सिद्धिमवाप्स्य[12B]थ ॥ ७० ॥
वामाचारो द्विप्रकारो मध्यमोत्तमभेदतः ।[2]
उत्तमस्त्रिमकारो वौ मध्यमः पञ्चभिर्युतः ॥ ७१ ॥
मद्यमैथुनमुद्राभिर्युक्तोसावुत्तमः स्मृतः ।
मद्यं मांसं च मत्स्यं च मुद्रिका मैथुनं तथा ॥ ७२ ॥
एतैस्तु पञ्चभिर्युक्तो मध्यमः परिकीर्तितः ।
परानन्दमत ... ... ...
..... [14A]मपि वर्णानां ह्यधिकारो मतो द्वयोः ।
वामाचारे स्थिते शिष्ये नाथान्तं नाम कल्पयेत् ॥[3] ७९ ॥
तेभ्यस्तु स्वमतं चोक्त्वा नामानि विदधे शिवः ।
प्रणिपत्य च ते सर्वे स्वान् स्वान् जग्मुरथो गृहान् ॥ ८० ॥
गत्वा गृहान् मतं सर्वे वर्धयामासुरञ्जसा ।

[ देव-देवदेवादिदीक्षाविवरणम् ]

[4] देवाख्यो देवदेवाख्यो द्वावृषी ह्यागतौ ततः ॥
ववन्दतुः [14B]पादपद्मं दाढ यत् सर्वसम्पदाम् ॥ ८१ ॥

तावूचतुः ।

आवाभ्यां दीयतां मार्गमुत्तराख्यं सदाशिव ।
ततस्ताभ्यां दीक्षिताभ्यां ददौ मार्गं तु चोत्तरम् ॥ ८२ ॥
नेच्छेद्धनं मनुष्येभ्यो सेवावृत्तिं चरेन्न च ।
अयाचिताहृतं ग्राह्यमपि दुष्कृतकर्मणः ॥ ८३ ॥[5]
आनन्दान्तं चोत्तरे तु[6] ... ... ...
... ... ... ... ...

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1 PS. 13. 6.
2 This line as also the line that follows the next line are found as one verse in PS. 13. 96.
3 PS. 13. 8.
4 PS. 91. 29.
5 PS. (19. 39-40), where also the verse occurs, reads •तादृतं in the third foot.
6 PS. 20. 78.

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[ राजधर्म्मप्रकरणम् ]

[17A][1] क्रतुतुल्यानि युद्धे युद्धाभिमुखानाम्
सर्वदा नाधिकं यस्मात् प्रजानां परिपालनम् ।
चाटतस्करदुर्वृत्तमहासाहसिकादिभिः ।
पीड्यमानाः प्रजा रक्षेत् कायस्थै[ श्च ] विशेषतः ॥
साधून् संमानयेद् राजा विपरीतान् [ च ] घातयेत् ।
य एव नृपतेर्धर्मः स्व[17B]राष्ट्र[ परि ]पालने ।
तमेव क्षत्स्नमाप्नोति परराष्ट्रं वशं नयन् ॥
अदण्ड्यादण्डनं राज्ञः स्वर्गकीर्त्ति[ प्र ]णाशनम् ।
दण्ड्यदण्डनं राज्ञः स्वर्गकीर्त्तिजयावहम् ॥
अपि भ्राता सुतोर्ध्यो वा श्वशुरो मातुलोपि वा ।[2]
नादण्ड्यो नाम राज्ञोस्ति धर्माद् विचलितः स्वकात् ।
यो दण्ड्यान् दण्डयेद् राजा सम्यग् वध्यांश्च घातयेत् ।
[18A]इष्टं स्यात् क्रतुभिस्तेन समाप्तवरदक्षिणैः ॥[3]

वानप्रस्थोपद्रवकर्त्तॄन् वन्यान् हिंस्रान् जन्तून् व्याघ्रादीन् हन्यादेव राजा। तानेव हिंस्रान् काल्यग्रे बलिदानविधिना क्षित्त्वा बलिं समर्पयेत् काल्यै वा। तस्मादेष त्वच्छिष्योरीन् जयतु मृधे। इत्युक्तौ वसिष्ठ-स्य[18B]दर्शनाभ्यां पूजितोन्तर्दधे शिवः इति। सुदर्शनोरीनजयदिति।

ईश्वराणां तपोभिस्तु भावितेभ्यो नमो नमः।
जडेभ्यो जङ्गमेभ्यश्च देवेभ्यश्च नमो नमः ॥
परानन्दमतस्थस्तु यः पठेत् सुसमाहितः।
क्षत्स्नं तु स्वमतं ज्ञात्वा स्वेष्टलोकं व्रजेत् सुधीः ॥
अनेन प्रीयतां देवी महाकाली सुरार्चिता ॥

[1] The remaining portion of the work appears to have formed part of the Sudarśana-Vaśiṣṭha legend (PS. 92. 31-32) which relates how King Sudarśana was permitted to take active part in battles.
[2] This and the following line occur in prose form in PS. p. 98, lines 10–12.
[3] This verse is quoted in PS. p. 99, lines 25–6.

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## ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

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Article No. 21.

# The Jesuits at Agra in 1635–37.

*Edited and translated*

By the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.

Father Jos. de Castro, S.J., Mirza Zu-l Qarnain's chaplain, wrote 'from Mogol' on August 8, 1632, to Fr. Jos. Baudo, S.J., Turin, that he had been with the Mirza the last three years. The Mirza had all that time been Governor of some Provinces of Bengala. The town is nowhere mentioned; but, it was 200 or 250 miles from Agra, and 300 from Hugli. I have sometimes thought it was Patna; perhaps, it was Jaunpur. Fr. de Castro added a post-script from Agra, on November 24, 1632, stating that he had arrived 8 days before, with the Mirza, after a 2 months' journey.

On November 24, 1632, Fr. de Castro writes from Agra to the General of the Society that he had arrived from Bengala 8 days before. The King had recalled the Mirza. (Let us remember that in June 1632 the Muhammadans had invested Hugli, and that the siege lasted till the end of November. These events may have had something to do with the Mirza's recall.) The Mirza was received with much honour by the King, and the Fathers hoped he would soon get another good commission. (The events then taking place in Bengal had had some effect on the Agra Mission already. The King had shown himself hostile to the Christians from the beginning of his reign, and it was feared that worse days were in store for them.)

Fr. de Castro wrote on February, 6, 1633, from Agra that the bell of their Church had been removed on the day of the Epiphany, January 6, 1633; 4 *piyādas* had been posted in the house to watch over them day and night, and the Fathers were forbidden to make any converts. The Mirza had shown himself very firm in certain demands of the King touching his faith. The news had reached them that Hugli had been destroyed.

On October 5, 1633, Fr. F. Corsi, S.J., wrote to the General of the Society from Agra. They had been a whole year subject to persecution. In September 1632, the Mirza's step-mother and his two half-brothers had been seized, their property had been taken, and the two half-brothers had of their own accord become Muhammadans, hoping that would save them. Then the Mirza was recalled from Bengala, and Shah Jahan wanted to make a Muhammadan of him too, or seize his treasures. He began,

*Editorial Note*: This paper was received in 1930 but for various reasons it remained unattended before the death of the author. It is now published in its original form, and Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the Philological Secretary, has revised the proofs.—*B. G.*



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however, by vexing the Fathers. On the Epiphany of 1633 their house was invested by armed soldiery, and the three bells were removed from the steeple. Even one of their great friends, a former pupil of theirs, turned against the Fathers. Fr. Corsi, going to his house on February 18, was severely ill-treated. On February 23, the Fathers were suddenly ordered to leave their house, were kept four days prisoners, and, on being allowed to go home, they found everything in such disorder that they spent eight days in fitting up the house. On March 6, a Sunday, they said Mass again, but the Judge came that day, sat down, called the Mirza, and began tormenting several persons to know where his treasures were. Fr. Jos. de Castro received on three separate occasions 50 lashes. After the 4th or 5th blow he had fallen to the ground. That night the Mirza was taken to the palace, and the next day the four Fathers were taken to prison, where they remained till March (?) 13. They were released with the Mirza, when the latter promised to pay the sum they wanted: 400,000 scudi. By and by, they wanted more, and both the Mirza's and the Fathers' house was searched, the floor being dug up. Nothing was found, and the police left the Fathers alone that night. The Mirza had already paid three lakhs of scudi, but had to pay still one lakh. From a rich man he was now reduced to poverty, but the Fathers hoped the King would reinstate him.

On October 8, 1633, Fr. Jos. de Castro wrote to Fr. Nuno Mascarenhas, S.J., Assistant of Portugal in Rome, that the Mirza had had to pay 8 lakhs of rupees or about 400,000 cruzados. To help him as much as they could, they had given back to him the golden chalice which he had presented to the Church.

I cannot say exactly when the Mirza was liberated from prison. He assisted at the burial of Fr. Matthew de Payva, who died at Agra on November 2, 1633.

* * *

(*Fol.* 1*r.*) (*Fol.* 1*r.*)

*Goa* 46.[1]

635 $\frac{5}{IX}$ Agra.[2]

Jos. de Castro.[3]

*Breve Narratione delle cose occorse nel Coll. o di Agra della Mission di Mogor del* 1635.[4]

*Brief Narrative of what happened in the College of Agra, in the Mission of Mogor, in* 1635.

[1,2,3] Notes by an archivist. The letters here published belong to the Society of Jesus in Europe.

[4] There is no paragraphing in the letter. We divide the text into paragraphs.

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L'Anno passato il Rè del gran Mogor press dopo un lungo assedio Vgulino città nel Regno di Bengalla, e la distrusse affatto, e condusse in questa citta capo del suo Regno quasi $\frac{m}{4}$ homini prigioni, tutti carichi di ferri.

Di questi molti, subito che poterò, cominciorno à uenire à casa nostra, e frequentare la nostra chiesa, come se si trouassero nel mezzo del Europa; e però tuttoche non hauessero acquistata la libertà, ad ogni modo per l'allegrezza, che sentiuano ne loro animi per poter riceuere i SS.i Sacramenti, si marauigliauano come se fossero mutati in altri homini: poiche molti ristorati con questo cibo delle anime, si animauano a sopportar le fatiche, che gl' imponeuano i Padroni; altri si riempiuano di noua gratia, e consolatione per perseuerare constanti, e fermi nella fede una uolta abbracciata. Perciò quelli, che ò per debollezza ò per paura d' tormenti erano caduti, di nouo risorgeuano; li dubbiosi, e uacillanti pigliauano nouo animo; li constanti, e fermi diuentauano sempre mai uia

Last year, after a long siege, the King of the great Mogor took the city of Ugulino,[1] in the Kingdom of Bengalla, destroyed it entirely, and brought as prisoners to this city, the capital of his Kingdom, about 4,000 people, all of them laden with chains.[2]

Many of these, as soon as they could, began to come to our house and to frequent our church, just as if they had been in the centre of Europe;[3] and, though they had not recovered their liberty, still the inward joy they felt at being able to receive the Holy Sacraments, made them wonder, as if they had been changed into other men. Indeed, re-invigorated by that spiritual nutriment, many braced themselves up to bear the troubles inflicted on them by their Masters; others were filled with new grace and consolation to continue firm and constant in the faith they had once embraced.[4] Consequently, those whom their weakness or the fear of torments had caused to fall, rose again; the irresolute and wavering gathered new courage; the staunch and firm

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The letter, not being addressed to 'his Paternity', but to 'his Reverence', the addressee is not the General of the Society of Jesus. The letter is not an autograph. Certain spellings make us think that the Italian text is a translation, perhaps from the Spanish.

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[1] The original probably bore 'Vgulim', a spelling then common for Hugli.

[2] Fr. de Castro's date is at fault. The siege of Hugli had lasted from the end of June to the end of September 1632, and the 4,000 prisoners from Hugli had arrived at Agra in July 1633. (Cf. *JASB.*, 1910, p. 531.)

[3] They suspected no danger.

[4] The words 'the faith they had once embraced' seem to refer only to the native converts.

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piu ualorosi; finalm.te tutti tanto homini, quanto donne ricorrendo a questa nostra chiesa, come a certiss.o refugio, hauendo piu fiate prouato esser l'unico alleggerimento delle anime loro. Si uedeuano bene spesso, e non senza una certa tenerezza, e gusto interno quei pouerelli laceri per tutto il corpo, e per la longhezza del uiaggio squallidi uenirsene dà noi à piedi scalsi, acciò potessero ò trauarsi presenti al S. to Sacrificio della messa, ò riceuere li santi sacramenti: alcuni di nascosto, e senza saputa d' Padroni; altri apertamente, e tra questi molti homini, e donne nobili, che non auuezze à simili fatiche, na à caminare à piedi, ma ad esser portate sopra le spalle d' schiaui; hora à piedi nudi, como hò ditto, e spesso con pioggia, e per strade fangose, le Dominiche, e giorni di festa, et alle uolte anche, e non di raro fra la settimana, potendo uenir dà noi liberam.te, lo riputauano sommo beneficio, parendoli la nostra chiesa un ritratto del Paradiso, mercè ch' era si bene adorna di uarie figure, et imagini d' santi, che pareua non si potesse dessiderar (*Fol.* 1*v*) cosa piu bella.

In questa ogni giorno di festa dopo il S.o Sacrificio della messa la matina si predicaua, ouero con qualche esortatione, secondo che il tempo richiedeua si suppliua; dopò il mezzo

grew each time stronger; in fine, all of them, men and women, flocked to this our church as to a very safe refuge, having repeatedly experienced that it was the only solace to their souls. Very often we could see, and not without a certain emotion and heartfelt consolation, these poor wretches, their bodies all torn, and filthy from the length of the road, come to us barefoot, that they might either be present at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, or receive the Holy Sacraments. Some came in secret and without the knowledge of their masters; others openly, and among these were many men and women of noble rank, not accustomed to such toils, or to walking on foot, but rather to being carried (the women) on the shoulders of slaves. On Sundays and feastdays, and sometimes too, and not unfrequently, on weekdays, since we allowed them to come freely, they would come barefooted, as I have said, and often through the rain and the muddy streets. It was to them the greatest of all blessings. Our church appeared to them like a picture of Paradise. It was so well adorned with all kinds of statues and pictures of the Saints that, it seemed, nothing prettier could be looked for (*Fol.* 1*v*).

Every feastday, in the morning, after the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, we preached to them in that church, or addressed to them, instead, some exhortation, according as the

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giorno s' instruiuano i fanciulli nella doctrina x'piana, e nelle cose appartenenti alla nostra santa fede, e uerso la sera poi con gran diuotione, e concorso di gente si cantauano le litanie di n'ra Sig.ra con lequali sante occupationi appena inuerò si puol credere quanto profitto tutti habbiano fatto. In sul principio di q.te cose dubitando noi, che non ci occorresse quello, che poi auuenne, cominciammo à fare le nostre fontioni senza strepito, e molto cautam.te, e questo à fine solam.te di non dare occasione ai Mahumettani d'eccitar contro di noi qualche tragedia. Onde noi stessi alle uolte uietauamo alli x'piani la frequenza della chiesa; il che non si faceua senza grandiss.o sentimento, e cordoglio del animo, non uolendosi dar à credere il pericolo, che ci sourastaua, e che molte fiate tanto in publico, quanto in priuato gli haueuamo predetto. Ma non furno mai bastanti tutte queste arti à ritenerli dalla frequenza della chiesa; anzi che molti ottenuta in scritto la licenza d[a] loro Padroni, piu spesso, che mai frequentauano i sudetti santi esercitij; altri ueniuano dall' istessi Padroni spontaneamente spinti; anzi che alcuni altri degl' istessi Mahumetani, che erano personaggi principali, uinti dalla fortezza, e constanza nel patire d[e] x'piani schiaui, di lor spontanea uoluntà gli dauano animo, dicendo, seguitate uolete ad andare alli uostri P'ri, et à frequentar la chiesa: ne noi dalla parta nostra

occasion required; in the afternoon, we taught the children the Christian Doctrine,[1] and what pertains to our Holy Faith; then, towards the evening, amidst great devotion and concourse of people, the Litanies of our Lady were sung. It is scarcely possible, indeed, to believe how much profit all derived from these holy exercises. In the beginning, as we suspected that what happened subsequently would come to pass, we performed our functions without any noise, and very cautiously: this, simply to avoid giving to the Mahumettans an occasion of bringing upon us some tragedy. Hence, we sometimes forbade the Christians to come to the church; but this could not be done without incurring much ill-feeling and complaint. They would not believe the danger which lay concealed, though we had often predicted it to them both in public and in private. But, all our pleading availed no longer to keep them from coming to the church; on the contrary, many obtained in writing the permission of their Master and more than ever frequented the said holy exercises; others were sent by their very Masters, without any request; nay, some others among the Mahumettans, and of the highest rank, overcome by the fortitude and firmness of their Christian slaves in the midst of their sufferings, encouraged them themselves, saying: 'If you like, continue to go to

[1] The Catechism.

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mancassimo in questo, poiche dà non pochi della prima nobilità, per altro nostri amicissimi, ottenemmo licenza perche li loro schiaui potessero uenire dà noi liberamente: Il che fù cagione, che molti altri spontaneamente facessero il medemo. Onde accorgendosi noi ben presto, che molti senza alcun timore, con licenza d' loro Padroni frequentauano la nostra chiesa, stimolati dalla conscienza cominciammo à farci scrupolo quando che piu lungamente hauess imo lor prohibito l' entrar nella chiesa, e uietatali la publica participatione d' sacramenti, ancorche per altra parte stessimo sempre con timore, che di quà non ne nascesse qualche incontro, come auuenne: ma il feruore d' (*Fol.* 2*r*) schiaui x'piani era allhora cosi grande, che qualunque impedimento si fusse posto per ritardare il loro ardore, si sarebbe ascritto piu tosto ad impietà, che à zelo, ò à prudenza x'piana.

your Fathers and to frequent the Church'.

Nor did we remain behindhand in the matter. From not a few, belonging to the first nobility, who besides were very friendly to us, we obtained leave for their slaves to come to us freely, and this led many other masters to allow the same unasked. As we remarked very soon that many relied on the permission of their masters to frequent our church without the slightest fear, we began to feel scruples and disquiet of heart that we should so long have forbidden them to come to our church and join in the public participation of the Sacraments; yet, on the other hand, we were always afraid that it would bring us into trouble, as was the case. But, the fervour of (*Fol.* 2*r*) the Christian slaves was then so great that, whatever obstacle we might have thrown into their way to check their ardour, it would have been considered impiety rather than zeal or Christian prudence.

Caminando dunque le cose nostre tanto prospera, e felicem.te, il demonio inuidioso non potendo piu soffrire di ueder fiorire il culto diuino, e l'honor d' suoi santi, fra il giaccio della Mahumettana impietàs come che poco auanti hauesse fatto abbattere, e diroccare molte suntuose chiese d' X'piani nel porto di Vgula, et in Bengalla, si pose all' impresa di uoler gettar à

We were getting on smoothly and happily, when the devil, jealous at seeing the worship of God and of His Saints flourish in spite of the icy blasts of Mahumettan impiety, came to mar our happiness. Not long before, he had succeeded in ruining and destroying many sumptuous Christian churches in the harbour of Ugula[1] and in Bengalla. He resolved to cast down our

[1] Read: Ugulim. The spelling shows that the Italian text is not the original.

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terra ancor questa nostra per mezzo d' maestri del infame setta, il che gli auuenne fatto;

poiche il giorno di S. Silvestro Papa stando il P're nostro all' altare dicendo la messa alla presenza di tutti li altri X'piani, in un subito li ministri Regij comparirono per ordine del Gouernatore, cosi commandato dal Rè, et entrati in chiesa con gran impeto, poste le guardie, alle porte, accio niuno potesse d' indi uscire, si accostarono prima d' ogni altro al P're, e ritrattolo con gran uiolenza dal altare, cosi uestito come egli era delle uesti sacerdotali, lo legarono strettamnte con la stola, e l' istesso fecero poscia di me, e di tutti li altri X'piani; Dopo si riuoltorno al altare, e presó con sacrileghe mani il sacro calice, sparsero sopra il tapeto del altare il pretioso sangue del Saluatore; e questo, perche il sacerdote soprapreso improuisam.te non haueua potuto consumare altro che l'hostia: Noi dunque tutti, fatta una lunga fila fummo cosi ligati per le strade, e piazze condotti al tribunal del Prefetto, portando molti X'piani ancorche ligati uarie imagini d' Santi. In questa comitiua d' prigioni u' erano d' ogni sorte di natione di Europa, Portoghesi, Veneziani, Italiani, Francesi, e non pochi Armeni, auuenga che le empij soldati non hebbero riguardo ad età, e conditione di ueruna persona, gridando con-

church too. With the help of the doctors of the infamous sect (of Mahumet), he succeeded only too well.

On the day of St. Silvester, Pope,[1] our Father stood at the altar,[2] saying Mass in the presence of all the other Christians, when suddenly the King's officers, sent by the Governor, who himself had received orders from the King, appeared in our midst. They rushed into the church with great noise, and, placing guards at the doors, to prevent anyone from escaping, they went straight to the Father, pulled him violently from the altar, vested as he was in his priestly vestments, and bound him tight with his stole. Next, they did the same with me and the other Christians. Then they returned to the altar, laid sacrilegious hands on the sacred chalice, and poured the Precious Blood of the Saviour on the altar carpet. Indeed, the priest had been surprised so suddenly that he had been able to consume only the Host. So then, bound as we all were, we were drawn up into a long file and were marched through the streets and public places to the Prefect's tribunal. Notwithstanding their bonds, many of the Christians were made to carry sundry images of Saints. In this procession of prisoners was represented every nation of Europe: Portuguese, Venetians, Italians, Frenchmen, and not a few

[1] December 31, 1634.
[2] Perhaps Fr. Francis Morando, an Italian (cf. *JASB.*, 1910, pp. 459, 531-532), or Fr. João d' Oliveyra.

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tinuam.te, che tutti noi erauamo homini circumcisi, e bugiardi seguaci di Maometto. Giunti auanti il Gouernatore, comãndò, che tutti li X'piani fossero incarcerati, m^a noi altri P'ri uolle, che ritornassimo alla nostra casa, per ritrar di là le mobiglie.

Doue non tantosto arriuammo, che di subito sù li occhi nostri pieni di lagrime per uedere una tanto grande sceleragine, li empij ministri del Demonio (*Fol.* 2*v*) cominciarono con pali di ferro à demoliui sacri altari, squarciare le sacre immagine, e ridurre in minutissimi pezzi, sputacciarle, e con piedi calpestarle; In fine non lasciando di esercitare sorte alcuna d' impietà, che dal furor Maumetano contro Iddio, e d' Santi suoi, gli ueniua dettato.

Fatto questo, hauendo con lor proprij occhi riconosciuto, che niuno de X'paini era conforme al empio rito circumciso, hauendo prima richiesto chi per loro facesse securtà, laquale da un solo fù dat, che per l'auuenire niuno sarebbe piu

Armenians. The impious soldiery had no regard either for age or condition. They kept shouting that we were circumcised all of us, but renegade followers of Maomet. When we arrived before him, the Governor ordered all the Christians to be imprisoned. As for us, the Fathers, he told us to go back to our house and to remove the furniture.

No sooner had we arrived there, than we had to witness a spectacle which drew tears from our eyes: the impious minions of the Devil (*Fol.* 2*v*) began presently to demolish the holy altars with iron bars, destroy the sacred images, reduce them to minute fragments, spit upon them, and trample them under foot. In fine, they omitted no kind of impiety which their Maumettan frenzy dictated to them against God and His Saints.

After this, when they had ascertained with their own eyes that not one of the Christians had been circumcised after their impious rite, they asked who would give bail —only one [1] came forward—on condition that none of them

[1] We suggest the name of Shāh 'Alā-ud-dīn Muḥammad. Cf. *JASB.*, 1910, p. 452. Among the additional MSS., British Museum, Vol. I (1828–41), No. 9855, is found a petition from him to the 'Signor Padre Superior Jiū', in which he recites how he came to Agra and was asked by the Portuguese to go bail for the Portuguese prisoners from Hugli. No one else would give security for them: so he had several interviews with Āṣaf Jāh, the khān-khānān, and procured the liberty of the prisoners. Compare with S. Manrique, *Itinerario Oriental*, p. 439, col. 1. 'Coje Alamti Mamede' was Aurangzeb's ambassador to the Portuguese in 1667-68. Cf. J. F. J. Bikar, *Collecção de Tratartos e concertos de pazes*, t. IV, pp. 123–135. We cannot suggest the name of Mirza Zu-l Qarnain, who was then at Lahore. As for Jerome Veroneo, the Venetian planner and builder of the Tāj, he was very possibly among the prisoners himself, since no discrimination was made between the prisoners from Hugli and the Agra Christians.

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ritornato dà noi per fare oratione, rimandarono ciascuno à sua casa, e noi con alcuni pochi fornimenti sottratti dalle empie mani d' sbirri, poiche questi per commandamento del Re douenano restare intati ci ritirammo ad alcune case da pigione.

Hor mentre il Rè commanda, che questo si facci, egli si ritrouaua lontano di quà .25. giornate di camino nella città di Tabor capo di questo Regno; et appresso di lui staua un n'ro P're in compagnià di un nobiliss.o cortegiano, homo molto benemerito della Comp.a, e foundatore del Collegio, e Missione del Tibet. Però uenendo l'uno, e l'altro con un messo à postà auuisato affine che se fusse stato possibile porgessero alcun agiuto a tanti mali. Appena riceuerono le nostre lettere, che di nouoil Rè commanda, che subito fussimo mandati uia del Regno per ritornare à n'ri Paesi. Giunta questa noua, dato di mano à tutto ciò, che di pretioso si ritrouaua appò di noi, ò per uso n'ro, ò per seruitio della chiesa, l'inuiammo insieme con .2. P'ri all'Indie; e fra tanto aspettando noi il ritorno del Rè in questa citta,

il qual subito giunto, cominciammo à negotiare con il socero di lui, homo uecchio,

would thenceforth come to us again for prayer; next, they sent them all home. We retired to some rented houses with some few articles saved from the impious hands of the soldiery, which the King had ordered to leave intact.

Now, while the King ordered these proceedings, he was in the city of Tabor,[1] the capital of this kingdom, a journey of 25 days from here. Near him was one of our Fathers,[2] who was in the suite of a very noble courtier, a great benefactor of the Society, the founder of the College, and of the Mission of Tibet.[3] Both were informed by express courier of what had happened, in the hope that, if possible, they would give us a helping hand in our troubles; but, they had scarcely received our letters when the King issued another order turning us out of the Kingdom and bidding us return to our countries. On receiving this news, we took whatever valuables we had either for our personal use or for the use of the church, and sent them off to the Indies[4] under the care of two Fathers. Meanwhile, we awaited the King's return to this city.

As soon as the King had come back, we entered into negotiations with his father-

[1] Read: Lahor. Another proof that the Italian text is not the original one, or at any rate another proof that our text is a copy.

[2] The Father then with the Mirza may have been Fr. Francesco Corsi.

[3] Alexander, the father of Mirza Zu-l Qarnain (Alexander), had held high office under Akbar. The Mirza had been brought up in the palace with Shāh Jahān himself.

[4] Portuguese India: Goa, and its settlements on the West Coast.

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e che piu fiate in somiglianti occasioni c'era stato molto fauoreuole, acciò ci suggerisse qualche rimedio in cosi graue borasca; mà elli francamente ci rispose, che il caso nostro era spedito, e che non si poteua tentar cosa alcuna appò del Re, ne far piu longa dimora nel Regno; mà esser necessario, che quanto prima ci partissimo; il che acciò piu facilmente si potesse eseguire, egli per l'amor, che ci portaua, ci haurebe dato homini fidati, e sicuri, cò quali senz'altro impedimento hauriamo portuto passare all'Indie. Ciò inteso (*Fol.* 3*r*) dà noi gli mostrammo l'ordine del N'ro P're Pro'le, come c'imponeua, che non partissimo dalla presenza del Rè se non scacciati à uiua forza. A questo soggiunse egli, bene stà, uoi potrete restar quiui come homini priuati, ma con questa conditione, che in niuna maniera ammettiate in casa uostra, ne in chiesa alcun X'piano per orare, e molto meno, che non facciate raunanza di loro. Cosi, sebene di mala uoglia, accettammo l'iniqua conditione, ancorche con speranza di qualche magior bene: e pure non ricusò, che formassimo una noua supplica al Re, per ottener licenza, al meno ci fusse lecito di esercitare i n'ri ministerij con i n'ri x'piani, come per l'auanti era costume di farsi, e questo senza pompa e strepito alcuno, e questa supplica si esibì egli di presentare al Rè; il che sin'hora non hà eseguito, ancor-

in-law,[1] an old man, who had several times been very favourable to us in similar occasions, and asked him to suggest how we might avert so furious a storm; but, he answered candidly that our case was hopeless, that it was impossible for us to try anything with the King, or remain any longer in the Kingdom. We were to leave as soon as possible, and, to facilitate matters, he would—out of the love he bore us—have given us safe and trusty attendants with whom we might have gone without further delay to the Indies. On hearing this, (*Fol.* 3*r*) we showed him the order of our Father Provincial, which enjoined on us not to leave the King's presence unless we were driven out by sheer force. Hereupon he replied: 'Very well, you may remain here as private individuals, but on condition that you will in no way admit to your house or to your church any Christian who might come to pray, much less may you hold meetings'. Much against our wish, but with the hope of greater good, we accepted the iniquitous condition. He did not, however, object to our drawing up a new petition to the King, asking that we might at least be allowed to minister to our Christians, as we used to do before, that is without pomp or noise. He even offered to present this petition to the King, but he has not done so yet, although we have

[1] Āṣaf-Khān.

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che piu fiate l' habbiamo instantissi (ma)mente pregato.

Noi frà tanto di nascosto, e furtiuam.te andiamo souuenendo al meglio che si puole à q.ti n'ri x'piani ministrando loro i sacramenti, o con denari, ch' essi spontaneam.te ci porgono, ò che noi alla giornata andiamo mendicando. Dal che la R.a V.a può congetturare come la passiamo in mezzo di tanti trauagli, e fatighe di animo, e di corpo, poiche di continuo uiuiamo con la morte si puol dire alla bocca, incerti, e dubiosi, che risolutione habbi a prender di noi l'empio Re.

De X'piani che l'anno passato dà Bengalla furno condotti qui prigione, molti per la paura se ne sono fugiti; alcuni hanno ceduti à tormenti, la magior parte però si ritrouaua quiui ancora pronta à sostenere qualsiuoglia incontro e tormento per la fede, risoluti di seguitare i P'ri ouunque siano dal Re relegati. Da .500. incirca d'prigioni sono passati al altra uita, consumati dalla fame, caldi eccessiui, et altre fatighe intollerabili con segni euidentissimi della lor salute, poiche tutti, toltine alcuni pochi cò quali non habbiamo potuto trattare, hanno dà noi preso i sacramenti, e li loro figlioli di fresco nati sono stati battezzati. Quelli, che sono rimasti sono per la magior parte donne al numero quasi di .500., le quali cosi strettam.te uengono custodite nelle case d' principali sig.ri di questa città, che non è possibile trattar con loro, che pero niun giouamento se li

several times urgently requested him.

Meanwhile, we continue secretly and stealthily to help our Christians, as best we can, administering to them the Sacraments or assisting them with alms, which they offer us of their own accord or which we go begging day after day. Your Reverence can imagine what our life is like here, in the midst of such toils and troubles of soul and body. We may say that death is ever staring us in the face, for we know not what resolution the impious King may take concerning us.

Of the Christians who were brought here last year as prisoners from Bengalla, many have fled out of fear; some have yielded under their tortures; but the greater number is still here, ready to face for the Faith any hardships and torments, and resolved to follow the Fathers whithersoever the King may banish them. What with hunger, and what with the excessive heat and other sufferings unbearable, some 500 of the prisoners have departed to the next life, leaving us evident marks of their salvation. With the exception of a few with whom we had not been able to communicate, all had received the Sacraments, and their newly born children were baptised. Those who remain are mostly women, about 500. These are so strictly guarded in the houses of the chief gentlemen of this city that it is impossible for us to have any dealings with them, or to get any help

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può dà noi arrecare. Ma quello, che piu ci (*Fol.* 3*v*) pesa ẽ, che molti fanciulli per l'istessa cagione corrono grandissimo risschio della loro dannatione, e con essi si trouano dà .43. mercanti Portoghesi con .80. schiaui incirca, li quali per ordine del Rè stanno imprigionati in un carcere priuato, e separato dà tutti li altri; e sebene teneuano promessa di douer esser liberati quanto prima, ad ogni modo gia sono .2. anni, che si trouano colà con pochisima speranza di douerne uscire, e però pian-piano uanno mancando ò consumati dalle fame, ò à forza d' tormenti, li quali sono cosi essessiui, che superano ogni credere, et in questo i Mahumetani non sono niente meno crudeli del istesso Nerone.

Io se hò à dire il uero, stimo, che il N'ro Sig.re ci habbi data opportuna occasione di esercitare i nostri ministerij, mentre siamo sforzati porgere alcun soccorso à questi miseri scorrendo continuam.te per le strade, e case, hor alla scoperta, hor di nascosto, talhora ancora in habito sconosciuto per ministrare i sacramenti, e souuenire à corpi con cibi et anco per confermarli nella fede, acciò in essa constantem.te si mantenghino; e però tutti ad una uoce ricordeuoli di tanta carità, a pertamente confessano, che dopo Dio, dalli soli P'ri della n'ra Comp.à riconoscono la constanza, e fermezza, che insperimentano nella credenza di nostra fede.

to reach them. But, what grieves us more (*Fol.* 3*v*) is that, for the same reason, many children run the greatest risk of their perdition. With them are 43 Portuguese merchants and about 80 slaves, who, by the King's order, are kept in a private prison, separate from the rest. They had been promised their liberty at the first occasion, but two years have now elapsed[1] and they are still there, with very little hope of ever being liberated. Little by little, their ranks are thinning. They die of hunger or under the stress of their torments, their sufferings being so excessive that they pass all belief, and in this matter the Maumettans are not less cruel than Nero himself.

To tell the truth, I believe that Our Lord has given us an opportunity of fulfilling our ministerial duties. To afford some help to these poor wretches, we are continually obliged to run about the streets, from house to house, now openly, then secretly, at times too in disguise, ministering the Sacraments, relieving their bodily wants with food, and confirming them in the faith, that they may persevere in it to the end. Hence, in their gratitude for so much charity, they are unanimous in proclaiming openly that, after God, they owe to the Fathers of our Society the firmness and fortitude they feel in the profession of our faith.

[1] Here Fr. de Castro himself shows that the prisoners had arrived at Agra in 1633.

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Dui chierici, che in Bengalla esercitauano li officij di curati carichi di catene sono stati dal Regio carcere condotti piu fiate per le strade, non per altro, che per hauer ricusato di seguitar la setta di Maometto; e dopo lunghi trauagli, e tormenti, alla fine sono passati felicemente al cielo. Similm.te dui P'ri Agostiniani detenuti nel medemo carcere per l'istessa cagione confessori del uero Iddio, e della X'piana fede, perseuerano con grandiss.a constanza sino à questo giorno con singolare esempio di tutti questi n'ri X'piani; et à questi serui di Dio della nostra pouertà andiamo noi giornalmente somministrando il uitto necessario, non altrimenti che si fussero di n'ra Comp.à con quella carità propria n'ra; il che saputosi dal P.Coano Pro'le del lor ordine ci ha reso per lettere gratie infinite.

(*Fol.* 4*r.*) Questo é P're mio il stato miserabile alli occhi

Two clerics, who performed the duties of parish-priests in Bengalla, were several times led in chains from the Royal prison through the streets, for no other reason than that they had refused to follow the sect of Moamet. After long travails and torments they have at last gone happily to heaven.[1] Two Augustinian Fathers are also detained in the same prison for the like reason.[2] Confessors of the true God and of the Christian faith, they persevere with the greatest constancy to this day, thus setting a singular example to all our Christians here. Out of our poverty and with that charity which is our characteristic, we assist these servants of God and provide them daily with their necessary sustenance, just as if they belonged to our Society. The Father Provincial of their Order at Goa, on hearing of this tendered us by letter exceeding thanks.

Such, my Father, is the state—wretched to human eyes

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[1] Their names are : Manoel d'Anhaya and Manoel Garcia.

The former was a native of Santarem in Portugal. Cf. S. Manrique, *Itinerario Oriental*, Rome, 1649 and 1653, ch. lxxxi. The inscription on his tomb in the old Agra Catholic Cemetery should be restored thus: AQVI IAZO P. M.EL / D'ANHAYA CLERI- / GO MORTO PELA / FEE / NA PRISÃO A / 2D'AGOSTO 1633. / ('Here lieth Father Manoel d'Anhaya, a secular priest, who died in prison for the Faith on August 2, 1633').

The second was perhaps of mixed descent, having been born at 'Siripur', a Portuguese settlement at the mouth of the Meghna river, opposite the island of Sundiva. Cf. Manrique, *op. cit.*, pp. 435./437. I propose the following restoration of the epitaph on his tomb in the octagonal chapel in the old Catholic Cemetery at Agra: AQVI IAZO P. M.EL GARCIA CLER.GO / MORTO NO CAR / CERE PELA FEE A / 23 DE MARCO D' / 1634. / ('Here lieth Father Manoel Garcia, a secular priest, who died in prison for the Faith on March 23, 1634'). For the story of their sufferings and death, cf. Manrique, *op. it.*, ch. lxxxi.

[2] Their names are: Father Prior Friar Antonio de Christo and Father Friar Francisco de la Encarnacion. Cf. Manrique, *op. cit.*, chs. 58. 61. 65. 80. 81., for a circumstantial account of their captivity and liberation.

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humani, in cui si ritroua di presente questa uigna di X'po, il quale ad ogni modo, como ci conuien sperare della Diuina bontà, e clemenza, haurà esito felicissimo; posciache sebene questo Rè sin dalla sua fanciullezza sia sempre stato inimicissimo d' X'piani; tuttauolta non *ẽ consilium aduersus Dominũ*, il quale saprà bene, come speriamo, come prudentissimo uignarolo trattar di maniera questa sua uigna eletta, chè piena di spine, e triloli non ha sin hora prodotto se non labrusche, à suo tempo produca frutti suauissimi di bone opere.

Di Agra 5. di 7bre del .1635.

—to which this vineyard of Christ is now reduced. Still, we may hope from the Divine Goodness and Mercy that this trial will have the happiest issue; for, though this King has from childhood been always most hostile to the Christians, yet 'there is no counsel against the Lord'.[1] We hope that, as a wise vine-dresser, God will know how to tend this His elect vineyard, so that, if it was heretofore full of 'thorns and thistles'[2] and 'brought forth only wild grapes',[3] it may produce in due season the most fragrant fruits of good works.

From Agra, the 5th of September, 1635.

D.V.R.

Indegno seruo nal Sig.re

Joseph De Castro.

Your Reverence's

Unworthy servant in the Lord,

Joseph De Castro.

Another letter by Fr. de Castro, dated Agra, September 17, 1636, and addressed to the General of the Society of Jesus, Rome, shows under what circumstances a *farman* was obtained, allowing the Fathers to return to their house. We publish the original Portuguese autograph text with a translation.

(*P.* 1.)

Jhus Maria.[1]

637 $\frac{17}{IX}$ Agra.[2]

de Castro J.[3]

M. to R. em X'po N.P.

Pax X'pi S.

Hũa de V.P. dos .6. de Jan.o de 1635 recebi neste anno, naqual nos consola, e anima

†

(*P.* 1.)

Jesus, Mary.

Our Very Reverend Father in Christ,

The peace of Christ be always with you.

I received this year a letter from Your Paternity, dated the 6th of January, 1635, in

[1] Autograph letter.

[2,3] Notes by an archivist: the date (1) 637 should be (1) 636.

[1] Prov. 21. 30.

[2] Gen. 3. 18.

[3] Isai. 5. 2. 4.

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a perseuerar con a deuida const.a nos trabalhos, confiados no grande premio, e esperanças de auer a tornar a bonança.

Foj D's seruido ouuir as deuotas oraçõis e S.os SS.os q' V.P. con sua carid.e mandou offerecer pera esta ĩtenção, porq' no dia da Conceição de N.S. ra fazendo eu hũa petição ael Rej em q' lhe pedia, nos mandasse tornar a nosso Collegio, e dar licentia de exercitar os nossos ministerios com os nossos x'pãos, se queria ficassemos em seus reinos: nos concedeo todas as licentias q' lhe pedimos, afora a principal de pregar a N.S. ta fee em seus reinos. Con esta enuio a V.P. a copia da patente q'nos concedeo feita em Parsio, e fielm.te tresladada em Portuguez. M.tas graças damos a D's N. S.or de nos confirmar em seus reinos; e ainda q' publicam.te não se possa fazer o q' desejamos em praticas familiares se pode tratar da lej e publicala no melhor modo q' se pode. e ainda q' mandou derubar as Igrejas, no mes.o lugar fizemos huas casas m.to bem acomodadas pollo nosso intẽto. Dia da festa do Nascim.to de N. S.ra dissemos a prim.a Missa nas casas nouamente fabricadas

which you console us and encourage us to persevere in due constancy amidst our troubles, trusting in the great reward, and hoping that sunshine will succeed the storm.

God was pleased to hear the devout prayers and Holy Sacrifices which Your Paternity in your charity ordered to offer up for this intention: for on the day of Our Lady's Conception,[1] as I made a petition to the King, in which I asked him to decree that we might return to our College, and be allowed to exercise our ministrations to our Christians, if he wished us to remain in his dominions, he granted us all the permissions we asked for, the chief one excepted, *viz.* to preach our Holy Faith in his kingdoms. Herewith I send to Your Paternity a copy of the patent which he granted us. It is written in Persian, and is faithfully rendered into Portuguese. We return many thanks to God our Lord for having confirmed us in the King's dominions, and, though we cannot do in public what we wish, we can, however, in familiar discourses treat of the Law and make it known it as best possible; again, although he ordered the destruction of the Churches,[2] we have

[1] December 8, 1635. The farman was dated the following day.

[2] In January 1641 there was at Agra a small chapel in the house which Father Prior Friar Antonio de Christo had occupied during a period of temporary freedom on parole. Cf. Manrique, *op. cit.*, p. 344, col. 2. As Fr. Antonio was in prison on September 5, 1635, he may have enjoyed this respite from captivity between September 5, 1635, and Christmas 1640, at which time he was again in prison. The churches here referred to are the Jesuit churches of Agra and Lahore. The tradition now current at Agra that the 'old Cathedral' is the identical church built by Akbar (*Akbar Pādshāh kī gīrjā*) is here shown to be erroneous. The church built under Akbar, mostly at Jahangir's expense, and on a site granted

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con grande applauso dos x'pãos que parece tornarão a resuscitar con estas nouas licẽtias q'el Rej nos concedeo. e assy continuão como dantes os x'pãos a nossa caso fazendo tudo o q' se fazia postoq' sem solemnid.e exterior.

erected in the same place some buildings well adapted to our purpose. On the day of Our Lady's Nativity[1] we said the first Mass in the newly constructed buildings, to the great joy of the Christians who seemed to revive with these new permissions granted us by the King. And so, the Christians frequent our house as before, and we do whatever we did heretofore, though without external solemnity.

Atribuimos tambem aos merecim.tos dos dittos S.os SS.os e deuotas oraçõis a mudança q' este Rej fez em fauor do nosso S.or Mirza porq' depois de o ter despriuado de nouo, e tiradas as rendas; agora lhe restituio tudo con dobrados fauores, e merces. e o S.or Mirza se monstra m.to agredecido a D'se a N. S.ta Comp.a por cujo mejo entende lhe uem estos fauores dos Ceos. As cartas de V.P. eu lhas enuiei feitas em Parsio, confio q' elle respondera a ellas. Elle e sua casa cada uez melhor procedem em mat.a da fee e bous costumeis, ainda q' padecem m.tas necessid.es. A Patente q' V.P. lhe enuio da fundação da Missão do Tibet, não lhe chegou ate agora, q'he causa

We also attribute to the merits of the said Holy Sacrifices and prayers the change made by the King in favour of our Lord Mirza. After he had again deprived him (of his office) and despoiled him of his revenues, he once more restored everything to him and even doubled the favours and kindnesses he formerly enjoyed.[2] The Lord Mirza shows himself very grateful to God and our holy Society, through which he believes he receives these heavenly favours. I sent him Your Paternity's letters after translating them into Persian, and I hope he will answer them. He and his household are making more and more progress in the faith and in its good practices,

by Akbar at Jahangir's request, was destroyed accidentally by fire in Jahangir's reign.

[1] September 8, 1636.

[2] From a letter by Fr. Francis Corsi (Agra, October 5, 1633) we learn that the Mirza had been thrown out of favour and had had all his property confiscated. At the time of writing, however, he had been reinstated. We understand from Fr. de Castro's present letter that the Mirza had lost Shah Jahan's favour a second time. Since Fr. de Castro's letter from Agra, September 5, 1635, did not allude to the fact, but showed the Mirza in the King's suite at Lahore, it would follow that this second change of fortune had occurred between September 5, 1633, and September 17, 1636; presumably, between September 5, 1635, and December 8, 1635, considering that the Fathers had obtained their farman on the latter date and had not been harassed since.

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de admiração, mas são descontas de tam largos caminhos.

albeit they suffer many privations. The letter which Your Paternity sent him concerning the foundation of the Mission of Tibet has not yet reached him, and it is cause for surprise; but these are disappointments inevitable with such great distances.

Ja escreui a V.P. q' uisto estar acabada a Missão do Tibet, sara m.to necess.o applicar a sua renda a este Collegio, con q' ficara bastantem.te acomodado. e o S.r Mirza folgara se aplique antes nestes reinos q' em outros, uisto fazerẽ os Padres os sufragios de duas fundações como p'metẽ fazer.

I already wrote to Your Paternity that, considering that the Mission of Tibet is at an end,[1] it will be quite necessary to apply to this College the foundation made for it. With it the College will be sufficiently provided for, and the Lord Mirza will be glad to see it applied in these kingdoms rather than in others, provided the Fathers give him—which they promise to do—suffrages for two foundations.

Neste mez de Julho forão dous P.es p'a missão de Xirinagar, ainda não sabemos de sua chegada. do q' soceder, auisarei a V.P. Nests Coll.o por merce do S.or uiuemos con m.ta paz ajudando estes x'pãos e infieis, o q'esperamos fazer con maior fruito ajudados con S.ta bencão de V.P. em aq'l nos encomẽdamos.

de Agra 17. Setẽbro 1636.[1]

In July this year two Fathers went to the Mission of Xirinagar.[2] We do not know whether they have arrived. Whatever happens, I shall let Your Paternity know. Thanks to the Lord, we live in great peace in this College, helping the Christians and the infidels, and we hope to do so with still greater success, if helped ourselves by Your Paternity's holy blessing, for which we commend ourselves.

From Agra, the 17th of September, 1636.

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[1] Notes by an archivist.

[1] A Mission had been established at Tsaparang in Guge, Western Tibet, by Fr. Anthony de Andrada, in 1625. He had paid a first visit to that town in 1624. The Mission had come to grief at the hands of the King of Ladakh, owing to the too great favour shown to the Fathers by the King of Tsaparang.

[2] Srinagar in Garhwal.

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D. V. P.
Ind.o filho e seruo em X'po.

† Joseph de Castro.

*Address (other page):*

Al M. to R. do in Chr'o N.P. 11 P./Mutio Vitelleschi Preposito Ge-/nerale della Comp. a di Giesu./ In Roma./ 2a Via./ D. Mogol./

*Endorsements:*

P.e Joseph de Castro 17 Dezembro 1636. Mogor.

Se consolou com a q' recebeo de V.P. de 35.

Alcançou restituiçam das casas, etc. e poder exercitar os ministerios com os x'pãos. Manda a copia da Patente del Rey.

O. S.or Mirza, e sua casa procedem m.to (?) bem.

Tornou a graca del Rey q' lhe fez (faz ?) ṁṁ [1] e fauores.

Pede se lhes applique ao Collegio de Agra a renda do Thibet. q' o S.or Mirza se contentara fique naquelle Reino esta fundaçam fazendo-lhe os suffragios como fundador de dous Collegios.

Your Paternity's
Unworthy son and servant in Christ,

† Joseph de Castro.

*Address (other page):*

To our Very Reverend Father in Christ, Father / Mutius Vitelleschi, Provost Ge-/neral of the Society of Jesus./ At Rome./ 2nd direction./ From Mogol.

*Endorsements:*

Father Joseph de Castro, December 17, 1636.[1] Mogor.

He was consoled by Your Paternity's letter of (16)35.

He recovered the houses, etc. and obtained leave to minister to the Christians. He sends a copy of the King's Patent.

The Lord Mirza and his household are getting on very well.

He has been re-instated into the King's favour and has obtained from him many favours and graces.

He [2] asks that the revenues of Thibet be applied to them, to the College of Agra. The Lord Mirza will be pleased to see that foundation remain in that kingdom, provided he receive suffrages as the founder of two Colleges.

*Traces of the seal.*

*Copia em Parsio da patente q' el Rej Xagian. S.or do Industan passou aos P.es da Comp.a de Ihus em Agra, sua Corte.*

*Copy in Persian of the patent granted by King Xagian,* Lord of Industan, to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in his Court of Agra.

[1] *Muitas merces.*

[1] An evident mistake for September 17, 1636.
[2] Father de Castro.

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(Follows the Persian text (19 lines), which I do not now find among these papers, among which they should have been found. We shall place in its stead Fr. de Castro's Portuguese translation with our English translation of the same.)

(Immediately under the Persian text we have these explanations:)

Em cima desta patente esta posta a chapa del Rey grande na qual estam escrittos os nomeis dos reis seus predecessores comecando do gran Temurlang, donde elles descenden, este he o decimo e no mejo da chapa, esta escritto, o nome deste Rej, se chama Xaegiahan. i. S.or do mundo. Detras da mes.a patente uam catorze sinais dos principais officiais del Rej, con suas chapas, e do gran Vazir, e do sogro del Rej, q' foj terceiro diante del Rej, p' nos alcancar a ditta Patente. Mais de cinq' mezes andei no exercito del Rej solicitando esta patente. graças a Deos e a N. S.ra q' tandem se alcançou, e logo tomamos posse do Coll.o derubãdo a Igreja e fazendo as nouas casas.

At the top of this patent is placed the seal [1] of the great King, in which are written the names of the Kings, his predecessors, beginning with the great Temurlang, from whom they are descended. The present King is the tenth, and in the middle of the seal is written the name of this King, his name being Xaegiahan, *i.e.* Lord of the world. At the back of the same patent are fourteen signatures of the King's chief officials with their seals, and that of the great Vazir and of the King's father-in-law, who was our mediator before the King to obtain for us the said patent. During more than five months, I went with the King's army, soliciting this patent. Thanks be to God and Our Lord that it has at last been obtained. We at once took possession of the College, pulling down the Church, and building the new houses.

† *Copia da patente q'el Rej Mogol, deo aos Padres da Comp.a de Ihus q' residem em Agra sua Corte no anno de* 1635 *aos* 9. *de Dezembro. Tresladada de Parsio em Portuguez.*[1]

† *Copy of the patent which the Mogol King granted to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, residing in his Court of Agra, on the* 9*th of December of the year* 1635.[2] *Translated from the Persian into Portuguese.*

[1] In Fr. de Castro's writing. The translation in Portuguese is in another's handwriting.

[1] Portuguese *chapa*, from Hindustani *chhāpā*=seal.

[2] The year seems to have been at first 1636, but this would be a mistake, the year 1636 corresponding to the 9th year of Shah Jahan's reign.

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Neste tempo sahio o formão do Rey Xagião, conuena sabar, q' os lugares, e cãsas, e Adro dos Padres franquis que estã em Agra, e tudo aquillo q'o Rey Gianguir lhes tem dado de merçe, e mais tudo aquillo q' ellas conforme ao direito da iustiça comprarão, e fabricarão, tudo isso, damos e concedemos outra uez aelles, e confirmamos estabilmẽte, he necessario, que os gouernadores, sobrestantes, officiais, meirinhos, e todos osmais, aquelles q' seruẽ a Coroa real, lhes deissem a poçe liure, e que ninguẽ lhes prohiba, ou perturbe esta liçença, a merçe; mais se mandou que a fabrica da Igreia que elles fizerão, se derube athe o chão, mas os materiais della, a elles se entregue, p' q' se elles quizerem possão no mesmo lugar fabricar casas pera si.do mesmo modo, se os xpãos por cauza de bautizar seus filhos, ou por fazer cazamentos, ou por cauza da doença, ou por cauza de fazer oração, ulerem a casa dos Padres ninguẽ lhes prohiba, e tambem deixẽ que enterrem os mortos conforme ao seu custume no Adro, q' p' isso se lhes tem dado. Visto isto ninguẽ seia q' tenha ouzadia de contradizar aos mandamentos reais, sob pena da desgraça del Rej, foy escrita aos dous do mez q' os mouros chamam Deh. no anno oitauo do meu reinado.

The formão of King Xagião was issued at this time. It is good to know that the places, houses, and Cemetery of the Frangui Fathers who are at Agra, and whatever King Gianguir granted them in gift, and whatever besides they bought and built according to the rights of justice, all this we give and grant once more to them, and firmly ratify. It is necessary that the governors, overseers, officials, and bailiffs, and all the rest who serve the royal Crown should leave to them the free possession (of them), and let no one prevent them, or interfere with this permission and favour. Moreover, it was ordered that the building of the Church, which they had erected, be destroyed to the ground, but let the materials of it be made over to them, so that, if they so wish, they may build houses for themselves in the said place. In the same way, if the Christians come to the house of the Fathers to have their children baptized, or their marriages celebrated, or in case of illness, or for the sake of prayer, let no one prevent them, and let them also according to their custom bury their dead in the Cemetery which was given them for the purpose. On seeing this, let no one be so bold as to go against the royal behests, under penalty of the King's disfavour. Written on the second of the month by the Moors called Deh, in the eighth year of my reign.

(*Another English translation done by a Munshi at the request of Fr. Hyacinth, O.C., Agra, in* 1913.)

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THE GREAT GOD.

At this time this exalted and auspicious firman was issued with honour and dignity, that the buildings and Cemetery, belonging to the European Fathers and situated in Akbarabad, known as Agra, and which was gifted to them by order of His Majesty and whatever more they have purchased themselves and constructed by virtue of different documents and are in possession of, it is required that the honoured officers and economical officials and kotwals of the state act in obedience to the sublime and sacred orders and make absolute and entire possession of the above-mentioned buildings without any change or alteration. It has also been ordered that the church buildings constructed therein be brought to the ground, and the materials be made over to them, so that, should they desire, they may build a dwelling-house for themselves. In the same manner, if desirable, the assembly of Christian people in time of birth, marriage, sickness and for prayers in the house of the Fathers will not be objected to or prohibited. Also that they shall bury their dead according to their own rites in the land bestowed upon them. Do not act contrary to the orders.

Written on the 2nd of Dey in the month of God year 80.[1]

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Extract from an Italian letter of Father Joseph de Castro (Agra, April 16, 1637) reviewing the situation in 1635 and showing that a better state of things had been reached.

(*Fol.* 1*r*.) 'Your Paternity must know how, after having been a little over a year out of the College with great discomfort (to ourselves) and the danger of being expelled from these countries, at the end, when we had first had recourse to God and the Madonna, and had agreed to vow a yearly Mass of thanksgiving to Our Lady on the day when our College and church, which is dedicated to the Holy Name, would be restored, Your Paternity must know, I say, how it pleased the Divine Majesty, through the intercession of His Holy Mother, that, on the day of Our Lady's Immaculate Conception, after many requests made through the King's father-in-law, our ancient friend, and the only protector of all the Christians, we should be granted by the King, on the above-said day, not only the favour of returning to our College, but also all the favours we asked for, to wit, leave to administer freely the Sacraments of Baptism, marriage, penance and the Holy Eucharist, to bury our dead after our manner in the cemetery given us by his father and confirmed to us by him: as also leave for the Christians to come to our house and say their prayers privately without let or hindrance, so that we have been confirmed (in our former privileges) with full security and under patent royal, a favour which, in truth,

[1] *Sic.*

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seems quite manifestly to have been granted us by the power of God rather than by any human agency.

'It is true that he obliged us to destroy the two churches of Lahor and Agra; still, he gave us leave to erect for our use another house, in the said place of the Church of Agra, as in fact we have done, building two or three rooms which serve very well for our purpose. There we celebrate at present the divine offices, and say Mass. The men are on one side, and the women on the other, so that they hear Mass without seeing one another: for it is the custom in these Kingdoms that the women should not be seen by the men, even of their own household, their father, husband and brother excepted. (*Fol.* 1*v.*)

(*The first four lines are somewhat damaged.*) 'In order to avoid giving suspicion....., as I have said, every day, after the Masses have been said, we collect the sacred vestments and the candlesticks, and whatever might give a clue to this. And so, with the grace of God, (we get on ?) as best we can, and the Christians frequent (our house ?) as before, in peace and quiet, and we obtain much fruit among them all by means of the sermons we preach every Sunday and on feastdays, and during this time of Lent we have been giving every Friday the sermon on the Passion of Christ our Lord, and have had the discipline afterwards, amidst great concourse of all the Christians, Armenians, Portuguese, French, Venetians, and Industanis. Hence, I was obliged to preach to them in Persian and Industani. As for the infidels, we speak often to them in private discourses of our Holy Faith. May God grant them the true light, so that they may receive it.

'This King holds us in such aversion that he does not want in any way to see us and the other courtiers behave in like manner. Only the King's father-in-law, by reason of the ancient friendship which he has always had with the Fathers and the Christians, continues to treat us with the same familiarity as before, granting us many favours and services; nay, after God and Our Lady, we owe him all the good things we have. He alone speaks in our favour to the King, whereas so many others try to do us all the harm they can; but, because we stand under the protection of this Prince, who is the second after the King, many show us more respect than they otherwise would. On our part, we try to be on the best of terms with him, serving him in whatever he orders us, and giving him letters of recommendation to our Christians who are in the harbours of Mascate and Tatta, seeing that his merchants trade with the said ports. This year he sends one of his agents to Goa with a great quantity of money, to buy jewels and precious stones to be presented to the King.

'In this College at least four priests are needed, because one is continually accompanying our founder, the Lord Mirza Zulcarnen and his sons, who follow the King through his various kingdoms. The other three remain in the College, and they

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may not be fewer, as Your Paternity knows best: Father Francis Morandi, who already knows well the two languages, Persian and Industani; Father Joam d'Oliveira, who knows only Industani; and myself, who have been for three years already, though unworthily, in charge of this College. And I have often already requested the Father Provincial to grant me the favour of sending another Father, who may fill this office more usefully, while I shall serve him as interpreter and confessor of all the Christians. Father Morandi made his profession of the four vows in the month of December last. The two Fathers get on very well, and, with the grace of God, and thanks to their virtue, they live in the greatest peace which it is possible to desire....'

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Article No. 22.

# Catholicism in the East Indies in 1680-81. From the Latin of Fr. A. Thomas, S.J. (Siam, Oct. 30, 1681).

*Edited and translated*

By the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.

The Latin text which we publish and translate here was privately printed for the first time in *Catalogus Sociorum et Officiorum Missionis Bombayensis et Poonensis Provinciæ Germaniæ, S.J., Mense Majo* 1910, Bombay Examiner Press, 1910, pp. 27–38. It comes from among the MSS. belonging to the Society of Jesus in Europe. The original letter of Fr. Anthony Thomas appears to have been in Latin: for we have other Latin autograph letters of his from China.

Fr. C. Vrithoff, S.J., St. Mary's College, Kurseong, placed at my disposal recently a MS. copy of a similar letter, transcribed by himself and a friend on a copy made by the late Fr. Alphonse Lallemand, S.J., from a text in the Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, Fonds Jésuitique, Province Flandro-Belge, Carton Nos. 1162–1170. Fr. Lallemand, S.J., dated his copy June 3, 1912. On Fr. Lallemand's copy Fr. H. Bosmans, S.J., noted that he had a photograph (No. 154, in his collection) of what he calls the original belonging to the Society of Jesus. He also gave it as his opinion that the addressee of the letter was the Provincial of Gaule-Belgique. By means of Fr. Bosmans' photograph, corrections were made on the copy belonging to Fr. Vrithoff.

The Bombay text has its flaws. The editor did not always succeed in deciphering the writing. The Brussels text, which appears to be also original, at times omits parts of the Bombay text; at times it adds. It is quite possible that Fr. Thomas wrote several copies of the same letter, to be sent by different ships, as the custom was, to one or more persons. It is not impossible, too, that the photograph in Fr. Bosmans' collection belongs to another text than the Bombay one: for Fr. Bosmans thought the addressee of the text in his photograph was the Provincial of Gaule-Belgique, whereas we might think that the original of the Bombay text was first addressed to the Duchess of Aveyro at Salamanca. Moreover, Fr. Vrithoff tells me that if the photograph shown him by Fr. Bosmans had contained

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*Editorial Note:* This paper was received in 1930 but for various reasons it remained unattended before the death of the author. It is now published in its original form, and Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the Philological Secretary, has revised the proofs.—*B. G.*



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the many variants noted in the Bombay text, he would not have failed to note them.

With the help of the Brussels text all the place-names in the Bombay text have become intelligible, and everything of value is clear. We offer the Bombay text as our own, indicating at foot the chief variants in the Brussels text (indicated as Brux.).

Anthony Thomas, son of Philip Thomas, 'procureur' to the Council of Namur, and of Marie Derhet, was born at Namur on March 25, 1644, and entered at Tournai the Novitiate of the Gallo-Belgian Province of the Society of Jesus on September 24, 1660. He left Lisbon for China on April 3, 1680, and arrived at Goa on September 26, 1680. Only in June 1681 did he embark for the Further East. The voyage to Yuthia, capital of Siam, lasted 3½ months, which, as his letter suggests, would show that he landed at different places on the way. We know, for instance, that he had gone first as far as Malacca, and that the unseaworthy state of the ship taking him to Macao made them steer back to Siam. He was still in Siam on February 22, 1682, on which date he observed an eclipse of the moon. We find him in China on December 20, 1682. His life as one of the Emperor's mathematicians till his death at Pekin, on July 29, 1709, belongs to the history of the China Missions.

I borrow these few biographical notes from two excellent articles by Père Henri Bosmans, S.J., of Brussels. The first is *Lettre inédite d' Antoine Thomas, missionaire belge en Chine au XVII-e siècle, cf. Missions Belges*, Bruxelles, 1908, pp. 12–23; 60–65; 117. The letter, a copy, in French, is dated Goa, November 28, 1680. The second, *Lettre du P. Antoine Thomas, S.J., datée de Péking, le 8 Sept.*, 1688, appeared in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, I, pp. 36–42. I have only the *Separat-abdruck*, which is undated. This second letter, an autograph, is in Latin.

*St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling,*
24-4-1930.

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(*P.* 27.) Status Indiae Orientalis a. 1681,
*descriptus a P. Thomas, missionario in regno Siamensi.*[1]

Ex quo Hollandi in hunc Orientem penetrarunt, longe

(*P.* 27.) State of East India in the year 1681,
*described by Fr. Thomas, a Missionary in the Kingdom of Siam.*

From the time that the Hollanders penetrated into this

[1] Brux.: scriptus a P. Antonio Thoma, missionario Gallo-Belga, ex Siam 30 octobris 1681.

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alius tum Religionis tum Lusitanae potentiae status existit; ubi enim Bataviam suae monarchiae caput erexerunt, illato Lusitanis bello quorum tunc summa erat in Oriente potentia, multa eis munita et celebria loca favente sibi hostium inter se invidia ac divisione eripuerunt. Etenim Malacam, insulam Ceilanam, Cochinum, Cranganorem, et Cananorem (nunc loca munitissima) occuparunt. Deinde eorum hortatu et auxilio urbs S. Thomae, vulgo Melliapor dicta, capta est a rege Colgonda Saraceno, et ut sibi orae Coromandel praecipuum commercium usurparent, Paliacatam arcem munitissimam erexere; ita modo totum fere commercium Hollandis ad se trahentibus, vix quidquam superest in Oriente Lusitanis; nam aliunde rex Persarum Armutiam[1] abstulit, et Rex Arabiae Moscatam aliasque eiusdem littoris arces, cum quo etiamnum continuum bellum gerunt. Insuper rex Canara arcem Lusitanam in Barcelor et in Mangelor expugnavit destruxitque, et rex Calecuti arcem celebrem quae erat in Chale prope Calecutum, ita ut nihil modo supersit Lusitaniae nisi Goa, Macaum, Diu,[2] Daman, Baçaim, Chaul, item in littore Africae Mozambicum, Mombaza et Soffalla arces munitae, quibus insuper addi poterunt insulae Timor, et Solor quae

East, the state both of Religion and of the Portuguese power is very different from what it was; for, after they had made Batavia the capital of their domination, they waged war on the Lusitanians, whose power in the East was then in its zenith, and took from them, thanks to the mutual jealousies and divisions of their enemies, many strong and famous places. They occupied Malaca, the Island of Ceilan, Cochin, Cranganor and Cananor (places now most strongly fortified). Then, at their instigation and with their help, the town of St. Thomas, commonly called Melliapor, was taken by the King of Colgonda,[1] a Saracen, and in order to usurp the chief trade of the Coromandel Coast, they erected at Paliacata[2] a very strong fortress. Hence, as at present the Hollanders are diverting nearly all the commerce to themselves, the Lusitanians have hardly anything left in the East. In fact, elsewhere the King of Persia took from them Armus (*Ormuz*), and the King of Arabia seized Moscat (Mascat) and other fortresses on the same coast, and they are still continually at war with him. Moreover, the King of Canara captured and destroyed the Lusitanian fortress at Barcelor and Mangelor; and the King of Calicut, the famous stronghold which was

[1] Brux.: Armusiam.
[2] Brux.: Arces Diu (=the fortresses of Diu).

[1] Golconda.
[2] Pulicat, near Madras.

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infra Javam ac Molucas jacent ad meridiem.

Nec minus diversa est a veteri Religionis facies; nam e locis ab Hollandio occupatis expulsi sunt omnes Religiosi ac Sacerdotes, et grex Christianorum omni pastore destitutus, in Arabia vero et Armutia extincta est Christianae fidei memoria, et in Japonia ita clausum sacerdotibus iter ut ab annis plus quam 40 nemini prorsus eo penetrare licuerit. Igitur Societas nostra praeterquam quod suas in Japonia sedes amisit,[1] insuper Collegium in Tutucurim cum Seminario, in Columbo, Jasanapan (vel Jafanapan),[2] Manaria insula, Coulani, Cochini, Cranganore,[3] Armuziae, Malacae et Ternatae ac Macassariae perdidit (*P.* 28) praeter Residentias in Chale,

at Chale[1] near Calecut. The result is that now the Lusitanians have nothing left them but Goa, Macao (*Macaum*), Diu, Daman, Baçaim and Chaul; they have also, on the African Coast, Mozambique, Mombaza and Soffalla, fortified places; to these may be added the islands of Timor and Solor, which lie to the south, below Java and the Molucas.

Nor is the state of Religion less different from what is used to be. From the places occupied by the Hollanders all the Religious and Priests have been expelled, and the Christian flock has been left without any shepherd. As for Arabia and Armus (*Ormuz*), the memory of the Christian faith is there extinguished; and the road to Japan is so blocked against the Priests that not one has been able to penetrate for more than 40 years. Therefore, our Society has lost, besides her residences in Japan, the College of Tutucurim[2] with the Seminary, Colombo, Jasanapan (or Jafanapan),[3] with the island of Manar, Coulan,[4] Cochin, Cranganore, Armuz, Malaca, Ternate and

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[1] Brux.: praeter sedes quas in Japonia amisit.
[2] Brux.: Colombo, Jafanapatam, Manaria.
[3] Brux.: Cochini cum Seminario, in Cranganor.

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[1] Chale.—Not to be confused with Chaul, near Bombay. See different spelling in Yule's *Cathay and the way thither*, II. 451, s.v. Chiliate. and see Yule-Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Chalia.

[2] Tuticorin.

[3] The copyist (or the editor ?) of the Bombay text hesitated between Jasanapan and Jafanapan, owing, we think, to the similarity between *s* and *f* in old writings. Such hesitation cannot be exhibited in Fr. Thomas' original.

[4] *Ceilani*, in the Bombay text, cannot hold, as Colombo, Jaffna and Manar precede and close the list. Coulan is Quilon.

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Cananor, Barcelor, Mangelor aliisque locis.

Divisa est Societas nostra in India intra Gangem in duas provincias olim admodum copiosas quae multa collegia numerabant, alia Goana, alia Cochinensis dicebatur. Cochinitum studia aliiora tum Novitiatus erat ad subministrandos huic provinciae missionaries; nunc vero provincia Malabarica nullum habest Collegium nisi Ambalacatae prope Cochinum u ubi quinque aut sex 5 subditi ar habitant, et Seminarium est indigenarum sacerdotum. Goana vero provincia praeter domum Professam Collegium et Novitiatum Goanum, habet Collegium Salsetanum sive Racholense, in Chaul, Baçaim, Daman, Agra apud Mogores, Diu et Mosambic.

Et hoc generatim:[1] modo de singulis partibus agetur.

*De India intra Indum et Gangem.*

India Orientalis intra Indum and Gangem aliter modo quam olim dividitur. Rex Mogorum Mahometanus Bengalam suae ditioni et Cambaiam adjecit. Macassar; (*P.* 28.) also the residences in Chale, Cananor, Barcelor, Mangelor,[1] and other places.

In India, below the Ganges, our Society is divided into two provinces, both of which were formerly very numerous and had many colleges; one was called the Province of Goa; the other, of Cochin. At Cochin there was a house of higher studies and a Novitiate which supplied that Province with Missionaries; now the Malabar Province has no College, except at Ambalacata,[2] near Cochin, where 5 or 6 subjects live, and where is a Seminary of native priests. Besides the Professed House, the College, and the Novitiate, at Goa, the Province of Goa has the College of Salsete or of Rachol, and (houses) at Chaul, Baçaim, Daman, Agra among the Mogores, Diu and Mosambique.

This in general. Now I shall speak of the several parts.

*Of India between the Indus and the Ganges.*

East India between the Indus and the Ganges is now divided otherwise than before. The King of the Mogores, a Mahometan, has added to his

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[1] Brux.: Haec generatim.

[1] Barcelor.—See old spellings in Yule's *Cathay*, II. 451: *ibid.*, ditto, for Mangalor; for Cananor, cf. II. 453; for Cranganor, II. 455. See also *Hobson-Jobson*. Chale is not Chaul, near Bombay, but Chale near Calicut.

[2] Ambalacate.—For its position see Paulins a S. Bartholomaeo, *India Orientalis Christiana*, Roma, 1794, map facing p. 235. We find there in close proximity such well-known places of Malabar Catholic history as Verapoli, Parur, Chenota, Ambalacata, Angamali, Alangatte (or Mangatte). This man, to which we shall refer again, exhibits the Catholic settlements of Canara, Malabar, Madura, Mysore, the Carnatic, and Tanjore.

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Rex Sauagi abstulit Regi Visapor omnes terras quae sunt a Surata usque ad regnum Canarae inter mare et montes quae Indiam a septentrione usque ad Comorinum promontorium excurrentes dividunt. Hoc novum regnum erexit quidam latro qui a paucis annis [1] mortuus est; alterum regnum his ultimis annis erectum est nomine Mossur quod a regno Canara usque ad Madure per mediterranea Indiae se extendit. Item regnum Gingi a regno Visapor separatum est, uti et Colgonda, hoc a Mahometano pridem, illud a fratre Sauagi recenter occupatum possidetur.

Ora Malabarica a regno Canara usque ad promontorium a pluribus regibus possidetur quorum praecipua sunt in Cananor, Calicut Cochin et Travancore, ultra promontorium sequitur regnum Madure peramplum et Tangeor quod modo ab altero fratre regis Sauagi occupatur.

power Bengala and Cambaia.[1] From Surat [2] to the kingdom of Canara, King Sauagi [3] snatched from the King of Visapor [4] all the country lying between the sea and the mountains which, running from the north to Cape Comorin, divide India.[5] This new kingdom was built up by a certain robber, who died not many years ago;[6] the other kingdom, called Mossur,[7] was created these last years and extends through the inland portions of India from the kingdom of Canara up to Madure. Similarly, the Kingdom of Gingi [8] has become separated from the Kingdom of Visapor, as also Colgonda;[9] the latter was formerly occupied by a Mahometan who holds it; the former was recently taken possession of by Sauagi's brother.

The Malabar Coast, from the kingdom of Canara up to the Cape, is ruled over by several kings; the chief ones are in Cananor, Calicut, Cochin, and Travancore. Beyond the promontory, comes the very vast kingdom of Madure and Tangeor,[10] which is now held by King Sauagi's other brother.

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[1] Brux.: qui paucis annis.

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[1] Cambay.—Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Cambay.
[2] Bombay text: Surata; *Brux.*: Surrata.
[3] Shivaji.
[4] Vijaipur, Bijapur.
[5] 'Omnes terras quae sunt . . . inter mare et montes quae Indiam . . . dividunt' (Bombay and Brux.). We propose: 'montes qui . . . dividunt.'
[6] Sivaji died in 1680.
[7] Mossur.—Elsewhere, we have twice Massur, for our Mysore.
[8] Gingee.
[9] Golconda.
[10] Tanjore.

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Apud Mogores pauci sunt Christiani, habitantes in urbe Agra, Lahor et Delli, in qua ultima urbe rex modo habitat. Agrae Societas habet Collegium; pauci ibidem ad fidem convertuntur, infideles metu Mahometanorum qui ibi inperant[1] et a quibustributis vexantur,[2] plures ab Idolis ad impurum Mahometam (*P.* 29) transeunt.

In Surata quae est emporium celebre Mogorum, domiclium habent PP. Capuchini, sed plerique Christ iani sunt Europaei qui in eo portu ex omni natione sunt valde frequentes.

In urbe Diu pauci sunt indigenae Christiani, plerique ac mercatores praecipue sunt infideles qui etiam fanum habent intra moenia.

Circum urbem Daman, Baçaim et Chaul non pauci sunt vici Christianorum in Insulis quas fluvii efficiunt iique aunt sub Lusitanorum potestate, praeter insulam Bombaim qui pulcherrimus portus est modo Anglorum, traditus pro parte dotis Reginae Catharinae.

Inter mediterranea istius littoris Indiae ubi rex Sauagi dominatur fere omnes sunt gentiles et pauci Saraceni.

Among the Mogores, there are few Christians. They live in the towns of Agra, Lahor and Delhi, in which last city the King now resides. At Agra the Society has a college; few are there converted to the faith; for fear of the Mahometans, who rule there and vex them with taxes, many heathens pass from Idols to Mahomet (*ad impurum Mahometam*).

(*P.* 29.) At Surat, a famous mart of the Mogores, the Capuchin Fathers have a house, but the greater number of the Christians are Europeans of all nationalities, very many of whom live in that port.

In the town of Diu there are few indigenous Christians; the greater number (of the inhabitants), especially the merchants, are infidels, and they have even a temple within the city walls.

Around the towns of Daman, Baçaim and Chaul there are not a few Christian villages in the Islands formed by the rivers;[1] these are under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese, with the exception of the island of Bombaim, a most beautiful harbour lately given to the English as part of Queen Catherine's dowry.

In the inland parts, along that coast of India where king Sauagi reigns, nearly all are heathens, few (*pauci*) being Saracens.

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[1] Brux.: ibi imperantium.
[2] Brux.: omits: et a quibus vexantur.

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[1] One of the chief islands was Salsette of Bombay.

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Goae ac in insulis ac peninsulis adjacentibus quae omnes et solae ibi sunt ditionis Lusitanae omnes fere indigenae sunt Christiani; in illis locis adjacentibus Goae visuntur pulchra templa et pretiosa suppellectili ornata non secus ac in Europae urbibus; parochias quae sunt in Salsetis tenebant patres nostri Provinciae Goanae;[1] verum persecutione excitata ab Archiepiscopo nuper defuncto eas deserere coacti sunt; nunc jubente Ser.mo Principe restituentur quando A.R.P.M.[2] consentiet. In urbe Goana plerique mechanici et mercatores Indi externi sunt et infideles ita, ut Goae fere tot infideles aut Mahometani numerentur quot Christiani.

Difficultas eos convertendi uti et alios infideles Indiae hujus[3] est triplex.

Prima est quod dum fiunt Christiani suum gradum et genus amittant, adeoque maximo contemptui ab omnibus aliis infidelibus habeantur; est enim in India varium hominum

At Goa, and in the adjacent islands and peninsulas, all of which are now the only ones there under the Portuguese crown, nearly all the natives are Christians. In the places adjacent to Goa, are to be seen fine churches supplied with precious ornaments, just as in the towns of Europe. Our Fathers of the Province of Goa were in charge of the parishes of the Salsete parts; but, owing to a persecution caused by the late Archbishop, they were obliged to relinquish them;[1] by order of His Most Serene Majesty[2] they will now be restored when our Most Reverend Father[3] consents. In the town of Goa the greater number of the Indian craftsmen and merchants are pagans from without, so that at Goa there are almost as many pagans and Mahometans as Christians.

There are three difficulties in the way of converting them, as also the other infidels of this India.

The first: when they become Christians, they lose their status and caste (*genus*), and are therefore held in the greatest contempt by all the other infidels. People in India are

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[1] Brux.: Omits: Provinciae Goanae.
[2] Brux.: R. Adm. P.N.
[3] Brux.: omits: uti et . . . Indiae hujus.

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[1] The Archbishop was Antonio Brandão, former Abbot General of the Cistertians, 13th Archbishop of Goa. Arrived at Goa, September 24, 1675. The see had been vacant 23 years. Took charge on October 9, 1675, and died on July 6, 1678. On him and the differences between him and the Jesuit Missionaries of the Salsette peninsula, cf. Padre Casimiro Christovão de Nazareth's *Mitras Lusitanas*, 2a edição, Lisboa, 1897, p. 176 *et sqq.*, p. 184.
[2] The King of Portugal.
[3] The General of the Society of Jesus.

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genus; alii origine sunt Bramanes alii Naires sive milites, alii certae artis artifices: ex quo quisque genere nascitur in eo vitam exercet, In servando autem isto gradu adeo sunt superstitiosi ut nec ipse[1] Xaverius in illo tractu Indiae Malabarico alios fere non[2] converterit nisi piscatores ad ripam maris quam plurimos, et intra Piscaria Paravas qui illis superstitiosis observationibus non sunt impliciti.

of different classes; some are Bramans by origin; others, Naires or soldiers; others are craftsmen of a certain class; each one lives according to the caste in which he was born, and they are so superstitious in keeping that caste that, in the Malabar tract of India, Xavier himself converted hardly any others than fishermen, a very large number of whom he won over along the seacoast, and Paravas of the Fishery Coast who are free from those superstitious observances.

Secunda est summa ad libidinem propensio quae (*P.* 30) tanta est et cum tali licentia apud Malabares ut ipsae uxores palam communes[3] sint atque ipsaemet Reginae allis permittantur, indulgentibus idipsum regibus ipsarum maritis; hinc apu d illos regni haeres nunquam est filius regis utpote incertus, sed filius sororis ejus quod parpetuo[4] observatur.

The second is the very great propensity to lustfulness, which (*P.* 30) is so great and so free among the Malabares that the very wives are openly common property, and the Queens themselves are granted to others, the Kings their husbands allowing this indulgence; hence, among them, the heir-apparent is never the King's son, his origin being doubtful, but the son of the King's sister.[1] And this they always observe.

Tertia est avaritia plane incredibilis[5] qua illis videtur impossibile abstinere a fraudibus et aliena restituere.

The third is their quite incredible greed, which makes it seem to them an impossibility to abstain from fraud and restore ill-gotten goods.

Quae quidem impedimenta adeo gravia sunt ut miraculo sit opus ad alicuius conver-

These obstacles are so great that a miracle is required to convert any of them, except

[1] Brux.: ne ipse quidem.
[2] Brux.: omits: non.
[3] Brux.: palam omnino communes.
[4] Brux.: perpetuo apud ipsos.
[5] Brux.: omits: plane incredibilis.

[1] The allusion is to the polyandric customs and the matriarchate of the Nairs of Malabar.

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sionem nisi sit forte ex infima sorte qui vitam labore sustentent.[1]

In regno Canara pauci sunt Christiani qui ab uno alterove sacerdote indigena excoluntur, nominatim[2] in Barcelor et Mangelor locisque vicinis; ib'i uti et in aliis locis Indiae intra Gangem liberum est[3] cuiusque religionis exercitium publiceque non minus[4] Christo temple quam fana idolis et Mahometi eriguntur nemine repugnante.

In regno Cananor quod priori finitimum est, pauci sunt Christiani et nunc sine pastore propter Hollandos.

In regno Calecuti sive Sanmurin templum est Christianis in urbe primaria cum suo parocho uti et in Tanor oppido tributario; hic et in al iquibus vicinis oppidis pauci Christiani sunt quorum curam habet Pater Societatis habitans in Tanor, cum quo oppido et Goa frequentissimum est commercium exiguis Indigenarum navigiis a mense Octobri usque ad Maium, nam alio tempore mare hoc Indicum non est navigabile ob ventorum saevitiam.

perhaps those of the lowest caste, people of the labouring class.

In the kingdom of Canara there are few Christians; they are ministered to by one or other native priest, namely at Barcelor and Mangelor and the neighbourhood. There, as in the other parts of India within the Ganges, each one is free to practise his religion, and no one objects that temples should publicly be erected to Christ as well as temples to the idols and to Mahomet.

In the kingdom of Cananor, which borders on the former, there are a few (*pauci*) Christians, but now they are without a pastor, owing to the Hollanders.

In the kingdom of Calecut, or of the Sanmurin,[1] the Christians have a church and a parish-priest at the capital; also at Tanor, a tributary town; here, and in some neighbouring towns, there are a few Christians tended by a Father of the Society living at Tanor, between which town and Goa there is a very brisk trade carried on by small native boats between October and May, for this Indian sea is not navigable during the other months on account of the violence of the winds.

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[1] Brux.: omits: nisi sit forte . . . sustentent.
[2] Brux.: omits: nominatim.
[3] Brux.: aliisque locis vicinis intra Gangem liberum est.
[4] Brux.: exercitium et non minus.

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[1] Sanmurin.—A new 'Hobson-Jobson'. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Zamorin.

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Ab oppido Panane peramplo et in quo habitare solet rex Calecuti, usque Cochinum in multis oppidis sunt Christiani Catholici quorum curam habent sacerdotes indigenae.

In locis mediterraneis praesertim[1] intra montes, versus oppidum S. Mariae maioris longe lateque diffusi sunt Christiani, partim Catholici partim Schismatici,[2] eo enim jam pridem schisma[3] irrepsit fraude quorundam Sacerdotum Alexandrinorum qui eo pridem se intruserunt et per illos montes[4] late suos errores propagarunt, neque hactenus ullum remedium contra illud valuit. Olim istorum[5] montium Episcopus esse solebat e nostra Societate; verum amota Societate (*P.* 31) eo ingressi sunt Missionarii de Propaganda[6] existimantes mostra incuria lentius remedium adferri creatusque est episcopus indigena qui in hoc officio[7] ita se gessit ut permulti tum ex Europaeis tum ex indigenis nullo modo deinceps indigenas episcopos ibi

From Panane, a very big town[1] where the king of Calecut usually resides, up to Cochin, there are in many towns Catholic Christians ministered to by indigenous priests.

In the inland tracts, especially in the mountains,[2] towards the town of St. Mary Major,[3] the Christians, partly Catholics partly Schismatics, are scattered very widely. Some time back, schism was implanted there through the craft of some priests of Alexandria,[4] who formerly intruded there and sowed their errors broadcast among those mountains, and no remedy has so far availed against it. Formerly, the Bishop of those mountains used to be of our Society; but, when the Society was removed (*P.* 31), Missionaries of the Propaganda entered there,[5] who thought that, if the remedy had worked too slowly, it was due to our carelessness. A native Bishop was appointed; but he acted in such a way that very many, not only Europeans, but natives too, would say that in

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[1] Brux.: mediterraneis et.
[2] Brux.: Christiani Catholici, et Schismatici.
[3] Brux.: et schisma jam pridem.
[4] Brux.: omits: per illos montes.
[5] Brux.: horum (for: istorum).
[6] Brux.: omits: de propaganda.
[7] Brux.: omits: in hoc officio.

[1] Panane.—For other spellings see Yule's *Cathay*, II. 454, s.v. Panane.

[2] 'Intra Montes.' We might have translated by the well-known Portuguese term 'the Serra.'

[3] St. Mary Major, *i.e.* the Church of Kuravalangad.

[4] I cannot decide from the *jampridem* and *pridem* whether Fr. Thomas thinks of the period before 1599, or of the period from 1653, when a schism took place and Jacobite priests came into the country. In either case, the word 'Alexandrian' is surprising.

[5] The Carmelites.

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esse creandos dictitarent.[1] Deinde nunc senex omnibus artibus[2] contendit ut nepos suus sibi coadiutor eligeretur, vir ad id ineptus; verum meliore electione assumptus est Coadjutor D. Raphael Lusitanus, cui proinde a Iter licet senio omnino incapax omnem jurisdictionem sustulit, ut consecratus episcopus quidem ab alio nunc habitet in Chenotte[3] privatus, ubi[4] mihi dixit sincere se dolere amotam a cultura montium Soc^em^ nostram;[5] jam satis patere si quod sit possibile remedium schismati, ab illa[6] potissimum adferri posse; ita temporum experientia malam de Soc^te^ opinonem ibi quidem discussit et vertit in maiorem aestimationem ac desiderium;[7] utinam Romae[8] sinceriores darentur de ea informationes; sane cognosceretur non sine admirations[9] quantopere Societas in missionibus laborum

future no native Bishops should on any account be created there. An old man now, the Bishop tried in every way to get chosen as his coadjutor his own nephew, a man unfit for the office. A better choice being made, Dom Raphael, a Portuguese, was taken as his coadjutor; but, the other, although quite incapacitated by old age, took all jurisdiction from him; he was, however, consecrated Bishop by another,[1] and is now living in retirement (*privatus*) at Chenotte,[2] where he told me he sincerely regretted that the Society had been excluded from cultivating those mountains; and that it was sufficiently plain by now that, if anything could be done to remedy the schism, the Society could best do it; so then, time and experience have, there at least, corrected people's bad opinion about the Society,

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[1] Brux.: ut evidenter constaret Europeais et Indige.nis nullo modo indigenas Epis opos ibi deinceps esse creandes, utpote istius dignitatis incapaces.

[2] Brux.: omits: omnibus artibus.

[3] Brux.: Chenote.

[4] Brux.: qui (for: ubi).

[5] Brux.: omits: sincere se . . . nostram.

[6] Brux.: a Societate.

[7] Brux.: omits: ita temporum . . . desiderium.

[8] Brux.: utinam et Pomae.

[9] Brux.: omits: non sine admiratione.

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[1] Cf. Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, *India Orient. Christiana, op. cit.*, pp. 77-78. Alexander de Campos, or Chandy Parambil, of Corolongatta: created Bishop, January 31, 1663. The date of his death, 1676, in Paulinus, is a mistake. His nephew was Matthew de Campos. His coadjutor, D. Raphael de Figueredo Salgado, a native of Cochin, was elected on March 3, 1677, by 4 Carmelites. He was consecrated by Don Thomas de Castro, Bishop Fulcivitensis, a native of Goa.

[2] Chenota—Vaipicota—Terra Nova. Cf. Lopez (1644), p. 9, by which we refer to *A short account of the Missions under the charge of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus of the Malabar Province in the East Indies* (Trichinopoly, 1909, edited by the Rev. Fr. L. Besse, S.J.). Chenota was a village quite near to Vaipicota.

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tolerantia, prudentia agendi et aedificatione antecellat.

Sane quidam missionarius nomine Fr. Mathaeus, Ord. S. Theresiae, ubi Tuticurini[1] vidit non solum[2] perfectionem qua linguam illius partriae nostri loquebantur, sed[3] insuper sedecim libros non parvos impressos lingua et charactere Madurensi typis in Europa fabricatis quibus partim confutabantur funditus gentilium istorum errores partim[4] stabiliebatur Religio Catholica, perculsus stupore ait, neminem praeter Societatem res tam arduas moliri posse et tanto conatu missiones aggredi:[5] et vero hoc possum asserere tum ex iis quae vidi, tum quae ex indigenis ipsisque Hollandis cognovi,[6] quodsi conferrentur ea quae geruntur a Societate in Indiis cum iis quae de illa Romae dicuntur, rix etiam

and made them esteem her better and wish for her more. Would that at Rome truer accounts were given about her! They would then know, and not without admiration, how the Society excels in the Missions by her activity, the prudence of her policy, and the edification she gives.

In fact, when a certain Missionary, named Friar Mathaeus, of the Order of St. Theresa,[1] had come to Tuticurin and saw not only the perfection with which our people spoke the language of that country, but moreover sixteen books—and no small ones—printed, with type made in Europe, in the language and character of Madure,[2] some of which refuted the errors of those pagans, while others proved the truth of the Catholic Religion, he said, struck with wonder, that the Society alone could manage such difficult things and undertake Missions with so much spirit. And, from what I saw and heard from the natives and the Hollanders themselves, I can truly assert this, that, were the doings of the Society in

[1] Brux.: omits Tuticurini (which probably should have been read: Tutucurini, as elsewhere).
[2] Brux.: omits: non solum.
[3] Brux.: et (for: sed).
[4] Brux.: confutabantur gentilium illorum errores et.
[5] Brux.: omits: et tanto . . . aggredi.
[6] Brux.: omits: tum ex iis quae vidi . . . cognovi.

[1] Fr. Matthaeus a S. Joseph, the great friend of Hendrik Adrian van Rheede, Governor of Cochin, who helped him to publish his botanical researches, *Hortus Malabaricus*, Amsterdam, 1678, 9 vols. He died at Cochin, and was buried at Verapoli in 1691. Cf. Paulinus, *op. cit.*, passim.
[2] I have commented in several places on this interesting passage, notably in my *Early Printing in India* (MS.). It ought to dispose of Paulinus a S. Barth's contention that the printing of Ambalacata was block-printing.

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quivis inimicus sibi a lacrymis temperaret; utinam in hoc ad nostros infensissimos[1] hostes scl. Haereticos Hollandos recurreretur, quorum quidem honorificum prae omnibus[2] de Societate iudicium generaliter et ad stuporem cognovi[3] dum inter illos occultus versarer.

Sed redeo ad institutum.

Cochini indigenae omnes quos Topaces vocant sunt Christiani intra urbem nec templum nec sacerdotem habent; in Baissim, quod est oppidum frequens[4] in altera parte fluminis, erectum est templum parochiale eoque populus confluit ad audiendum sacrum;[5] ibi duo tresve sacerdotes indigenae curant rem Christianam debita sane cura et diligentia;[6] circum Cochinum sunt aliquot parochiæ cum sacerdotibus indigenis uti et in pluribus oppidis quae sunt Cochinum et Coulanum.

India compared with what is said of her in Rome, scarcely anyone, even of her enemies, could refrain from tears. Would to God that in this matter the opinion of our worst enemies, the heretical Hollanders, were asked! While I was among them *incognito*, I heard them express about the Society generally a high opinion, and I was dumbfounded.[1]

But return to my theme.

(*P.* 32.) At Cochin, all the natives whom they call Topaces[2] are Christians; within the town, they have neither church nor priest; at Vaipim, a populous town on the other side of the river, a parochial church has been built, and the people flock thither to hear Mass; there, two or three native priests with due zeal take care of the Christians. Around Cochin there are some parishes with native priests, as in several towns, namely Cochin and Coulan (Quilon). The Discalced Carmelite Fathers have

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[1] Brux.: omits: infensissimos.
[2] Brux.: prae omnibus est.
[3] Brux.: cognovi hoc.
[4] Brux.: In Paipim. oppido frequenti.
[5] Brux.: omits: eoque . . . sacrum.
[6] Brux.: omits: debita . . . diligentia.

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[1] On Dec. 20, 1682, Father A. Thomas dates from Macao his *Apologia Societatis Jesu* . . . , justifying the conduct of the Jesuits in the conflict of jurisdiction between the Bishops of the propaganda and the Archbishop of Goa. Cf. *Missions Belges*, 1908, p. 13, n. 3.

[2] The Topazes here are pure natives. It is worth remarking. Manrique too calls Topazes the pure native Christians of Arakan (1630–35). Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo was right, in spite of Yule's opinion in *Hobson-Jobson*, when he said that *topaz* means *do-bhāshiyā*=two-tongued, a man speaking two languages, an interpreter. That does not mean that the whole class of our native Christians in the 17th century could speak Portuguese; but there were more among them relatively who could than among the non-Christians.

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PP. Carmelitae[1] discalceati domicilium habant Veraple, inde ad missionem hinc inde excurrunt, etenim praeterquam intra urbem[2] nihil iuris obtinent Hollandi, sed tota negotium est in potestate regum indigenarum quorum nihil omnino[3] interest quam quis religionem aequatur. Coulani, quod oppidum amplissimum est, adjacens arci Hollandorum, sub variorum regum indigenarum potestate divisum, multi sunt Christiani; ibi tria sunt templa: scl. parochiale, Franciscanum et Soc.tis, e qua is qui assistit curam insuper habet Christianorum qui per varia vicina oppida dispersi sunt; inde ex ora tota Travancoridis jam pridem Hollandi conati sunt Soc^em^ expellere; verum illis frustra conantibus opera indigenarum regum hactenus permansit et modo odio in familiaritatem verso illos honorifice tractant et modo[4] cum illis tum ibi tum in ora piscaria optime conveniunt, virtutem etiam[5] in hoste laudantes.

In regno Travancoridis tota ora maris a Coulano usque ad Comor inum promotorium referta est Christianorum templis quae passim visuntur in littore erecta. Christiananorum circiter 20 milia in illo tractu

a house at Veraple,[1] whence they go out on Missions in different directions, for the Hollanders have no authority except within the town, the whole country being subject to native kings, to whom it matters not which religion one follows. At Coulan, a very big town adjacent to the fortress of the Hollanders and subject to different native kings, there are many Christians; there are three churches there: the parochial church, that of the Franciscans, and that of the Society, the Father (of the Society) who lives there, taking care besides of the Christians scattered in various towns of the neighbourhood. The Hollanders have long tried to expel the Society from the whole Travancor Coast, but in vain. Thanks to the assistance of the native kings, it is there still, and, hatred having changed to friendship, they (the Hollanders) now treat Ours with honour, agree well with them, both there and on the Fishery Coast, and even praise virtue in an enemy.

In the kingdom of Travancore, the whole sea-coast from Coulan up to Cape Comorin is dotted with Christian churches, which are seen erected here and there along the coast. The Christians of that tract

[1] Brux.: uti et in pluribus oppidis PP. Carme.litae.
[2] Brux.: excurrunt. Extra uroem.
[3] Brux.: omits: omnino.
[4] Brux.: omits: modo.
[5] Brux.: omits: etiam.

[1] Verapoli.

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numerantur[1] quorum curam habent sex PP. nostri' eorum residentia est in Mopoeli, Retora, Canapatam, Topo et Menacori;[2] inde ad alia oppida tum ad ripam maris tum in mediterranea[3] excurrunt, in urbe Regia quae Laicolara dicitur uti et in Travancor erectum esttemplum, verum ibi et in Travancor, aliis oppidis[4] nullus nobilis inter Christianos numerator, sed solum pauperes, quorum scl. est regnum Dei: in oppido Cotat mercat ura celebri extat imogo Xaverii quae tam frequantibus (*P.* 33) miraculis illustris est[5] ut undequaque non solum Christiani sed et infideles eo concurrant, in quorum gratiam etiam interdum Xaverius miracula facere non dedignatur;[6] in toto illo regno licet apud omnes atque etiam apud regem patres nostri sint admodum bene accepti et magno in honore[7] suoque impigre munere funguntur, tamen pauci de novo transcunt ab idolis ad Christum.

number about twenty thousand. Six of our Fathers have charge of them; their residences are at Mopoeli, Retora, Canapatam, Topo and Menacori;[1] from there they visit other towns along the seaboard and inland. In the capital, which is called Laicolara,[2] as well as in Travancor, a church has been built; but there, as also in the other towns, there is not one man of rank among the Christians, but only poor people, for theirs is the kingdom of God.[3] In the town of Cotat,[4] famous for its trade, there is an image of Xavier, which is renowned for so many miracles that (*P.* 33) people visit it from all sides, not only the Christians, but the pagans too, and Xavier does not disdain working at times wonders in their favour also. Although our Fathers are very popular throughout that kingdom with people of all ranks and the king himself, and although they are held in great honour and labour zealously, yet few new converts are won over from idolatry to Christ.

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[1] Brux.: omits: quae passim visuntur . . . erecta.
[2] Brux.: Mapaaoli, Retora, Cariapatan, Toporet, et Manacori.
[3] Brux.: omits: tum ad ripam . . . mediterranaa.
[4] Brux.: omits: et in aliis oppidis.
[5] Brux.: Xaverii tantis miraculis illustris ut.
[6] Brux.: in quorum etiam gratiam Xaverius interdum miracula facit.
[7] Brux.: omits: et magno in nonore.

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[1] Paulinus' map facing p. 235, *op. cit.*, has: Mampulli, Puntora (Reitora ?), Cariapatnam, Pullatopo, Mannacudi. See Lopez, *op. cit.*, (1644), s.v. Mampulim, Reytora, Cariapatnam, Manancury, pp. 9–13.
[2] Laicolara. Perhaps: Raicolara. Might it be Ragiacallamangalam of Paulinus' map, between Pullatopo and Mannacudi ?
[3] Matth. V. 3.
[4] The Cottage of Paulinus' map.

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A Comorino promontorio usque ad Tutucurinum excurrit ora Piscaria quae est regni Madure; omnia eius oppida ad ripam maris habitant Paravae, Christiani imnes, qui a pastoribus nostris circiter 10 excoluntur; in toto illo tractu facile 60 Christianorum milia numerantur et in illo[1] solo Tutucurino plus quam 20 milia. Fx tota illa ora expulerant Hollandi nostros patres, qui proinde[2] in vicinas silvas et oppida gentilium se receperunt, sub gentilium ipsorum protectione ibidem tuti,[3] a quibus in honore habentur; ibi extructo sacello sedem fixerant et ad sacrum audiendum omnibus diebus magnus erat Paravarum confluxus, noctu vero habitu Maurorum per littora discurrebant ad conferenda aegris sacramenta. Verum a biennio D. Thomas Van He factus illius orae praefectus omnes ad pristinas ecçlesias redire permisit. Caeterum destructum erat Tutucurinense collegium et aliae domus ac templa erecta fuere, sed haec ad priorum elegantiam ac[4] magnificentiam non accedunt. Est hic praefectus vir magnae justiciae ac probitatis, controversiarum curiosus, fortasse hac via venturus in agnitionem veritatis: illorum populorum uti et patrum etiam nostro-

From Cape Comorin up to Tutucurin runs the Fishery Coast, which belongs to the kingdom of Madure. Paravas, all Christians, live in all its towns on the sea-coast, and they are ministered to by 10 of our Missionaries. In the whole of that tract the Christians number easily sixty thousand; in Tutucurin alone there are over twenty thousand. Our Fathers had been driven from the whole of that coast by the Hollanders; accordingly, they betook themselves to the nearest woods and the towns of the pagans: there they were safe under the protection of the very pagans, by whom they are held in honour; they had built a chapel there and settled near it; large numbers of Paravas were coming daily to it to hear Mass, and at night the Fathers, disguised in Moorish dress, visited the Coast to confer the Sacraments to the sick. But, two years ago, when Mr. Thomas Van He[1] became Governor of that coast, he allowed them all to return to their former churches. The College of Tutucurin had, however, been destroyed, and new houses and churches were built, but these do not compare in beauty and magnificence with the former ones. This Governor is a man of great justice

[1] Brux.: omits: illo.
[2] Brux.: omits: proinde.
[3] Brux.: omits: sub gentillum . . . tuti.
[4] Brux.: omits: elegantium ac.

[1] Thomas Van He.—I have not found his name, after some research, in Valentyn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*.—Van Hee would be a good Dutch name.

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rum parens, omnium bono et paci consulit patresque se crebro invisentes magno honore excipit.[1]

In regno Madure, quod unum est e praecipuis Indiae, circiter 80 Christianorum milia numerantur multa per loca dispersi, ac praesertim versus urbem Madure quam cepit rex Massur 6.a. Dec. 1680; omniaque bello agitantur, nunc rege Madurensi eandem urbem obsidente, sed grave periculum est ne exercitum simul et regnum amittat. In hac missione plane laborum simul ac fructus animarum feraci versantur patres nostri; Bramanum habitu et more sacerdotum (*P.* 34) gentilium abstinent carne solaque oriza, herbis et aqua plerumque vitam sustentant; ita occulte et rege dissimulante paulatim Christi Dni fides disseminatur, partim verbo, partim libris, lingua patria et charactere impressis de quibus supra.[2]

In Regno Massuriam ab aliquot annis fundata est mis-

and uprightness; he is fond of controversy, and may perhaps that way come to recognize the truth; he is like a father for those people, and even for our Fathers; he fosters the general welfare and peace, and receives with much honour the Fathers, who frequently visit him.

In the kingdom of Madure, one of the chief ones of India, there are about eighty thousand Christians, scattered in many places, but especially towards the town of Madure, which the king of Massur[1] took on the 6th of December 1680. The whole country is in the turmoil of war; the king of Madure is now besieging the said town, but there is great danger of losing his army and his kingdom. Our Fathers live in this Mission, a very laborious field, and very fruitful too in conversions; they dress like the Bramans, and, after the manner of the pagan priests (*P.* 34), they abstain from meat, and live generally on rice, vegetables and water only; in this way, as the king pays no heed, they disseminate slowly and secretly the faith of Christ our Lord, partly by preaching, and partly by books printed in the language and writing of the country, as we said above.[2]

In the kingdom of Massur Mission was founded, now some

[1] Brux.: omits: est hic praefectus . . . excipit.
[2] Brux.: omits: partim verbo . . . supra.

[1] Massur=Mysore.
[2] Even after reading Fr. L. Besse, S.J., *La Mission du Madurè*, Trichinopoly, 1914, one finds interesting points in Fr. Thomas' passage on the Fishery Coast and Madura.

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sio; tres eo missi missionarii non sine copioso fructu laborarunt, gravissimis identidem pressi persecutionibus, verum modo inita regis gratia tuti eius protectione Christian orum numerum amplificant.

In regno Tangeor[1] pauci sunt christiani versus urbem eiusdem nominis, item Negapatanum, Trangambar et Talichere, quarum urbium maritimarum prima ad Hollandos, altera ad Danos, tertia ad Gallos pertinet, qui ibi sacerdotem sustentant.

Littus vero quod inter Tutucurinum et Negapatanum interiacet cuius incolae Maravae dicuntur nunc adversus regem Madure rebelles, aliquas Christianorum ecclesias habet quarum jura ad patres nostros pertinent.

In regno Gingi quod a fratre regis Sauagi occupatum est nulli sunt Christiani nisi in littore maris, scl. in Portunovo mercatura percelebri, ubi permissum est a rege templum erigi et pe nsio cuidam sacerdoti indigenae Christianorum curam habenti assignata.

In regno *Colgonda* cui imperat rex Mahometanus aliquot sunt Christiani in urbe regia quorum curam habent PP. Augustiniani, in littore vero maris extat oppidum S. Thomae vel potius eius ruina.

years back; three Missionaries sent there laboured with no small fruit, even though repeatedly buffeted by persecutions; now they have found favour with the king, and they are adding safely, under his protection, to the number of the Christians.

In the kingdom of Tangeor there are a few Christians, in the direction of the town of the said name; also at Negapatam, Trangambar and Talichere. These are three maritime towns, the first of which belongs to the Hollanders; the second, to the Danes; and the third, to the French, who maintain a priest there.

As for the coast between Tutucurin and Negapatam, the inhabitants of which, called Maravas, are now in rebellion against the king of Madure, it has some Christian churches over which our Fathers have jurisdiction.

In the kingdom of Gingi, which a brother of king Sauagi occupied, there are no Christians, except on the sea-coast, namely at Portonovo, a very famous trading centre, where the king allowed a church to be built, and assigned a maintenance for a native priest who cares for the Christians.

In the kingdom of *Colgonda*, which is governed by a Mahometan king, there are some Christians at the capital under the Augustinian Fathers; on the sea-coast stands the town of S. Thomè, or rather the ruins of it.

[1] Brux.: Tangor.

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Urbs erat una ex elegantissimis totius Orientis et templorum ornatus magnificentia,[1] quam Lusitanis eripuit rex Colgonda, incitatus et adiutus ab Hollandis. Verum rex facti poenitens praesertim cum promissa ab Hollandis pecunia non solveretur,[2] integram aliquot annis servavit eo consilio ut Lusitanis restituerat ne cum illis aliquando bellum haberet;[3] interea superveniens classis gallica urbem Mauris expulsis uno die occupavit, Rex Colgonda eam deinde duorum annorum obsidione una cum Batavis compulit ad deditionem. Urbe recuperata rex misit deputatos Goam qui proregi urbem offerrent quam tanta fide intactam servaverant ut in templis ac (*P.* 35) coenobiis authoritate regia clausis nihil ornamentorum deesset, nulla desideraretur argentea supellex ibi relicta. Sed quis intelligat haec consilia?[4] Responsum est deputatis (ii erant Lusitani illarum terrarum incolae) quod urbs plus oneri futura esset quam profectioni;[5] contra illi instare ut consideraret prorex quae et quam praeclara ea urba esset, tam celebris D. Thomae sepulchro, quantae gloriae Lusitania, eam amissam tam facili negotio recuperare, sine vi, sine exercitu, hoste ultro eam ad paciscendam pacem offerente.[6] Quoad expensas vero obtutere deputati nomine Lusitano-

One of the finest towns of the whole East, it (S. Thomé) had magnificent churches; but it was taken from the Portuguese by the king of Colgonda, at the instigation and with the help of the Hollanders. The king, repenting however of what he had done, especially as the Hollanders were not paying him the money they had promised, kept it intact for some years, hoping that, if he returned it to the Portuguese, he would for the future be free from war on their part. Meanwhile, a French fleet came on the scene, and in one day they expelled the Moors and occupied the place. Next, after a siege of two years, the king of Colgonda, helped by the Dutch, forced it to surrender. He reoccupied it and sent ambassadors to Goa to offer to the Viceroy a town which they had preserved so carefully intact that, in the churches and (*P.* 35) monasteries, closed by royal mandate, none of the ornaments, none of the silver vessels left behind, was missing. But, who will understand the meaning of what happened? The ambassadors were told (they were Portuguese, the inhabitants of those parts) that the town would be more of a burden than useful. The ambassadors insisted and asked the Viceroy to consider what a fine town it was, and how

[1] Brux.: omits: urbs erat . . . magnificentia.
[2] Brux.: omits: praesertim cum . . . solveretur.
[3] Brux.: omits: ne cum illis . . . haberet.
[4] Brux.: omits: nulla desideraretur . . . consillia?
[5] Brux.: has also: profectioni: we expect: profectui.
[6] Brux.: omits: quantae gloriae . . . offerente.

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rum qui a tempore captae urbis in loca vicina maritima se receperant, fore ut ipsi praesidium ex asse persolverent alerentque.[1] Verum dum haec parvi penduntur rex Colgonda videns suam oblationem gratuitam tem parvi fieri,[2] urbem totam penitus solo aequaviti; ita urbs adeo celebris, una ex pulcherrimis totius orientis, tot expensis aedificata et validis cincta undique propugnaculis nescio quod mirabili fato[3] finem habuit. Plerique Lusitani quondam incolae illius urbis se receperunt Madrastapan, urbem Anglorum solum media leuca distantem ad septentrionem,[4] quae alterius ruina modo factum est emporium.[5]

famous for the tomb of St. Thomas; also, how glorious it would be for the Portuguese, who had lost it, to recover it so easily, without a blow, without an army, since the enemies were offering it of themselves in order to cement peace. As for the expense, the ambassadors, speaking in the name of the Portuguese who, after the capture of the town, had betaken themselves to the neighbouring sea-coast towns, answered that they would pay and maintain a garrison at their own expense. But, seeing that they held his gratuitous offer in such ill esteem, the king of Colgonda utterly razed the whole town to the ground. Thus (I know not but what strange fatality) a town, once so celebrated, one of the most beautiful of the whole East, which had cost so much to build, and girt roundabout with strong ramparts, has vanished.[1] The greater number of the Portuguese, who formerly inhabited the town, withdrew to Madrastapan,[2] a town of the English, only a league further to the north, which has now become an emporium owing to the

[1] Brux.: omits: alerentque.
[2] Brux.: omits: videns suam . . . fieri.
[3] Brux.: omits: nescio quo . . . fato.
[4] Brux.: omits: ad septentrionem.
[5] Brux.: insigne emporium.

[1] H. D. Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* (1640–1800) will bear out much of what is written here.
No wonder if the Archives of Mailapur were lost, if Christian tombstones serve as flagstones in Hindu temples of the neighbourhood.

[2] The origin of the word Madras is not settled, according to *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v., where the form is generally Madraspatanam; but, unless the metathesis, as here in Madrastapan, was frequent, how did we come to the form Madrasta, Madrast?

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In monte una leuca ab urbe Meliapor distante templum est in quo crux miraculosa visitur quae triduo ante diem S. Thomae sed non omnibus amis sanguinem sudat; notum est emnibus illud manifestum miraculum; in monte autem minori qui propius urbem visitur modo Collegium est Soc$^{tis}$, quod antea in urbe erat, insigne templum ibi recenter aedificatum est a praefecto provinciae illius maritimae Saraceno.[1]

In Bengala (quae regio fere celeberrima est omnium nationum commercio) hinc inde dispersi sunt plures Christiani qui sub gubernatore Mahometano regis Mogorens is pacifice vivunt; eorum curam habent PP. Augustiniani.

In Ugolin[2] vero ubi Lusitani multi habitant est domus et templum Soc$^{tis}$.

Supra Bengalam 100 circiter leucis ab Ugolino oppido versus septentrionem in litore orientali Gangis recens nuper nata est Ecclesia. Quidam gentilis nobilis adolescens a S. Antonio de Padua (*P.* 36) noctu male acceptus, ab eo compulsus est ad amplectendam fidem Christianam; etenim die sequenti

ruined condition of the other place.

On the mount, one league from the town of Meliapor, there is a Church in which is seen a miraculous cross, which sweats blood three days before the feast of St. Thomas, but not every year; this evident miracle is known to all.[1] On the lesser mount, nearer to the town, there is now the College of the Society which formerly was in the town, a very fine Church was recently built there by the Saracen Governor of that maritime province.

In Bengala (which is about the most famous country for the trade which all kinds of nations ply there), there are many Christians; they live in peace under the Mahometan governor of the king of Mogor, and are taken care of by the Augustinian Fathers.

At Ugolin,[2] where many Portuguese live, there is a house and Church of the Society.

Beyond Bengala, about a hundred leagues from Ugolin, towards the north and on the east bank of the Ganges, a new Christianity sprang up lately. A certain noble heathen youth, having been severely handled at night by St. Anthony of Padua (*P.* 36), was compelled by him to

[1] Brux.: omits: provinciae illius maritimae.
[2] Brux.: Ugolim.

[1] One could write a volume on the discovery of St. Thomas' bones under the Portuguese, their migrations, the finding of the Pahlvi inscribed stone, the fraud of the Brahmans who read the inscription, the sweating of the stone.
[2] Hugli, generally spelt 'Hughli.'

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eius chordae ictibus saucius baptismum petiit quem pridem recusaverat obstinatus. Is, Antonius deinceps nomine, factus ex gentili Evangelicae legis praedicator zelosissimus cum sus quoque coniuge non impares zeli pauco tempore plus quam 20 hominum milia redux in patriam ad fidem convertit ac baptizavite, ille viris ac pueris, uxor mulieribus ac puellis non minori animo ac suecessu Evangelicam legem etiam nunc praedicare non desistunt, cum vero cresceret in dies ingens Christianorum multitudo, Antonius missis Goam litteris petiit subsidium patrum nostrorum quorum 4 eo destinati jam ut credo collaborant tantae animarum messi colligendae. Constat autem mihi ex nuntiis e Bengala acceptis haec indubitata esse; et quidam Lusitanus inde redux, quocum egi numerum baptizatorum ait excedere plus quam 30 milia.

embrace the Christian religion; the next day, in fact, he bore the marks of stripes from the Saint's chord, and asked for baptism, which he had obstinately refused before. Called Anthony thenceforth, he became, from a pagan, a very zealous preacher of the evangelical law, and, his wife sharing his zeal, he converted and baptized, in a short time, after his return to his country, more than twenty thousand people. They still continue, with no less success than energy, to preach the evangelical law, he to the men and boys, she to the women and girls. As this large number of Christians was daily increasing, Anthony sent letters to Goa and asked the help of our Fathers. Four of them were appointed to that Mission, and are labouring now, I believe, in gathering in such a rich harvest of souls. The news I have received from Bengala shows that these facts leave no doubt; I have spoken with a Portuguese who has come back from there, and he tells me that the number of the baptized exceeds thirty thousand.[1]

[1] Another volume can be written on the doings of Antonio of Busna and the conversion of our Dacca Christians. Fr. Thomas wrote from Goa, November 28, 1680: 'To this I add a prodigious case. An infidel in the kingdom of Bengala, having been miraculously converted to the faith, went to preach the faith in the countries near the Gango (*sic* for Ganges), about two hundred leagues inland, where he has baptised in a few years 25,000 (persons). And, being unable to cope with so many people, or give them any other sacrament than baptism, he wrote here to our Rev. Fr. Provincial (Fr. Fernão de Queyros) a letter which would draw tears from a heart of stone, asking the favour of sending him some of our missionaries to help him. Two were at once sent by sea, and two by land, across the lands of Moger (Mogor), Suratte and Agra. They have already arrived at Bengala. And, having gone from there towards the North (*Cod.*: Lort), they wrote that after a month's journey they had arrived in the kingdom of Napal (=Nepal). They say it is a very civilized

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In regno Peguano cuius sedes regia est urbs Ava pauci sunt quod sciam Christiani, praesertim in urbe Pegu.

In Arracam, capite regni eiusdem nominis, pauci Christiani sunt quorum curam habant PP. Augustiniani. In Tenagrin,[1] qui portus est regni Siam percelebris, pauci[2] sunt Christiani.

In urbe Queda et in toto regno Malavorum usque ad fretum Sincaputanum et in regno Bintam ultra fretum nulli sunt prorsus Christiani, sed plerique sunt Mahometani pertinacissini; sic ut circa Malacam nulli quod sciam pagi unquam facti sint Christiani.

In insula Sumatra plerique sunt Mahometani; in urbe regia quae Achem dicitur aliquot sunt Christiani quibus praeest P. Capuchinus; huic recenter agum pro templo extruendo

In the kingdom of Pegu, the capital of which is Ava, there are, as far as I know, a few Christians, especially in the town of Pegu.

In Arracam, the capital of a kingdom of the same name, there are a few Christians under the management of the Augustinian Fathers. At Tenagrin,[1] a very celebrated harbour of the kingdom of Siam, there are a few Christians.

In the town of Queda[2] and in the whole kingdom of the Malays, as far as the Strait of Sincaput,[3] and in the kingdom of Bintam beyond the Strait, there are no Christians at all; the people are mostly very obstinate Mahometans, so that, as far as I know, no villages around Malaca were ever made Christian.

In the island of Sumatra the greater number are Mahometans, in the chief town, Achem,[4] as it is called, there are some Christians presided over by a Capuchin Father;

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[1] Brux.: Tenacerim.
[2] Brux.: etiam pauci.

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kingdom, that the inhabitants are well disposed to receive the faith, and that only missionaries are wanting. From there they went in search of this new apostle, according to their instructions. I believe that the news of their arrival will soon come, and then I shall write more lengthily about into your Reverence' (=Father Verjus, Procurator General of the China Missions, Paris).

The missionaries who went to Nepal were those who had come from Agra to Patna. One of the two went to Nagpur, where he remained some time. We have curious letters from him.

The story of St. Anthony's chord and the beating is found under different forms. It had great success. This movement of conversion led to the creation of the Nagory or Bhawal Mission Station, near Dacca.

[1] At p. 37, Thenacerim. The form Tenagrin is evidently not a correct reading. For a very large number of spellings of that word, see Anderson, *English intercourse with Siam*, p. 11, n. 2.

[2] Queda.—Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Queda.

[3] *Cod.*: Singaputanum. It must be Singapuranum. None of the forms in *Hobson-Jobson* from 1512 to 1818 has a *town* Simhapura=lion's city.

[4] Achem.—Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Achin.

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Regina tunc imperans addixit; insuper a regione Malacae in oppido Tamble[1] aliquas Christiani ecclesias habent.

Malacae res Christiana pessumdata est a Batavis; templum Soc^tis quod eminet in colle in medio arcis loco amoenissimo servit concionibus haereticorum; ad eas[2] coguntur etiam Catholici;[3] verum quidam Scotus, centurio Catholicus, concionem adiens dictoque elevans et confutans (*P.* 37) ab illa lubens volensque proscriptus est. In Urbe quae circumfusa est arci ad ripam maris omnes indigenae sunt Catholici; illis nec conceditur templum nec sacerdos; solet tamen ibi adesse sacerdos indigena dicitque sacrum in sacellis domesticis praecipuorum civium, sed luctosum est quod soleant esse tam malae vitae ut propter scandala plures expulsi sint ab Hollandis qui alias facile essent dissimulaturi; etenim rebus inspectis cognovi ex ipsis Hollandis quod facile posset habitu saeculari agere cum eorum licentia sacerdos Europaeus etiam Religiosus, modo vir esset qui nihil publice imprudenter ageret ac proinde[4]

the Queen now reigning recently gave him land to build a church on; besides, opposite Malaca, in the town of Tamble,[1] the Christians have some churches.

At Malaca, the Christian religion is spoiled by the Batavians. The church of the Society, which is on the summit of a hill, in a most pleasant spot in the middle of the fortress, is used by heretical preachers; even the Catholics are forced to attend; but a certain Scotch Captain, a Catholic, who had gone to the preaching criticized and refuted it (*P.* 37), and was expelled, the very thing he wanted. In the town about the fortress, along the sea-shore, all the natives are Christians, but neither church nor priest is allowed them; however, a native priest is generally living there, who says Mass in the domestic oratories of the chief citizens; but it is sad to say that the conduct of several is so bad that the Hollanders, who otherwise would easily have dissembled, expelled them for scandalous living. I examined into these matters, and learned from the Hollanders themselves that they would easily allow a European priest,

[1] Fr. Vrithoff read: Tambre (Brux.).
[2] Brux.: ad eam.
[3] Brux.: coguntur omnes milites. etiam Catholici (all the soldiers, even the Catholics, are obliged to go to them).
[4] Brux.: ageret: sane ingemui viso ill us Christia nitatis statu, quod alio properans non possem ei succurrere, cum id mihi me declarando facillime et libenter concessissent Hollandi, ac proinde (verily, seeing the condition of the Christianity, I grieved that, as I was hastening to another place, I could not come to its help, although, had I revealed who I was, the Dutch would very easily and willingly have given me leave; and therefore).

[1] Tamble.—Not in Johnson's Royal Atlas.

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Roman super eo scripsi et ad Provincialem Goanum suggerens modum quo aliquis e nostris Malacam mitti passet qui si esset natione Flander et vir bene versatus et prudens, ingentem fructum animarum in illa ampla civitate colligeret et ipsis gratus esset Hollandis qui suae patriae homines in India libenter amplectuntur.

even a Religious, to live there in lay dress, provided he behaved not imprudently in public. I have therefore written about this to Rome and to the Provincial of Goa, suggesting how one of Ours could be sent to Malaca, and saying that, if he were a Fleming, and a man of good character and prudence, he would reap much fruit of souls in that large city, and would be acceptable to the Dutch themselves, who, in India, show themselves kind to people of their own country.[1]

In regno Siamensi quod a Thenacerim[1] usque ad 18 gradum extenditur pauci[2] sunt Christiani, jam pridem in Siamensium conversione incubuerunt PP. nostri. Verum successum nullum habuerunt[3] illis successere PP. Missionarii Galli, qui numero plures idem[4] pluribus locis intentarunt iam plus quam a 12 annis: nec tamen Siamensium famillae 40 modo Christianae numerantur. Habitant Missionarii illi ad urbem regiam in duobus seminariis: zelo inter omnes eminet Ill^mus Ludovicus Laneau Episcopus; sed[5] ita hic radices

In the kingdom of Siam, which stretches from Thenacerim up to the 18th degree, there are a few Christians. Ours have long laboured for the conversion of the Siamese, but they have had no success. They were succeeded by the French Missionary Fathers, more in number, who have tried the same for over 12 years in several places; still they have not yet 40 Siamese Christian families. Those Missionaries are living at the capital in two seminaries, most eminent for zeal is His Lordship, Bishop Louis Laneau;[2] but idolatry has struck such deep roots here

[1] Brux.: Tenacerim.
[2] Brux.: pauci admodum.
[3] Brux.: PP. nostri omnibus modis summoque labore ac industria. Verum neque in urbe regia neque in porsoluco aliisque locis successum ullum habuerunt.
[4] Brux.: qui numero plures magno zelo et conatu idem.
[5] Brux.: Episcopus. Alii aliis in oppidis habitant, sed.

[1] Fr. J. B. Maldonado, S.J., a Belgian from Mons, writes from Siam, November 16, 1681, that Fr. Thomas, owing to the unseaworthy condition of the ship which was taking him from Malaca to Macao, had been obliged to come to Siam. Cf. Père H. Bosmans, S.J., *Correspondance de J. B. Maldonado*, Louvain, Bureaux des Analectes, 1910, p. 50.
[2] Read: Lanneau.

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begit ido(lo)latria ut vix alii quam pueri moribundi aptizentur, aut si qui sint alii adulti plerique illico ad idola revertuntur. In hoc regno numerantur facile pagorum 12 milia, in quorum singulis plures habitant sacrificuli quos Talapeos vocant, qui in magna apud gentiles sunt aestimatione. Iuxta urbem regiam iacet ad fluminis ripam vicus Lusitanorum in quo circiter 4 milia Christianorum sunt; ibi Soc^tus residentiam habet in qua haec scribo; habent quoque ecclesiam PP. Dominicani. Rex, Pisus suorum pertinacia in Ido(lo)latria liberam Evangelii praedicationem relinquit. (*P.* 38.)

Melior ad Evangelium dispositio esse videtur in regno *Laos*, ad quod parabam per flumen his diebus ascendere exploraturus per interpretem statum illius gentis et quis fructus posset ibi fieri si eo nostri mitterentur; verum bellum non sinit transire e finibus ad illud regnum. Facilis[1] et tutus aditus patet e Cambosa[2] usque Lençaum quae est sedes regni illius.

that scarcely any others are baptized than dying children; if any others, adults, are baptized, most of them return at once to their idols. It is easy to find in this kingdom twelve thousand villages, in each of which live several priests called Talapei,[1] who are held in great esteem by the pagans. Near the capital, on the bank of the river, is the settlement of the Portuguese, where reside about thousand Christians; here the Society has a residence, where I write this letter; the Dominican Fathers also have a church. The king, trusting in his people's obstinate attachment to idolatry, gives freedom to preach the Gospel.

(*P.* 38.) The people of the kingdom of *Laos*[2] seem to be better disposed towards the Gospel. I was preparing to go thither these days by the river, in order to discover through an interpreter the state of the country, and what results might be gained, if Ours were sent there; but the war does not allow me to cross the frontiers and go to that kingdom. The journey from Cambosa[3] to Lençao,[4] the capital of that kingdom, is easy and safe.

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[1] Brux.: finibus. Ad illud regnum facillis.
[2] Brux.: Cambodia.

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[1] Talapoes, Talapois, or Talapoins, Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v.
[2] Laos is the right spelling.
[3] Camboja, or Camboia (from which our Cambodia) must be the spelling.
[4] Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Lan John or Langianne, one of the names for the Shan or Laos State of Luang Praban, on the Mekong, in the early part of the 17th century. Lanchang, it is said, means 'a million of elephants'. The Burmese know it as Len Shen.

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In Cambosa[1] Christiani sunt non pauci, sed ob tumultus bellorum magno labore colitur illa virea ab uno e nostris et altero sacerdote missionario.

Cochin-China florentem habet[2] ecclesiam et communis vox est eam nihil debere primitivae. Saevit persecutio sed nin violenta. Quidam Christianus, vir nobilis, anno 1680 comprehensus capite damnattus est; dici vix potest quanta alacritate in regis praesentia mortis sententiam excepit; summae aedificationi fuit eius constantia in morte; ibi[3] duo e nostris cum aliquot missionariis de Propaganda[4] ingentem Christianorum multitudinem excolunt. P. Bartholomeaus de Costa ita ipiit gratiam primogeniti filii Regis ut hic veniat ad Patrem ea familiaritate ut crebro plures horas cum eo solo intra cubiculum celloquendo consumat; ubi is regnabit alia erit rerum facies; indoles Conchinchinarum utcunque ad Japonenses[5] accedit.

In Tunchino numerosissimi sunt Christiani; suavis in eos durat persecutio. Ibi laborant duo Patres e Soc^te^ duo Missionarii Galli et aliquot indigenae sacerdotes. Necesse est ut plures nostri eo submittantur ob multitudinem ecclesiarum.

The Christians in Cambosa are not few; but, the country being troubled with wars, life is very laborious to the Father of our Society and the other Missionary priest who cultivate that vineyard.

Cochin-China has a flourishing church. The common opinion is that it is not a whit behind the primitive Church; persecution reigns, but violently. A certain noble Christian, seized in 1680, was condemned to death, and words can hardly express with what joy he received the death-sentence in the king's presence. His constancy in death was most edifying. There two of our Fathers and some Missionaries of the Propaganda take care of a very large number of Christians. Fr. Bartholomew da Casta has found very much favour with the King's eldest son, who visits him so familiarly that he often spends several hours talking with him alone in his room: when he will reign, there will be a great change. The character of the Cochinchinese resembles somewhat that of the Japanese.

In Tunchin the Christians are very numerous; there is a mild persecution. Two Fathers of our Society, two French Missionaries, and some native priests labour there. More of Ours should be sent there, considering the great number of the churches.

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[1] Brux.: Cambodia.
[2] Brux.: Cochinchinae florentem habent.
[3] Brux.: ejus constantia ac pietas in morte. cujus spectator Lusitanus eam mihi copiose narravit. Ibi.
[4] Brux.: propaganda fide.
[5] Brux.: ad Japones.

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De China non scribo; de ea copiose omnia narrabit procurator: de Japonia scripsi nuper via Batavica. Expecto ex illa naves Magno desiderio in mensem januarium quae nova de novo imperatore adferent.

Christus Dominus noster, qui has ecclesias plantavit in sanguine suo, eis quoque per viscera misericordiae suae abundantia gratiae suae succurrat.[1]

Siam 30 Ottobris 1681.

Ant. Thomas.[2]

*Nota.*—Hoc manuscriptum transmissum ab Ex^ma^ Ducissa de Aveyro Salmantic. eidem Pt. Hurre (?).

Ex archiv. Soc. Jesu.

I do not write about China; the Procurator will write fully about it. I wrote about Japan *viâ* Batavia.[1] I expect very eagerly the ships from there next January, with news about the new Emperor.

May Christ, Our Lord, who planted these churches (and watered them) with His blood, assist them also, of His mercy, with the abundance of His grace.

Siam, 30th of October, 1681.

Ant. Thomas.

*Note.*—This manuscript was sent by the Most Excellent Duchess de Aveyro of Salamanca to the same Father Hurre (?).

From the archives of the Society of Jesus.

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[1] Brux.: succurrat. Amen.
[2] The Brussels copy ends here.

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[1] Batavia, the town; formerly Jacatra.

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# Description of Indostan and Guzarate by Manuel Godinho de Eredia (1611).

*Edited and translated*

By the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.

*Chief Authority.*

Manuel Godinho de Eredia: *Malaca, l'Inde Méridionale, et le Cathaym.* Manuscrit original autographe de Godinho de Eredia, appartenant à la Bibliothèque Royale, de Bruxelles, reproduit en fac-simile et traduit par M. Léon Janssen, Membre de la Société de Géographie de Bruxelles, avec une préface de M. Ch. Ruelens, Conservateur à la Bibliothèque Royale, Membre du Comité de la Société de Géographie de Bruxelles, Bruxelles, . . . . C. Muquardt, 1882.

Manuel Godinho de Eredia, the son of Juan de Eredia Aquaviva and Dona Helena Vessiva, daughter of Don Juan, King of Supa in Macassar and owner of the estate of Machoquique, was born at Malacca on July 16, 1563. When 13 years old, he was sent to the Jesuit College of Goa. In 1579, he entered the Society of Jesus, but after a year his passion for geography made him quit the religious state. Later on, he became cosmographer to the Estado of India; in 1594, he was appointed *descobridor*, with the object of discovering new lands for the Crown of Portugal. His first work (*Informação da Aurea Chersoneso ou Peninsula e das ilhas Auriferas, Carbunculas e Aromaticas*, published by Antonio Lourenço Caminha, in *Ordenações de India do Senhor Rei Don Manoel*, Lisbon, 1807) was presented to the King between 1597 and 1600. Between 1605 and 1607, owing to ill-health, he retired from active service to Goa. (Cf. Janssen, pp. IX-X.) His *Declaraçam de Malaca e India Meridional com o Cathay em III Tra(tados)* is dated 1613, the dedication to the King bearing the date: Goa, Nov. 24, 1613.

The preface by Ruelens to Janssen's work is very jejune on the life of our author, and the public documents referring to him. While searching for other things, we came upon at least one reference to him. (Cf. Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, *Documentos remetidos de India ou Livros das Moncões*,

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*Editorial Note:* This paper was received in 1930 but for various reasons it remained unattended before the death of the author. It is now published in its original form, and Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the Philological Secretary, has revised the proofs.—*B. G.*



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Tomo I, Lisboa, 1880, pp. 25-26.) In a letter of March 2, 1605, the King of Portugal writes to Dom Martim Affonso de Castro, Viceroy of India:

'Manuel Godinho de Heredia me escreveu que o conde almirante e Ayres de Saldanha o encarregaram de hua empreza e descobrimento de novas terras de Sul, com tituio de adiantado, das quaes promette muitas riquezas de ouro, especiarias e outras drogas; postoque diz nao tinha passado de Malaca, e me pede ajuda pera proseguir o dito descobrimento; o porque o dito Ayres de Saldanha me não avisa d'isto, nem tenho por meu serviço que materias d' esta qualidade se encommendem a pessoas que não tenham muita sufficiença, e de que não ha confiança que (p. 26) procederão em meu serviço com a fidelidade e seguridade necessaria, nem he conveniente arriscar-se a reputação e autoridade d'esse Estado, vos encommendo que vos informeis das qualidades d'este homem, e do talento que tem, e conforme a isso trateis esta materia, da qual e das mais que se offerecerem d'esta qualidade me avisareis sempre particularmente.'

We doubt not that many other references to the man could be found in the published documents of the period.

The document we publish is not in the writing of Godinho de Eredia. Though of 1611, it was not included in his *Declaraçam de Malaca* of 1613, part of which was itself written in 1611; yet it might appropriately have been added to the *Declaraçam* as a fourth treatise. We find in the *Declaraçam de Malaca* some passages almost textually reproduced in our own document, and others elucidating our text. These we shall point out.

We do not find in the *Declaraçam de Malaca* any detailed map showing the position of the provinces and places noted in our text; yet it is likely that such a map was drawn up, if we judge from the method followed by the author in his other treatises, as published by Janssen. The map serving to explain best our document is at fol. 78r in Janssen's work. There we find (we italicize the provinces): Rio Bombain, Enseada (of Bombay), Dio, Jaquet, *Gosarate*, Cambaia, Cacha, Chitor, Rio Indo, Sindi (town), *Sindi*, Thiguir, R. Candoo, Laor (Lahore), Dely, Fatepur, Agra real, *Mogor*, *Purab* (town); Rio Ganges, *Bengala*, *Chesmir* (Kashmir), in a position very distorted, where we should have Nepal, Prosonay Montes (between Cheshmir and *Tebet*), Negarphirin (where we would place Bhutan and Assam), Rio Cana, *Cabul*, Cabul (town), 'Navgracoth, olim Imaus, vel Caucaso,' *Indostan*. 'Negar Pherin montes aureos,' is also shown at fol. 69v, in a map. Belor or Montes Nevados are above Turcastan, between the Regio Tenebrarum and Cayra and the Lop Desert (fol. 78v); see also fol. 69v (map) and fol. 76v (map).

In the *Declaraçam de Malaca* there is a chapter on Indostan (fol. 74r and v), one on Turcastan (fol. 74v-75r), one on Astracan (fol. 75r-75v), one on India (fol. 76), one on 'De Intraganges' (fol. 76r), and one on 'De Extraganges' (fol. 76r).

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(From British Museum, Addl. MSS., 9854, fols. 77r–81v.)

(*Fol.* 77r.) *Descurassõ, sobre a Prouinçia do Indostan: chamada Mogûl, e corruptamènte Mogôr: com declaraçaó do Reino guzarate, e mais Reinos de seu destricto: ordenado por Manuel godinho de Eredia: cosmographo môr do estado de Indias Orientaes.*[1]

*Anno.* 1611.[2]

A Prouincia do Indostan, estâ cituada na Zona temperada: e estende de .23. graos, 30. m. do Tropico de cancro; no meio do .2.º clima, no .7. Paralelo, onde o dia he de .13. oras .30. m. ate fenecer em .41. gr. 16. m. de altura septẽtrional, no meio do 5.º clima, no paralelo .13. onde o dia he de .15. oras .26. m./-E o Indostan ou Mogûl, agora coruptamènte chamada Mogôr, nome que na sua lingoagem natural significa Pastor.[3] sobrenome do fundador da Monarchia de Mogôres: o qual foi aquele Tamerland. que em batalha senhoreou Bazacet, gram Turco: e este Tamerland sendo Pastor por sua industria se cazou com à Irma de Soltan Vssem Rey de Delî da familia de Chagatâ, de (Sama)rcand, olim Turan, idest Turca, ou Turcastan: e por morte de Soltan Vssem, (soc)cedeo no gouerno anno .1404. no Pontificado de Clemente .2.º Tendo

(*Fol.* 77r.) *Discourse on the Province of Indostan, called Mogûl, and corruptly Mogôr, with a description of the Kingdom of Guzarate, and other Kingdoms of its district. Arranged by Manoel Godinho de Eredia, Chief Cosmographer of the Estado of the East Indies, in the year* 1611.[1]

The Province of Indostan is situated in the Temperate Zone, and extends from 23 degrees and 30 minutes of the Tropic of Cancer, in the middle of the 2nd climate, in the 7th parallel, where the day is of 13 hours and 30 minutes, until it ends in 41 degrees and 16 minutes of northern altitude,[2] in the middle of the 5th climate, in the 13th parallel, where the day is of 15 hours and 26 minutes.

Indostan, or Mogûl, now corruptly called Mogôr, is a name which in their native language means Shepherd,[3] the surname of the founder of the Monarchy of (the) Mogôres, who was that Tamerland who in battle defeated Bazacet, (the) Grand Turk; and this Tamerland, being a shepherd, by his industry married the sister of Soltan Ussem, King of Deli, of the Chagata family of Samarcand, formerly Turan, that is Turca, or Turcastan;

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[1] Underlined (in pencil ?) : *ordenado . . . Orientaes.*
[2] Underlined (in pencil ?) : 1611.
[3] This word is underlined (in pencil ?).

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[1] The MS. is written in a very fine and clear hand. Only in one or two places had we occasion to hesitate about the spelling.
[2] This brings the northern limit of India much too high.
[3] Monserrate does not give this derivation of the word Mogol. Cf. *Memoirs ASB.*, Vol. 3, 1914, p. 652.

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Dom Fernando Rei de Portugal.—De sorte que Tamerland foi o Primeiro Rei de Mogôres: e por elle se chamou a Prouinçia Mogôr: e o seu proprio nome era Tamer. Mas como elle manquejaua de hum pê, por alcunha lhe chamarão coxo, que significa land, e o mesmo he Tamercoxo, como Tamerland. 1.º Rey, e deste desçendem os Reis seguintes. o 2.º Miraxâ, e por elle Xaroc. o 3.º Soltan Mahamet, (e ?) por elle Oulogobot, o 4.º Soltan Abucaid. o 5.º Amaxet, o 6.º babor. o 7.º Hamau. o 8.º Equebar, Zalaldin Mahamet. o 9.º Noradin Mahamet Zanguir Patxâgazi. que ao presente gouerna a coroa de Mogôres no anno. 1611. e a chapa e Armas reaes de sua coroa, he hum circulo maior, e dentro tem .9. circulôs menores ou Orbes: e em cada Orbe escrito o nome de cada Rey dos sobreditos laurados em letra Arabia.

and by the death of Soltan Ussem he succeeded in the government, in the year 1404, in the Pontificate of Clement II, Dom Fernando being King of Portugal.[1] So that Tamerland was the first King of (the) Mogôres, and through him the Province was called Mogôr, and his proper name was Tamer; but as he limped of one foot, they nicknamed him the Lame, which means *land*, and Tamer the Lame is the same as Tamerland. (He was) the 1st King; and from him are descended the following: the 2nd, Miraxa, and for him Xaroc; the 3rd, Soltan Mahamet (and ?) from him Oulogobot; the 4th, Soltan Abucaid; the 5th, Amaxet; the 6th, Babor; the 7th, Hamau; the 8th, Equebar Zalaldin Mahamet;[2] the 9th, Noradin Mahamet Zanguir Patxâ Gazi, who at present governs the crown of (the) Mogôres in the year 1611; and the seal and royal arms of his crown is a greater circle; and, within, it has 9 smaller circles or orbs, and in each orb is written the name of each King of the above-said ones, worked out in Arabic characters.

E chamamos Indostan ou Mogôr toda aquella porçaõ de Terra continente, que da parte do Norte, p'los montes Nau-

And we call Indostan or Mogôr that portion of continent land which, on the north side, by the Naugracot Mountains,[3]

[1] Pope Clement II reigned from Dec. 25, 1046, to Oct. 9, 1047.—Timur invaded India in 1398, returned to Samarkand and died in 1405. Cf. V. A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, 2nd edn., p. 252.—Dom Ferdinand was King of Portugal in 1367–83.

[2] Cp. with Monserrate, *op. cit.*, p. 672, where a different line of descendance is given, and with de Laet (cf. Hoyland-Banerjee, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, 1928, p. 124).

[3] Nagarkot, Kangra, which had a temple famous among early European travellers and in the Muhammadan historians for the story of people cutting out their tongue.

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gracot chamado p'los latinos Imaus ou caucasus, se estende pera o sul atê os montes do gâte, do Decam, e de Oriâs ou Orixa; e da parte do oriente, p'los Montes Nagerserrin. e Rio Ganges, e dahi se estende pera occidente ate o o Rio Indi. ou Sindi. De modo que na parte Septentrional, o Indostan se aparta (*Fol.* 77v) do Turcastan polos Montes Naugracot, e na parte Austral se aparta do Decam, e Oriâs polos montes do gâte/ e na parte occidental se aparta da Persia por coraçone candahâr e polo Rio Indi ou Sindi/ e da parte oriental se aparta de Tibet, Sim. Mangin da china cocho, Patanes polos Montes Nagerserrin, e Rio Ganges.

which the Latins call Imaus or Caucasus, extends southwards up to the Mountains of the Gâte,[1] of the Decam,[2] and of Oriâs or Orixa;[3] and on the east side, by the Nagerserrin Mountains[4] and the River Ganges, and thence extends westwards up to the River Indi or Sindi. So that on the north side Indostan is separated (*Fol.* 77v) from Turcastan by the Naugracot Mountains; and on the south side it is separated from the Decam and Oriâs by the Mountains of the Gâte; and on the west side it is separated from Persia by Coraçone,[5] Candahâr and the River Indi or Sindi; and on the east side it is separated from Tibet, Sim,[6] Mangin[7] of China, Cocho,[8] Patanes,[9] by the Nagerserrin Mountains and the River Ganges.

E neste destricto estão plantados. 7. Reinos seguintes o

And in this district are situated (the) following 7 King-

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[1] Ghāts. [2] Deccan. [3] Orissa.

[4] Cp. with fol. 71r in Janssen: 'E bem pode ser fosse o caminho pera o Ophir ou Serica do embocadoro do Ganges, tratto antigo de Indias pera o sertão e minas de ouro dos altos montes *Negar Phirin*, de que faz mencão Plinio e Ptholemeo, como Região de ouro: E depois se aprio o tratto do sertão Pegû, chamado Baracura Emporio, daquelle rio se passa a Tartaria.' (*Janssen's translation*, p. 86): 'Il est bien posible que, de l' embouchure du Gange, il y eut un chemin pour Ophir et la Sérique, ou se faisait depuis longtemos (p. 87) un commerce des Indiens avec l'intérieur. et les mines d'or des hautes montagnes de Negar Phirin, que Pline et Ptolémée mentionnent comme étant aurifères.

'Plus tard s'est établi le commerce de l'intérieur, de Pégu par le port de Baracura, situé sur un fleuve d'ou l'on passe en Tartarie.'

Negar Pherin is again mentioned in the text at fol. 70r and at p. 85 of Janssen's translation: 'Il est possible que ce (Ophir) soit cette région de l'or dont fait mention Ptolémée dans sa table XII de l'Asie, située sur les bords du Gange et qui, de son temps, était l'endroit du monde où se faisait le plus grand commerce; car, par le Gange, se faisait le trafic de l'or des hautes montagnes de *Negar Phirin*: je ne sais pas si ces montagnes sont celles qu'on appelle aussi Sephar et si Ophir et Tharsis ne s'étendaient pas au delà.'

[5] Khorasan. [6] China.

[7] Mahāchīna. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. China.

[8] Cooch Behar. [9] Patna.

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1.º gozarate. o 2.º Deli. o 3.º Purat. o 4.º cabul. o 5.º queximir. o 6.º bengala. o 7.º Sind. Alem de outras coroas de Rayâs Regulos, e todos estes Reinos e senhorios são gouernados por Nababos gouernadores do Patxâ Mogôr: e o Primeiro e mais antigo hê Delì. na Monarchia de Tamerland, por quem e por successores seus forão os mais Reinos conquistados, e os rendimentos destes estados montaõ immenssa riqueza, Porque cada anno se recolhe no Thez.o real melhoria de.

doms: the 1st, Gozarate;[1] the 2nd, Deli; the 3rd, Purat;[2] the 4th, Cabul; the 5th, Queximir;[3] the 6th, Bengala; the 7th, Sind, besides other Crowns of Kinglet Rayâs; and all these Kingdoms and Lordships are governed by Nababos, governors of the Mogôr Patxâ; and the first and most ancient is Deli, in the Monarchy of Tamerland, by whom and by whose successors the other Kingdoms were conquered; and the revenues of these estates amount to an immense sum, because every year there is collected into the royal treasury more than . . . . . .[4]

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[1] Gujarat.

[2] The Purrob or Puropia of de Laet. *Pūrab* = east.

[3] Kashmir.

[4] Cp. this with a passage in Godinho de Eredia's *Declaraçam de Malaca* of 1613: (fol. 74r and v):

'E antigamente, erão tributarios ao Cathey as provincias do Indostan, Turcastan e Astracan, e Indias intra e extra; e pera noticia dellas faremos mençao com brevidade e sumariamente.

'A provincia do Indostan esta situada na zona temperada, e se estende do Tropico do Capricorno, ño meio do 2.º clyma, no 1.º paralello, onde o dia he de 13 oras 30 m. atê fenecer em 41 gr. 16 m. de altura septentrional, no meio de 5. clima, no parallelo 13 onde o dia he de 15 oras. E o Indostan he composto de Tan, que significa provincia, e de Indos, que significa da India, ou da gentilidade, por que Indos quer dizer Idolatro; e o Indostan significa provincia de idolatria: e agora Indostan se chama Mogul, e coruptamente Mogor, nome que significa Pastor, sobrenome do fundador da monarchia de Mogores, o qual foi aquelle Tamerland, que em batalha senhoreou Bazacet, gran Turco. E este Tamerland, sendo pastor por sua industria, se casou com a irma de soltan Usem, rey de Dely, da famílla de Chacatta de Samarcand, olium Turam, idest Turca ou Turcastan; e por morte de soltan Usem, socedeo no governo, anno 1404, no Pontifificado de Clemente IIo, sendo Dom Fernando Rey de Portugal. De sorte que Tamerland, foi o primeiro Rey de Mogores, e por elle se chamou a provincia Mogor, e o seu proprio nome era Tamer, mas como elle manquejava de hum pê por alcunha lhe chamarão coxo que significa land, e Tamercoxo he mesmo Tamerland, 1o Rey; e deste descendem os Reys seguintes; o 2o Miraxa e por elle Xaroc; o 3o sultan Mahameth e por elle Oulogoboth; o 4o sultan Abacayd; o 5o Amaxeth; o 6o Babor; o 7o. Hamau; o 8o Equebar Zaladin (*Fol.* 74v) Mahameth; o 9o Nuzadin Mahamet Zanguir Paxagazi, que ao prezente governa o septro do Mogores, anno 1661.

*Sacrobosco de Sph.*

*Chronica da Persia.*

*Chron. Persiana.*

'E chamamos Indostan ou Mogor toda aquella porção de terra continente que da parte do norte, pollos montes Naugracoth, chamado pollos latinos

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As cidades, vilas, e Aldeas. serão em n.º 1200. e as fortale-

The cities, towns and villages must be 1,200 in number, and

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Imaus ou Caucasus, se estende pera sul ate os montes do Gatte do Decan, e de Oriaes e de Orixa, e departe do Oriente pollos montes Negar Pherin Aurifero e ryo Ganges, e dahy se estende pera occiente ate o ryo Indo ou Indi. Demodo que na parte septentrional se aparta o Indostan do Turcastan pollos montes Naugracoth; e da parte austral se aparta do Decan e de Oriaes pollos montes do Gatte, da parte occidental se aparta da Persia por Coracone, Candahar e pollo rio Indo ou Indi, e da parte oriental se aparta de Tebeth, Sim e Mansim, Cocho Pathanes, pollos montes Negar Pherin e montes Prosonay aurifero, e ryo Ganges; e neste destricto estão plantados 7 reynos seguintes: o 1º, Gozarate, o 2º Delí 3º Purab, o 4º Cabul, o 5º Queximir, o 6º Bengala, o 7º Sindi. Alem de outras governações de Rajus ou Rajas, e todos estes reynos e senhorios são ao prezente governados por Nababos, governadores do Patxa Rey Mogor, e o primeiro e mais antigo he Dely na monarchia de Tamerland, porquem e por Reys successores forão conquistados os outros reynos do Indostan.'

(*Translation by Janssen*): (p. 89) 'Anciennement, les provinces de l'Hindoustan, du Turkestan et d'Astrakan, ainsi que les Indes d'en deça et d'au delà du Gange étaient tributaires du Cattay. Nous nous proposons de donner rapidement quelques renseignements sur ces pays.

'La province de l'Hindoustan est située dans la zône temérée et s'étend du Tropique du Capricorne, du milieu du 2me climat et du 1er parallèle, où le jour est de 13 heures 20 minutes, jusqu'à 41° 16′ d'altitude septentrionale, au milieu du 5me climat et au 13me (p. 90), parallèle, où le jour est de 15 heures. Le nom d'Hindoustan dérive de Tan qui, signifie province et de *Indos*, qui signifie de l'Inde ou de la gentilité; car *Indos* veut dire idolâtre. L'Hindoustan porte aussi le nom de Mogol, ou par corruption Mogor. Ce nom signifie *Pasteur*, surnom qui fut donné au fondateur de la dynastie de Mogor, Tamerlan, qui défit Bajazet, Sultan de Turquie.

'Ce Tamerlan, qui etai pasteur, épousa la fille du Sultan Usem, roi de Delhy, de la famille de Chacatta, de Samarcand, anciennement Turam, nom d'où viennent ceux de Turc et de Turkestan. A la mort du Sultan Usem, Tamerlan lui succéda en l'an 1404, sous le pontificat de Clement II, et pendant le règne de Dom Fernand en Portugal. De sorte que Tamerlan fut le premier roi des Mogols, et c'est de son surnom, que la province tire son nom. Comme ce roi, dont le nom était Tamer, boitait, on lui donna le sobriquet de *land* qui signifie boiteux; *Tamercoxo* (Coxo, en Portugais, signifie *boiteux*.—*L.J.*) est donc le même nom que Tamerlan.

'De ce Tamerlan descendent les rois suivants: 1º Miraxa qui eut pour successeur Xaroc; 2º Mahometh que Oulogoboth suivit sur le trône; 3º le Sultan Abaçaid 4º Amaxeth, 5º Babor, 6º Hamau, 7º Equebar Saladin Mahometh, et 8º Nuzadin Mahometh Zanguir Paxagazi qui tient le sceptre du Mogol en l'an 1611.

'Nous appelons Indoustan ou Mogor toute cette partie du continent qui, du Nord, par les monts Naugracoth, appelés par les anciens Imaus ou Caucase, s'étend vers le Sud jusqu' aux monts de Gatte, de Decan et d'Oriaes et d'Orixa. A l'Orient, il s'étend au delà des montagnes aurifères de Negar Pherin, par delà le Gange, tandis qu'à l' occident, il va toucher les rives de l'Indus. Les monts Naugracoth séparent donc du Turkestan la partie, septentrionale de l'Hindoustan, et les monts du Gatte en séparent la partie australe du Decan et d'Oriaes. A l'Occident, l'Hindoustan est séparé de la Perse par Coraçone, Candaher et l'Indus; et à l'Orient, il est séparé de Tebet, Sim, Mansim, et Cocho Patanes, par les montagnes de Negar Pherin, les monts aurifères de Prosonay et le Gange.

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zas fabricadas com Muros de Tijolos de pouca grossura e não m. to fortes nem Artificoosos: e as cazas da mesma obra todas terreas e cubertas de terrado: e algũs Palaçios e edificios reaes e Mesquitas ou Alcoroẽs de pedra marmor de obra tosca vnida sem cal, nem betume, somentes com encaxos de ferro ou Madeira / e algũas cidades de tanta grandeza que o seu diametro se não pode atrauessar caminhando por todo dia, quero dizer de dentro sair ao campo. / e a metropoli e corte real, he Agrâ, e as Vezes se passa a corte pera Fatepur e Laor.

A Terra Re mui fresca e toda entartalhada de Rios caudalosos: e entertecidos hũs com outros desde o Reino Sindi atê o Rio ganges e mais Rios do Oriente porque todos estes Rios se communicão hũs com outros no Indostan, e as Agoas m. to brancas: e correm com tanta furia e impetu que com Agoa p'lo ioelho não podem passar elephantes, e a terra

the fortresses are built with walls of bricks, of little thickness, and not very strong, nor built according to art; and the houses (are) of the same kind, all of them of earth and covered with a terrace; and (there are) some royal palaces and edifices, and Mosques or Alcorans [1] of marble, roughly built, the joining being without lime or bitumen, the only joints being of iron or wood; and some cities (are) of such great size that their diameter cannot be traversed by travelling the whole day; that is, to go from within to the open country; and the metropolis and royal court is Agrâ, and at times the court is shifted to Fatepur and Laor.

The country is fresh and wholly cut up by mighty rivers, intertwined one with another from the Kingdom (Rio= River ?)[2] Sindi up to the River Ganges and other Rivers of the east, because all these rivers intercommunicate in Indostan,[3] and the waters are very clear; and they flow with such force and violence that with water up to the knee

(P. 91.) 'Cette contrée comprend sept royaumes: Guzarate, Delhy, Purab, Caboul, Queximir, le Bengale, et Sindi, en dehors d'autres districts où government des Rajus ou Rajahs. Aujourd hui, tous ces domaines ou gouvernements, ont pour chefs des Nababs qui gouvernent sous l'autorite du Roi Mogol Patxa. Le plus ancien et le plus important de ces gouvernements est Delhy, dans le royaume fondé par Tamerlan, qui conquit tout l'Hindoustan et dont l'œuvre fut achevée par ses successeurs.'

There are a few things in this translation to which one might object, among them the modernization of proper names.

My MS. has: 2o. clima, no 7o. paralelo; not '2o. clyma, no 1o paralello' as in Janssen. For the spelling of the other proper names in my text, my decipherment can be depended on, as the MS. is a very clear and legible one.

[1] For Alcoran as a synonym for mosque or minaret, see Dalgado's *Glossario Luso-Asiático*, I. 22.

[2] *Reino* appears to be a misspelling of *Rio*.

[3] Do they ?

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cria Metaes de ouro de Prata, e todo mais genero de Metaes e Mineraes, mas os Naturaes não se aproueitão destas Minas fertiliss. mas por carecer de Mineros. E cria grande cantidade de caualos, e todo genero de gado maior e menor. e Variedade de Aues e Montaria e nos Matos se criaõ grandes. Tigres, onᶜas, camelos, e em partes hâ desertos, en outras partes muita frescura, e campos cubertos de Mantimẽto e toda sorte de grano e Arrôs. E os Naturaes fazem Vinhos de çerta frol ou fructa Mauh. com mistura de cascas de Aruore babuli, e sae estremado com que os Naturaes escusão os Vinhos de Palma de Indias.

elephants cannot pass. And the country produces metals of gold and silver, and every other kind of metals and minerals, but the Natives do not profit by these very rich mines, because they lack miners. And it breeds in great quantity horses and every kind of cattle, big and small, and a variety of birds and of game; and in the thickets are found great tigers, ounces (=panthers), camels; and in parts there are deserts; and in other parts there is much freshness, and fields covered with foodstuffs and every kind of grain and rice. And the Natives make wines with a certain flower or fruit (called) Mauh,[1] with which they mix the bark of the Babuli tree,[2] and it is very good, so that the Natives can do without the palm-wines of the Indies.

(*Fol.* 78r.) A gente he robusta e pouco mimosa e politica. Posto que bons genetarios com muito vso de Arco e frecha. porque a caualo matão a garça no ar. E os Modores legitimos desçendem de Turcastan: Mas os Naturaes do Indostan saõ mesticos e criolos, Indostanos mui habiles em Artes Mecanicas como Teceloẽs de lindos panos e Alcatifas, e Mais officios Manuaes pera suas grangerîas: e algũs delles se occupão em Artes liberaes/e os soldados: lascaris sempre trazem consigo

(*Fol.* 78r.) The people are robust, but little refined and cultured; yet they are good horsemen, with much use of the bow and arrows; for, while on horseback, they kill the heron in the air. And the true Mogores come from Turcastan; but the natives of Indostan are a mixed race and creoles; the Indostanos are very skilled in mechanical arts, like weaving delicate cloths and carpets, and other handicrafts, wherewith they make their profits; and some of them pursue liberal

[1] The Mahuā or Mahwā (Skt. *madhūka*): *Bassia latifolia*, Roxb. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Mohwa.

[2] Hind.: *babūl* or *babūr*: *Acacia arabica*, Willd. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. babool, and note there the passage from Thévenot, V. 50: 'L'eau de Vie de ce Païs . . . . . *qu'on y boict ordinairement, est faite de jagre ou sucre noir, qu'on met dans de l'eau avec de l'ecorce de l'arbre Baboul, pour y donner quelque force et ensuite on les distile ensemble.*'

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suas Armas, e algũs de espada e rodela, e outros de Arco e frecha ou lanca. ou de espingarda, assì a Infanteria como a caualeria: Mas gente maladestrada e pouco Artificiosa.

arts; and the lascari soldiers[1] always carry with them their weapons, some having sword and rodel (shield), and others bow and arrows, or a lance, or an espingarde, both the infantry and the cavalry; but they are badly trained and have little cunning.

## GOZARATE.

O Reino gozarate he o mais antigo do Indostan, e por isso faremos delle mencaõ por sua antiguidade porque entre os Naturaes o nome gozarate significa Senhor da terra, como o declara aquella diçaõ rate. que significa senhor e a outra diçaõ goza, que significa terra e ambas as diçoẽs formão o nome Senhor da terra que he o mesmo que gozarate, como na Verdade este Reino floreceo no oriente senhoreando todo Indostan, e mais aquella parte de bisnaga por gouerno/ e o destricto do gozarate consta de toda aq'la costa maritima da enseada de cambaya, e do sertão dela por.... legoas espanholas de circunferencia, comecando do Rio Bombain bati e Naogan. por Tanna, bacain. donde se estende polo Mediterraneo em forma oual, apartandose do Decam polos Montes Moler. galna. Nauali. gorza.

## GOZARATE.

The Kingdom of Gozarate is the oldest in Indostan, and therefore we mention it for its antiquity, because among the Natives the name Gozarate means Lord of the land, as is shown by the word *rate*, which means *lord*, and the other word *goza*, which means *land*, the two words giving the meaning of Lord of the Land, which is the same as Gozarate;[2] and, indeed, this Kingdom flourished in the east, conquering and governing the whole of Indostan and also that part of Bisnaga. And the district of Gozarate comprises the whole of that sea-coast of the Bay of Cambaya, and the inland parts thereof within a circumference of ..... Spanish leagues:[3] commencing from the River Bombain[4] (and?) Bati,[5] and Naogan,[6] by Tanna[7] (and) Baçain,[8] whence it extends ovally

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[1] *Os soldados lascaris* must be the soldiers of the *lashkar* (army); *lashkarī*=one belonging to the army, a soldier. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. lascar.

[2] Does not Gujarat mean the country of the Guzr or Gūjars? The Gūjars would be the White Huns or Ephthàlites of the 6th century. *Rate*=*rāshtra* (Skt.)=kingdom, country.

[3] The blank was not filled in.

[4] Bombay.

[5] Bati is added, apparently in the same writing.

[6] Elsewhere, *infra*, several times Nagaon.

[7] Thana.

[8] Bassein.

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e polas serranias da Antiga corte champaner, continuando por a raya de Ialor, se aparta o gozarate do Deli, de chitor de Maluco por montes de Ranâ. de Abû. de Suray. de bardâ. ate ir feneçer na enseada cacha: no Mar de Iagat corruptamente Iaquete, ou Mar da India, de sorte que na parte do Norte o gozarate se aparta do Sindi por cacha, e se aparta de Deli por montes de Ranâ. e na parte do Sul se aparta este Reino de Chaul p' lo Rio Bombain, e R. bati. Nagaon.[1] e pola parte do Oriente se aparta do Decan. por Montes Moler e campos de biranapor: e polo occidents se aparta do Mar da India ou Mar de Iagat ou Iaquete por Dio: e/o Reino gozarate coruptamente chamamos cambaya, por causa de cambaya ser ò rosto da enseada.

by the Mediterranean, being separated from the Decam by the Mountains Moler, Galna, Nauali, Gorza, and by the ridges of the ancient court (of) Champaner;[1] (and), continuing by the boundary of Jalor,[2] Gozarate is separated from Deli, from Chitor of Maluco[3] by the mountains of Ranâ,[4] of Abû,[5] of Surar,[6] of Bardâ,[7] until it ends in the Bay (of) Cacha,[8] in the Sea of Jagat, corruptly (called) Jaquete, or the Sea of India;[9] so that, on the side of the north, Gozarate is separated from the Sindi by Cacha, and is separated from Deli by the Mountains of Ranâ; and on the side of the south, this Kingdom is separated from Chaul by the River Bombain and the River Bati[10] and Nagaon; and on the side of the east, it is separated from the Deccan by the Moler Mountains and the lands of Biranapor; and on the west, it is separated from the Sea of India or the Sea of Jagat or Jaquete by Dio; and we call the Kingdom of Gozarate corruptly by the name Cambaya, because

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[1] Underlined (in pencil ?): e se aparta de Deli . . . Nagaon.

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[1] Champāner, a ruined city in the Pānch Mahāls, Bombay.
[2] Jalor in the Jodhpur State, Rājputāna.
[3] This is the nearest reading; but a copyist may have made a confusion between Malwa and Maluco, *i.e.* the Molucca Islands.
[4] The Rana of Udaipur or Mewar? These are the Aravalli Mountains.
[5] Mount Abu.
[6] Sirohi?
[7] Baroda?
[8] The Rann of Cutch.
[9] In his map, Monserrate (*op. cit.*) speaks of the Ponta de Jaquete do Norte, and Punta do Sul.
[10] '*e R. bati.*' is added, apparently in the same hand; '*R. bati*' is written again in the margin, by the same who added '*e R. bati*'. Someone has underlined the passage '*e se aparta de Deli . . . . Nagaon*'.

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O Primeiro Monarcha do gozarate se chamaua Vinjalmeta ou qadaxim.,[1] e deste descẽdẽ 36. geraçoẽs ou lignagẽs de nobreza de Rayâs como Tanvar, Choan, Permal, (*Fol.* 78v) bergi e Risbuto, e outros muitos apelidos etc. e o Risbuto he apelido daquela real familia e caza e affirmão os Naturaes descender de Vsso Demonio Porq'o Ris signif. Vsso, e buto signif. Demonio.[2] E esta real descendencia permaneçeo muitos annos gouernando ate o anno 1304. no Pontificado de Clemente 5.° sendo Dom Denîs Rei de Portugal, e então foi conquistado esta gentilidade polos Mourso por Zafarcan capitaõ del Rei Deli. que se aleuantou contra seu senhor por Armas foi coroado por Primr.o Rei Mouro do gozarate, e deste descendem os mais Reis: soltan Mahamet. seu f.o Mazafar. Hamet. cotobodin. Dauxâ Mahamet. Mazafar. Secandar. Mahamut. soltanbadur. Mahamut, outro Mahamut Hamut. Mazafar. que foi Vltimo dos Mouros Resbutos. a quem por guerra desbaratou el Rei Mogôr Hamû. 7.° successor de Tamerland. no anno. . . .

Cambaya is the head of the Bay.

The first Monarch of Gozarate was called Vinjalmeta or Qadaxim;[1] and from him are descended 36 noble generations or lineages of Rayas, as Tanvar, Choan, Permal (*Fol.* 78v), Bergi, and Risbuto, and many other names, etc. And the name Risbuto is the name of that royal family and house, and the Natives assert they are descended from (a) Demon Bear, because *Ris* means *bear* and *buto* means *Demon.*[2] And this royal descendance continued governing many years, up to the year 1304, in the Pontificate of Clement V, Dom Denis being King of Portugal;[3] and then this gentility was conquered by the Moors through Zafarcan, Captain of the King (of) Deli, who, revolting against his lord, took up arms; he was crowned first Moorish King of Gozarate, and from him are descended the other Kings: Soltan Mahamet, his son Mazafar, Hamet, Cotobodin, Dauxâ Mahamet, Mazafar, Secandar, Mahamut, Soltanbadur, Mahamut, another Mahamut, Hamut, Mazafar, who was the last of the Moorish Resbutos,[4] the Mogôr King Hamû, 7th successor of Tamer-

[1] First: Ie chamaun Resbuto Indo gentio Idolatra.
[2] In margin: e o Risbuto he apelido . . . signif. Demonio.

[1] *Vinjalmeta ou qadaxim* is written above 4 cancelled words: '*Resbuto Indo gentio Idolatra.*—' Of these four words *Indo* is least clear.
[2] The passage: '*e o Risbuto he apelido . . . signif. Demonio*' is added in the margin by the same hand which made the other additions. —*Riksh*=bear; *bhut*=demon; but *Risbuto* must be: Rājput, Rājāputra.
[3] Pope Clement V reigned from June 1305 to April 20, 1314.—Dom Denis reigned from 1279 to 1325.
[4] 'Zafar Khān, the last governor, who was appointed in 1391, and had practically been independent, formally withdrew his allegiance in

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e de entaõ a esta parte se desbaratou aquela real familia dos Resbutos, e somentes ficados algũs espalhados pelo Meditterraneo deffendendo suas terras e praganâs, de Mantimentos de que se sustentaõ, assy o badur como o Resbuto de Langemer[1] ou castelete. e o Resbuto do Chotea. e o Resbuto de bagalana e o Resbuto de Locogi. e o Resbuto de Rana e outros Resbutos Rajas.

A gente deste Reino gozarate naõ saõ bragmanes de bragma, de que ha. .84. linhagens no Reino de bisnaga como se imaginaua: Mas sao baneanes de outra especie de gentios Idolatras de que hâ .12. familias seguintes. lara. xamali. Moro. guzer. Nagao. Humara. Osoao. Dixuual.[2] puruvada. Vxua.

land, having defeated him in war in the year . . . . . .[1] And from then until now only that royal family of the Resbutos was destroyed, and only some remained scattered in the Mediterranean (parts), who defended their lands and praganâs (which produce) victuals wherewith they maintain themselves: thus the Badur,[2] and the Resbuto of Langemer[3] or Castelete (small castle?),[4] and the Resbuto of Chotea,[5] and the Resbuto of Bagalana,[6] and the Resbuto of Locogi,[7] and the Resbuto of Rana, and other Resbuto Rayas.

The people of this Kingdom of Gozarate are not, as was thought, Bragmanes of Bragma, whereof there are 84 lineages in the Kingdom of Bisnaga; but they are Baneanes, of another kind of idolatrous gentios, whereof there are the following 12 families: Lara,[8] Xamali,

[1] Iangemer (?). [2] Dixanol (?).

1401.' Cf. V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, 268. Smith gives the following names of Gujarat kings: Zafar Khān; his son Nāsir-ud dīn Muhammad Shah, poisoned, apparently by his father, in 1407; Zafar Khān, under the title of Sultan Muzaffar Shāh (d. 1411); his grandson, Alp Khān, who took the title of Ahmad Shah (1411–1441); his grandson Sultan Mahmud Begarā or Bīgarhā (1459–1511); his grandson Bahādur Shāh (1526–1537).

[1] A blank.

[2] Bahādur, son of Muzaffar Shāh III, alive in 1611, who lived 50 kos to the east of Ahmadabad. Cf. de Laet, *op. cit.*, 20.

[3] The first letter of this word is not an *i*, as it wants the dot over the *i*, which we find in the capital *i* of the copyist; it may be an *l* or *t*.

[4] Lower down we have Cotora or Castelete. The word *castelete* is not in my Portuguese and Spanish dictionaries. Comparing it with the old French *chastelet* (*châtelet*), I surmise it can mean only a small castle.

[5] The Portuguese called him in Choutia of Daman, and Dalgado (*op. cit.*, I. 280) connects the word with *chouto*=one-fourth part, on which see Dalgado, I. 281, and *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. chout.

[6] Bāglān.

[7] 'Locogi' appears more like a man's name.

[8] *Lara.* To be connected with Lāṛ, a name for Gujarat? Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Lar.

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Dissaua Poluua. e todas estas familias se conseruaõ neste Rino com officios Mecanicos Porque os Nobres saõ Mercadores e corretores, e os de menor calidade saõ officiaes Teceloẽs Tintoreros, carpinteiros, e mais Artifices: cõ q' enrriquecẽ e engradecem sua Patria comutando suas grangerîas com Ouro, e prata. e os Mais nobres de menino aprẽden ler, escreuer, e contar nos bacares, e escholas, e iuntamente aprendem a ordem da Mercançia, e o conhecimento e Valor e fineza das cousas pera compra e Venda em que pretendem sempre enganar a todos, e sair Milhor do partido./ E nos contratos usaõ de Paleaçoẽs e enganos com sotilezas, porque quando a pessoa cuida ter bêm concluido o neg.o depois se acha enganado.

Moro, Guzer,[1] Nagao, Humara, Osoao, Dixuual, Puruvada, Uxua, Dissaua, Poluua; and all these families maintain themselves in this Kingdom by means of mechanical occupations: for the Nobles are merchants and brokers, and those of lesser quality are handicraftsmen, weavers, dyers, carpenters, and other handicraftsmen, wherewith they enrich and aggrandize their country, exchanging their profits against gold and silver; and the nobles from childhood learn reading and writing and counting in the bazars, and schools, and at the same time they learn the method of trade, and the knowledge and value and fineness of things buyable and saleable, wherein they always aim at deceiving all, and having the better of the bargain. And in the contracts they use dissimulations, and tricks, and subtleties: for, when one thinks he has well concluded the business, by and by he finds himself deceived.

As serimonias acostumadas de baneanes. tanto que amanheçe cada dia lauaõ o corpo antes de comer. e sua comida Naõ he' Mais de Arros ou graõs cozidos, e ensopados em Manteiga com mistura de limoẽs passados por Vinagre, e a isto chamaõ Achar. e conseruas doçes e fructaes. e ortalica. e por nhũ caso comem carne (*Fol.* 79r) de nhû gen.o de Animal. ou Aue ou Peixe.

The ceremonies usual among the Baneanes are that at dawn they daily wash their body before eating; and their food consists only of rice and of grains cooked and sopped in butter, with a mixture of lemons steeped in vinegar, which they call Achar, and preserves, sweets, and fruits and greens. And on no account do they eat the flesh (*Fol.* 79r) of any animal or

[1] *Guzer.* Are not the Gujars or the Guzr of Central Asian origin who gave their name to Gujrāt, and Gujrānwāla in the Punjab and Gujarāt tract within Bombay Presidency? Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Goojur, Goozerat.

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Porq' os baneanes tem pera si que o Animal Aue ou Peixe. tem Alma. aqual se traspassa de hũ corpo ẽ outro. por Morte. Por onde he prohibido matar qualquer criature que tenha Vide: e pera conseruar as Vidas de Aues. tem hospital de Pacaros em cambaya: e curaõ os Animaes e assi mais daõ a entender que tem Alma todo Vegetatiuo Plantas e Aruores conforme a doutrina de Pithagoras, contra a nossa Verdade.

E os Religiosos se chamaõ Verteas de que hâ .85. espeçies de ordès chamados gachos e todos estes saõ leterados da secta. e grandes Astrologos iudiciarios. chiromanticos. nigromãticos. e sortilegios e Medicos erbolarios: e se sustentaõ de esmolas e fazem perigrinaçoẽs. ainda que os comũs Perigrinos saõ aq'les chamados Iogues. olim ginosophistas. e estes saõ desprezadores do mundo: e tam abstinentes na Vida que algũs se sustentaõ somentes de Agoa. e de ordinario tem o corpo cuberto de çinza, e fazem asperrima Penitẽcia por Vaidade: e algũs delles saõ Magicos. Porque nas serranîas de Danû achey hum Iogue que sustentaua. 2. caẽs pretos ao longo de si. e os caẽs tomauaõ forma de Tigres quando elle

bird or fish, because they hold that, when animals, birds or fishes die, their soul passes from one body into another; hence it is forbidden to kill any creature having life; and to keep birds alive they have a bird hospital at Cambaya, and they cure the animals; and, besides, they give to understand that everything vegetative, plants, and trees, has a soul, according to the doctrine of Pythagoras, but against our truth.

And the Religious are called Verteas,[1] whereof there are 86 kinds of orders, called *gachos*, and all these are literati of the sect, and great judiciary astrologers, chiromancers, necromancers, and sorcerers, and herbalist doctors. And they live on alms and make pilgrimages, although the ordinary pilgrims are called Jogues, formerly Gymnosophists; and these are despisers of the world and so abstemious in their life that some live only on water; and generally they have their body covered with ashes; and they perform very hard penance out of vanity; and some of them are magicians; for in the mountain ridges of Danû[2] I found a Jogue who kept two black dogs and (took them) along with him, and the dogs assumed the

[1] Dalgado (*op. cit.*, II. 413) connects Verleãs with the Skt. *vrālya*, a Hindu expelled from his caste; such individuals formed groups apart and went begging. Vrātya: a Hindu expelled from his caste for not observing the *saṁskaras* (sacraments), chiefly those of the investiture of the sacred cord. Dalgado, Gloss. Luso-Asiático, II. 413.

[2] Dahanu.

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ordenaua pera guarda e segurança de sua pessoa.

form of tigers, when he ordered them, as a safeguard of his person.[1]

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[1] Cp. with Janssen, fol. 75v: 'India intra e extra, maior e menor, era povoada de Bragmanes Magos, grandes astrologos judiciarios, e professores da secta da idolatria que habittavão nos embocadores do Indo e Ganges: e depois se dividirão por respecto de sectas, de que seguirão especies de idolatria. E os Bragmanes, como cabeças e metropolitanos da secta, povoarão o Chersoneso ou peninsula do Gatte, chamado Bittigo por Phtolemeo, no citio ou região de Lae, como notta Marco Pollo, no lib. 3, cap. 30, e deve ser o de Madure regio bragmanarað naquella parte de Choromandel de Plinio.* E aquelles Baneanes de 12 familias se recolherão no Gozarate e no Metropoli Tanna de Bombayn; como se mostra naquelles grandes e sumptuosos ædificios de pagodes.

*Marco Polo Lib. 3, cap. 30, chron. de Gozarath.*

'Mas os Bragmanes se estenderão mais no oriente assy no lado Choromadel, como no sertão do Indostan, e Cocho do Ganges e Pegu que significa Pagou ou Pagode do Brama, e daquelle seu Perumal, e passarão a terras remotas, e seu principio foi da Taprobana de Ceylan antigo adoratorio.

'E os Iogues ou Veztheas,† como perigrinos não habittavão em lugar certo, mas era sua residencia naquella romagem do Ganges, onde todo mundo procurava na vida fazer hua peregrinação e romaria, e estes Iogues deve ser aquelles Gymnosophitas.' ‡

(*Translation by Janssen*, p. 92.)

'L'Inde, en deça et au delà du Gange, Inde Majeure et Mineure, était peuplée de Brahmanes mages, très-experts en Astrologie et professant les croyances de la secte idolâtre, habitant les embouchures du Gange et de l'Indus, secte qui, depuis, s'est divisée en plusieurs confessions practiquant des religions paiennes de diverses espèces. Ces Brahmanes, chefs et métropolitains des sectes, peuplèrent la chersonèse ou péninsule du Gatte que Ptolémée appelle Bittigo, dans (*p.* 93) la région de Lae,§ comme le renseigne Marco Polo dans son liv. III chap. XX. Et Madura‖ doit être cette contrée primitivement peuplée par les Brahmanes dans cette partie du Coromandel, dont parle Pline.

'Douze familles de Banyans se retirèrent dans le Guyarate** et dans la métropole de Tanna, prés de Bombay: c'est de là que datent ces grands édifices et ces somptueuses pagodes que l'on rencontre dans cette contrée.

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* A line seems to have dropped here by Janssen.

† Verteas in my MS., the only acceptable spelling.

‡ 'Ginosophistas' in my MS.

§ Le manuscript porte Lae; Marco Polo écrit Lar. C'est la province de Guzarate ou le Konkan septentrional comprenant Saimur, le *Chaul* de nos jours. C'est l'opinion de yule (Marco Polo, II. 302). Yule, après Marsden, remarque que Marco Polo a confondu Bramanes et Banyans, lesquels venaient de Guzarate.—(*L. Janssen.*)

I must differ from Yule here; the passage in Yule cannot be understood except for Coromandel; there was a second Lar where Marco Polo places it, in Coromandel. Godinho de Eredia understood Marco Polo correctly, and is not far wrong in identifying Lar with Madura.

‖ Madura, Shahr-Mandi, de la côte de Coromandel (Yule, Marco Polo, II, 270).—(*L.J.*)

** *Sic.*

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As cidades principaes era champaner. corte antiga de Raulpatai. de Resbutos e sua antiguidade mostra ser do tempo antes da Vinda de Christo nosso saluador. e depois se passou a corte pera Amadaua Metropoli. cuio ambito e circunferencia sera pouco menos de duas legoas espanholas. onde os antigos aedificaraõ hum sumptuoso Tanque de forma exagonal laurado de Marmor de obra Ionica de hũa milha de ambito e tem mais .14. cidades no sertão Patan. citapor, bisalnagar. Serques. Ialor. Radampor. Amadanagar. Toray. bismangi. Mamadaua./e no Maritimo tem cambaya na façe do parcel seco. Surrate. baroche goga. candar. Iamucar. Alem de .64. Vilas e Aldeas.

A Terra he raza em campinas a perder de Vista cuberta de frescura de Plantas de Anil. e Amphion. e de todo genero

The chief city was Champaner, the ancient Resbuto court of Raulpatai, and its antiquity shows it existed before the coming of Christ our Saviour; and after that the royal court went over to Amadava,[1] the Metropolis, the circuit and circumference of which must be little less than two Spanish leagues; here the ancients built a sumptuous hexagonal tank, worked with marble, in Ionic style,[2] and one mile in circuit. It has besides 14 cities inland: Patan,[3] Citapor, Bisalnagar, Serques,[4] Ialor,[5] Radampor,[6] Amadanagar,[7] Toray, Bismangi, Mamadāua;[8] and in the maritime parts it has Cambaya in front of the dry bank (*parcel seco*), Surrate,[9] Baroche,[10] Goga,[11] Candar, Iamucar, besides 64 towns and villages.

The country is level, stretching in fields as far as the eye can see, and covered with (the) freshness of anil[12] and

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'Mais les Bramanes s'étendirent plus encore vers l'Orient dans le Lac de Coromandel, dans l'intérieur de l'Hindoustan et le Cocho, terre sur le Gange, à Pégu, qui signifie Pagou, ou Pagode de Bramah, d'où venait Perumal, et de là ils passèrent dans les terres éloignées. Leur origine est dans la Taprobane, ou Ceylan qui fut leur ancien sanctuaire.

'Les Jogues * ou Veztheas, tribus nomades, n'avaient de lieu d'habitation fixe. Leur residence était dans ces lieux sacrés du Gange où tout fidèle devait faire un pélérinage durant sa vie. Il pourrait bien se faire que ces Jogues fussent les Gymnosophistes.'

[1] Ahmadabad.

[2] Have others noted this Ionic architecture? de Laet (*op. cit.*) notices at one league from Ahmadabad the tomb of a Kazi, the tutor of a king of Gujarat, which had 4 halls, in one of which were 440 marble columns 30 palms high, with epistyles and bases in the Corinthian style.

[3] Prabhas Patan (Patan Diu). Cf. de Laet, *op. cit.*, 16n. 28.

[4] Sarkhej, about 5 miles from Ahmadabad. Cf. *ibid.*, 22 n. 35.

[5] Jālor. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 26.

[6] Radhanpur.

[7] Ahmadnagar.

[8] Mehmadabad.

[9] Surat.

[10] Broach.

[11] Gogo.

[12] Indigo.

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* Les Jogues ou Gosaings, ou Ganyassis, sorte de moines mendiants (Ritter, VI, 646).—(*L.J.*)—Read: Sanyasis.

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de grangerias. Algodan, Azeites. Acucar. sabon. e fructaes e todo genero de Mantimento e ortalica. e a terra regada de Rios do sertaõ, e cõ criaçaõ de gado Maior e manor/e os Matos cõ Veados e porcos e toda sorte de Montaria e Volatilla, e cria Tigres e oncas e camelos. e produze Metaes e Mineraes de Iaspes Medicinaes. e se achaõ Vetas de gesso e de cal. e de salitre. e a terra he de Natura sica e calorosa.

(*Fol.* 79v) O Anil, he Planta. de altura de couado, e as folhas quasi da forma de baldroegas com 6. ou 7. folhas em ramo: de que hâ muita cantidade em campos beneficiados: e creçe a Planta ate arebentar flores. e entaõ se arancaõ as ditas Plantas e as estenden ao sôl por dia: e depois de mortificadas se poem de molho em tinas grandes de Agoa e com a putrefaçaõ se engrossa e se coalha aq'la Agoa ficando em Talhadas de Anil.

O Amphion, he Planta de altura de couado e meio: e as folhas quasi da forma de Rabaõs, e a fructa chamada Posto como hũa pequena granada ou Roman Verde com sementes dromideras. e ferindo aquele Pomo cõ caniuete, Mana

amphion[1] plants, and every kind of tillage, algodan,[2] oil, sugar, soap,[3] and fruits, and every kind of foodstuffs and greens. And the country (is) watered by inland rivers, and it maintains cattle, big and small. And the thickets have deer and boar, and every kind of game and volatiles, and it breeds tigers, and ounces, and camels; and it produces metals, and minerals of medicinal jaspers; and there are found veins of parget and lime and saltpetre; and the land is of a dry and hot nature.

(*Fol.* 79v.) The Anil is a plant growing to the height of one *covado*, and the leaves are almost of the shape of *baldroegas*,[4] with 6 or 7 leaves per branch; there is great quantity of it in cultivated fields;[5] and the plant grows until it flowers, and then the said plants are pulled out and laid in the sun during the day; and when they have died they are put to soak in great vats of water, and with the putrefaction that water swells and foams, and there remain lozenges of anil.

The Amphion is a plant growing to the height of the *covado* and a half: and the leaves are shaped like radish leaves; and the fruit, called *Posto*,[6] is like a small granada or green pomegranate, with poppy seeds; and, on

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[1] Opium. [2] Cotton.

[3] The fruit of the *Sapindus trifoliatus*, Linn., the soap of the Canarins. Cf. Dalgado, *op. cit.*, II. 267.

[4] Not found in my dictionaries.

[5] I translate *campos beneficiados* doubtfully by 'cultivated fields', one of the meanings of *beneficiar* being to cultivate, to till, to improve, to better.

[6] *Posto* is the poppy-head or capsule; also the drug.

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çerto licor da sangradura ou golpe pera Medicinas de Mouros. e o licor se chama Amphion.

A enseada de cambaia tem .2. costas Maritimas, Oriental de norte sul. e occidental de Nordestesudueste./e o embocadoro tem de largo .23. legoas. e dahi se estreita atê 6. legoas nos sorgidoros de Surrate, e goga. donde comeca o Parcel seco dos Macareos, e se estreita atê .3. legoas, atê o porto de cambaia. e dahi continuando a enseada em forma de Rio faz volta pera o sertaõ em Sarode. sempre por Parcel seco. saluo de Mare chea em Agoas Viuas de lunaçoês. e entaõ se nauega em Nauios de Reme. polos canaes do Parcel./E pera mais declaração he de notar que os Parceles começaõ do embocadoro da enseada com .2. grandes restingas, de sorte que a restinga occidental tem .13. bracas, e a outra restinga oriental tem .10. braças. e ambas se estendẽ do sul bera o Norte diminuindo atê o parcel seco dos Macareos entre surrata e goga donde o dito Parcel seco chega ao Porto de cambaia: e entre estes Parceles ha .3. canaes. conuẽ a saber. canal da costa

striking that apple with a penknife, there flows a certain liquid from the cut or wound, which is used in Moorish medicines; and the liquid is called Amphion.

The Bay of Cambaia has two sea-coasts: an eastern one, running from north to south; and a western one, running from north-east to south-west. And the mouth is 23 leagues broad; and from there it narrows to 6 leagues at the roadsteads of Surrate and Goga, where begins the dry bank (shoal)[1] of the Macareos;[2] and it narrows to 3 leagues up to the port of Cambaia; and, continuing thence in the form of a river, the Bay turns inlandwards at Sarode,[3] always (along) the dry bank, (and) except when the sea fills with the running waters of (the) changes of the moon,[4] they navigate in row-boats by the channels of the bank (shoal). And, to describe things more fully, one must note that the banks (shoals) begin from the mouth of the Bay with two shallows, the western shallow having 13 braces, and the other shallow, the eastern one, 10 braces; and both run from north to south, diminishing up to the dry bank of the Macareos between

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[1] *Parcel seco.* A *parcel* is a hidden rock or bank, according to my Portuguese dictionaries; a *seco* is dry ground.

[2] On the *Macareo* (bore) macrée, mascaret, see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Macareo; and Dalgado, *op. cit.*, s.v. Macareu.

[3] Jarod. See de Laet, *op. cit.*, 19.

[4] I am not sure of the meaning of '*saluo . . . de Reme*,' chiefly of the transcription of the first word *saluo*, which I read, however, twice independently as *saluo*.

Saluçón (a ship is rolling in rough water) would seem to be the correct word, at least the correct word in modern Portuguese. (P. D., S. J.)

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occidental e canal da costa oriental, e canal do Meio do embocadoro e por estes canaes ha fundo de 20. braças no embocadoro. e dahi diminuindo ate 5. bracas no sorgidoro de surrate e goga: e polos canaes dõ Parcel seco dos Macareos ha .4. ou .3. bracas ate o porto de cambaia.

Surrate and Goga, whence the said dry bank reaches up to the port of Cambaia; and between these banks there are three channels: namely, the channel of the western coast, and the channel of the eastern coast, and the channel in the middle of the mouth; and by these channels there is bottom at 20 braces in the mouth; and the depth diminishes thence to 5 braces at the roadstead of Surrate and Goga; and by the channels of the dry bank of the Macareos there are 4 or 3 braces up to the port of Cambaia.

E os Rios da costa oriental saõ os seguintes. Nagaon, bati,[1] e bombain. bandora. Arpa, bacain. Dantora. Main. Tarapor. Danû. Iamori de Malauares. Soiana. marori. Damaõ. coulec. Humorsari. balçar. ganadaui. Ialapor. Naucari. camiani. Surrate. Suali. bagoa. badri. baroche. ropagan. dador. gandar. a ponta. porto de cambaia.

And the rivers of the east coast are the following: Nagaon, Bati, and Bombain,[1] Bandora,[2] Arpa, Baçain,[3] Dantora, Main, Tarapor,[4] Danû,[5] Jamori of (the) Malavares,[6] Soina, Marori, Damaõ,[7] Coulec,[8] Humorsari, Balçar,[9] Ganadaui,[10] Jalapor,[11] Naucari,[12] Camiani, Surrate,[13] Suali, Bagoa, Badri, Baroche,[14] Ropagan, Dador, Gandar, the Point, the Port of Cambaia.

E os Rios da costa occidental saõ os seguintes: Mudafarabas ou Madrefaual. Chaus. Moa. cotora ou castelete. Zanziber. Taloja co restinga. Motabaro.

And the rivers of the western coast are the following: Mudafarabas or Madrefayal,[15] Chaus, Moa,[16] Cotora or Castelete, Zanziber, Taloja

[1] 'But' is inserted.

[1] Bombay. [2] Bondra. [3] Bassein.
[4] Tarapur. [5] Dahanu.
[6] How was this place called 'of the Malabares'? Was it a nest of Malabar pirates?
[7] Daman.
[8] Beyond Daman, northwards, Monserrate places. Couleca in Lat. 20. 26½ (*op. cit.*, 53).
[9] Bulsar. [10] Gandevi. [11] Jalapur.
[12] Navsari. [13] Surat. [14] Broach.
[15] Jafarabad? [16] Mhow.

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quederpur. gondi. goga. (*Fol.* 80r) Xacar. Rogo de Mosquitos. Fatel. nola. chaneri. xabol. borcan. condol.

A cituaçao de gozarate estâ em parte na Torrida Zona, e em parte na Temperada, Porq' de bombain de Nagaon se estende por .19. graos .10. m. no. 6. paralelo. no fim do 1.º clima. do dia de .13. oras .15. m. ate os tezminos de Ialor em .25. graos 10. m. no 8. Paralelo quasi no fim do 2. clima do dia de .13. oras. .45. m.

with (a) shallow,[1] Motabaro, Quederpur, Gondi, Goga,[2] (*Fol.* 80r) Xacar, Rogo de Mosquitos (Entreaty of Mosquitos),[3] Fatel, Nola, Chaneri, Xabol, Borcan, Condol, Port of Cambaia.

The situation of Gozarate is partly in the Torrid Zone and partly in the Temperate Zone: for from Bombain of Nagaon it extends from 19 degrees and 10 minutes in the 6th parallel, at the end of the 1st climate, where the day is of 13 hours and 15 minutes, up to the frontiers of Jalor in 25 degrees and 10 minutes, in the 8th parallel, almost at the end of the second climate, where the day is of 13 hours and 45 minutes.

## DELI.

O Reino Deli se estende dos terminos e a raya de Ialor. em .25. gr. e 10. m. e dos Mon (tes) do gate de .21. grao. 14. m. ate os terminos de cabul em .32. gr. 40. m./ (e da) parte do norte tem cabul, e da parte do sul tẽ gozarate. /e da parte do Or(iente tem) Purat. e da parte do occidente tem Sindi. / e este Reino Deli foi o prinçip(al) do Indostan (Antes da Monarchia de Tamerland.) E o Primr. Rei de De(li) foi soltan Mahamet sabectagin. e deste descenderaõ .36. Reis Mahumethanos atê socceder Tamerland. fundador da noua Monarchia de Mogôres,

## DELI.

The kingdom of Deli stretches, from the boundaries and limit of Jalor, in 25 degrees and 10 minutes, and from the Mountains of the Gate,[4] in 21 degrees and 14 minutes, up to the boundaries of Cabul, in 32 degrees and 40 minutes. And on the north side it has Cabul; and on the south side, it has Gozarate; and on the east side, it has Purat; [5] and on the west side, it has Sindi. And this kingdom of Deli was the chief one of Indostan (before the monarchy of Tamerland). And the first king of Deli was Soltan Mahamet Sabectagin; [6] and from him

[1] Talaja. [2] Gogo.
[3] *Rogo de Mosquitos* should mean: Entreaty of Mosquitoes. I do not find that *rogo* has the value of the Latin *rogus*: a pyre.
[4] Ghats. [5] Read: Purab.
[6] Sabuktigīn, Amīr of Ghaznī, made his first inroad into India in A.D. 986-987. Cf. V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, 190.

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e continuou a ordem dos Reis atê o prezente de Nurudin Mahamet Zanguir Patxâ cazi. ano 1611.

descended 36 Maumethan kings until Tamerland succeeded, who was the founder of the new Monarchy of (the) Mogores; and the line of the Kings continued up to the present one, Nurudin Mahamet Zanguir Patxâ Cazi, in the year 1611.

A Terra he Montuosa e aspera com desertos, e a gente mais nobre do Indostan porque residem na corte real de Agrâ Metropoli. onde concorrem todos os Mercadores da Persia Astracan, e da costa do mar de sala. e da Russia. e tambem de Turcastan. do cata ou cathai. e chinas. e da maior parte de Tartaria. e os Mercadores se recolhẽ cõ riquezas da praça de Agrâ pera suas Patrias.

The country is mountainous and rough, with deserts; and the people are the noblest of Indostan, because they reside at the royal court of Agrâ, the Metropolis, where meet all the merchants of Persia, and Astracan, and from the coast of the Sala sea[1] and from Russia, and also from Turcastan, and from Cata or Cathai, and the Chinas, and from the greater part of Tartary: and from the market of Agrâ the merchants return with riches to their country.

## PURAT.

Este Reino Purat. fica no oriente de Deli. donde se estende atê o Rio ganges/ e tem da parte do Norte .31. gr. 50. m. e da parte do sul. tem .21. gr. 16. m. e o dito Reino Purat polo norte se aparta de cabul. e polo sul se aparta de Orias ou orixa. e polo occidente de Deli. e polo oriente do Rio ganges. e Patanes. e tem o milhor Mercado e praça, onde se despende toda sorte de roupas e

## PURAT.[2]

This kingdom (of) Purat lies to the east of Deli, whence it extends up to the River Ganges. And on the north side, it is in 31 degrees and 50 minutes; and on the south side, it has 21 degrees and 16 minutes. And the said kingdom of Purat is separated from Cabul on the north;[3] and on the south it is separated from Orias or Orixa; and on the west from Deli, and on the east from the River Ganges

[1] Is not this the Caspian Sea? The Mare Caspis is Janssen, map facing p. 70?

[2] From *pūrab*, Skt. *pūrva*, 'the East'. 'In Upper India the term usually means Oudh, the Benares Division and Behar.' Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Poorab.

[3] It is surprising that Cabul should be mentioned as bordering on the Pūrab. The map in Janssen's work, fol. 782, shows the northern parts of India, very incorrectly.

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outras Mercançias pera as partes circunuezinhas de bengala.

## CABUL.

Cabul, he o mais is septentrional Reino do Indostan, e pola Vezinhança, que tem cõ Vsbeques (*Fol.* 80v) e Samarcand. Muitos dos Naturaes tem tratto do sertaõ. e outros rosticos lauradores residem em suas lauouras e campos da fralda dos Montes Naugracot. e pola abudançia de Agoas dos Rios que decem daq'les Montes. se alagaõ os campos cõ lagunas e Pantanos com que a terra esta sempre bem cuberta de frescura: e o Rio chamado cana que deçe dos Montes altis simos de belôr e passa por baixo dos Montes Naugracot por .12. legoas de distancia como o Rio guadiana de Espanha, e se estende da baza dos ditos Montes ate o Mar do Sindi./ E a terra cria muito gado Maior e menor. cõ muita criaçaõ de toda sorte como se

and Patanes,[1] and it has the best market and fair, where is produced every kind of cloths and (of) other merchandise for the neighbouring countries of Bengala.

## CABUL.

Cabul is the most northern Kingdom of Indostan; and, by its proximity to (the) Usbeques (*Fol.* 80v) and Samarcand, many of the Natives have inland commerce; and others, rustics, live among their tillage and fields on the skirts of the Naugracot Mountains; and, owing to the abundance of the waters coming down from those mountains, the fields overflow into lagoons and pools, whereby the country is always well covered with freshness. And the River called Cana, which comes down from the very high mountains of Belôr and passes below the Naugracot Mountains at a distance of 12 leagues, (is) like the River Guadiana in Spain, and extends from the base of the said mountains up to the Sea of Sindi.[2] And the country

[1] Patna.

[2] Only the Indus or an affluent of the Indus could flow into the Sea of Sindi. What then is meant by the Cana River flowing from the Mountains of Belôr (not identified) and passing below the Nagarkot Mountains, *i.e.* the Himalayas?

Of Astrakhan Godinho notes (Janssen, fol. 75v):

'Da parte occidental tem o ryo Boristhenes, e da parte austral os montes de *Belor*, e terra alagadica de Cayra.' Of Turkestan (*ibid.*, fol. 75r): 'Tem da parte septentrional os altissimos montes *Belor*.' Of Samarkand or 'Pamercan': 'Significa provincia de Pamer, nome daquelles valles de montes *Belor*' (*ibid.*). Elsewhere, fol. 71v: 'E bem pode ser seja o citio da cayra de *Belor* onde se achão Judeus Israelitas recolhidos, como o notta Apiano e os cosmographos, e parece difficultoso passar os tribus a America.' Finally he has a short chapter on '*Bellor*': (fols. 67v–68r): 'A regiõ de *Belor*, e os seus alterosos montes nevados de perpetuo inverno (Fol. 68r) tem muytos pantanos e alagadicos, e as agoas destas fontes decam pollo Ganges ao mar gangetico, e pollo Obio ao mar

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acha entre o Douro e Minho de Portugal. / E tem da parte do

breeds much cattle, big and small, and domestic animals of

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congelado: e nesta região na baza de montes de pratta habitão aquelles Ruxenos Israelitas ou Judeus recolhidos no citio de Cayra, ou Arsareth região; e devem ser aquelles tribus do lib. 4, Esdr. cap. 13, que por se desviar da gentilidade e idolatrias, escolherão lugar remotto e bem apartado do idolatros pera milhor se occupar nas serimonias.'

(*Translation by Janssen*, p. 82): 'La région de *Bellor* et ses hautes montagnes, dont les cîmes sont couvertes par les neiges d'un hiver perpétuel a beaucoup de marécages et des terres humides. Elle déverse les eaux de ses sources par ls Gange, dans la mer Gangétique et, dans la mer de Glace, par l'Obi. C'est dans cette région, au pied des montagnes Argentifères qu'habitaient ces Ruxènes Israëlites ou Juifs, qui furent reçus dans la ville de Cayra dans la région d'Arsareth. Ces Ruxènes doivent être ces tribus dont parle l'Ecriture (Esdras liv. IV, ch. XIII) qui, pour se garer des idolâtres, se retirèrent dans un endroit désert et isolé où ils pouvaient se livrer plus aisément aux cérémonies de leur culte.'

Elsewhere (fol. 71r & v) Godinho writes about these Jews: 'Aindaque mostra ser o caminho por Tharsis ou Persia, olim Pharsis, que era mais franqueado e antigo pera as Scythas e Serica, por onde depois do Euphrates, passarão os tribus de Israel a Arsareth, como nota 4 Esdr. 13. E por que este caminho da Persia era de anno e meio ate Arsareth, bem pode ser seja o mesmo por terra de Salomon, com ida e vinda gastar 3 annos, anno e meio na ida e anno e meio na vinda. Mas como estas naos de Salomon por carga traziaó ouro, pedreira e madeira excelente, e outras riquezas do mar Gangettico daquelle tratto de Ganges era o mais corrente caminho de embarcações pera o sertão da Serica, como notta os Escritores e Ptholemeo. E não me entremetto em determinar o citio de Arsareth, do 4 Esdr. 13, daquelles 10 tribus que forão levadas (*Fol.* 71v) em captiveiro em tempo del Rey Osee, o qual levou cativo Salmanazar, Rey dos Ass-rios e a estes passou a outra banda do ryo e forão transladados a outra terra, e determinarão deixar a multidão dos gentios e passar a outra região mais apartada donde nunca habitou o genero humano, pera guardar ahy sua ley, aqual não guardarão em sua terra. Entrarão pois por humas entradas estreitas do ryo Euphrates, porquelle fez e Altissimo então com elles maravilhas, e deteve os correntes do ryo ate que passassem, porque por aquella região, era o caminhe muy largo de ano e meio, e chamase Arsareth.'

(*Translation by Janssen*, p. 87): 'Comme, d'une part, c'est la route de Tharsis, ou de Perse (autrefois Pharsis), route depuis longtemps la plus frequentée parmi les Scythes de la Sérique, que prirent les tribus d'Israël vers Arsareth après avoir traversé l'Euphrate, ainsi qu'il est dit dans Esdras, IV, 13, et comme, d'autre part, il fallait un an et demi pour parcourir cette route de Perse vers Arsareth, il est probable que c'est ce chemin qui fut suivi par Salomon puisqu'il mit trois ans pour accomplir son voyage, soit un an et demi pour l'aller et un an et demi pour le retour.

'Mais comme les vaisseaux de Salomon avaient chargé de l'or, des pierreries, d'excellents bois et d'autres richeses de la mer Gangétique, c'est ce commerce du Gange qui formait le chemin le plus direct des vaisseaux pour se rendre dans la Sérique, ainsi que daisent les Ecritures et Ptolémée.

'Quant à la situation d'Arsareth, dont parle Esdras, IV. 13, je n'entreprendrai pas de la déterminer. Cette ville fut fondée par dix tribus qui furent emmenées en captivité au temps du roi Osée que Salmanazar, roi des Assyriens, fit prisonnier. Celui- ci passa sur l'autre rive avec ces tribus et les transporta sur une autre terre. Ces tribus se déterminèrent à se séparer de la multitude des païens, et à s'en aller vers une autren région plus écartée, ou jamais l'homme n'avait habité, pour 7 observer la loi que, dans leur patrie, ils n'avaient pas respectée. Ils y

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Norte os Montes Naugracot. e da Barte do sul. Queximir. / e de Occidente a Persia. e de Oriente o Rio ganges. e Montanhas de cascar e Tebeth. / e da Parte do Norte tem .41. gr. 23. m. / e da parte do sul .32. gr. 6. m.

every sort, as is found between the Douro and Minho of Portugal. And on the side of the north, it has the Naugracot Mountains; and on the side of the south, Queximir; and on the west, Persia; and on the east, the River Ganges[1] and the Mountains of Tebeth; and on the north side, it has 41 degrees and 23 minutes; and on the south side, it has 32 degrees and 6 minutes.

## QUEXIMIR.

Este Reino postoque pequeno em ambito todauia he grande em riqueze Porque tem muitas Minas de ouro, de Prata, e de toda sorte de Metaes e Mineraes. nos Montes Prosonay. Mas os Naturaes naõ se aproueitaõ destas fertilissimas Minas por carecer de Mineros. e a terra quasi toda he Montuosa e aspera por todo ambito do Reino, e nos Vales tem muita frescura, e a terra cria toda sorte de gado Maior e menor. e produze todo genero de Mantimentos.

E por este Reino Queximir esta aberto caminho corrente, entre as serranîas de Thebeth pera a parte de lesueste descobriraõ o nouo Reino de SIM. Descoberto por minha industria por Via de Perigrinos que passaraõ de Indostan pera o

## QUEXIMIR.[2]

This Kingdom of Queximir, although small in circuit, is yet great in wealth; for it has many mines of gold and silver, and of every kind of metals and minerals in the Prosonay Mountains; but the Natives do not profit by these rich mines, for want of miners. And the country is almost entirely mountainous and rough, through the whole extent of the kingdom; and in the valleys it has great freshness; and the country breeds every kind of cattle, great and small; and it produces every kind of foodstuffs.

And by this Kingdom of Queximir there lies a frequented road, between the mountain ridges of Tebeth, to go to Cathay or Catâ; and continuing by the same road from Thebeth, in an east-south-east direction, they discovered the

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entrèrent par une des embouchures étroites de l'Euphrate, et Dieu fit alors pour eux un miracle en retenant les courants du fleuve jusqu'à ce qu'ils fussent passés. Ils firent ensuite sur le fleuve ur long voyage d'un an et demi et fondèrent Arsareth.'

[1] The Indus rather.

[2] Kashmir.

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Sim e Voltarao pera cambaya, o qual Reino he de Chinas, Mas gente de milhor forma e Philosomia. / tem Rei proprio Natural, e o Reino abundante de çedas e louça Almiscre, e toda sorte de dourados e brincos como da China. Mas Reino que se naõ comunica cõ os Reinos circunuesinhos e o

new Kingdom of SIM.[1] It was discovered through my industry, by means of pilgrims who went from Indostan to Sim and returned to Cambaya.[2] That kingdom is of Chinese, but has a people of better form and physiognomy. It has its own native king, and the kingdom abounds

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[1] Sim can be only China. The new kingdom of Sim appears to be some part of Tibet. I dare hardly propose Nepal, though beyond Nepal Hindustani would not have been understood except by merchants from India meeting Indian merchants settled down in those parts, as at Lhasa.

[2] Cp. with fol. 65r & v in Janssen's work: 'Tebet esta dividida em Tebet maior boreal e Tebet minor austral, e o caminho de Tebet pera o Cathay se faz com facilidade, por Indostan ou Mogor por via de Quiximir, donde se passa Alar e entre serranyas a Meiro, e por outros lugares ate o rio de Tebet Maior, e dahy por muytas povoacões ate Lassam, donde começa o destricto de Cathay por Tenduc ate Cambalo. E (*Fol.* 65v) do dito Tebet ha caminho pera Cottear ou Cottam e Sim, por via de Queximir, como manifestão os Indostanes que do Moger e Queximir passarão ao Cathay e Sim, e voltarão a Cambaya, no tempo da governação de Xech Abdoraen, governador daquelle estado no anno 1611.

*Marco Polo.*

'Antigamente o caminho pera o Cathay era por Turcastan e deserto de Lop, donde passavão a Tangut e dahi ao Cathay. E tambem o caminho era por o ditto Turcastan e Cascar ou Carcan ou Hircande e dahi a Tebet e ao Cathay: mas o caminho facil he por Indostan ou Mogor por Queximir e dahy por Tebet, Aranda, Cottan ate Cathay.'

(*Translation by Janssen*, p. 76): 'Tebet se divise en Tebet Majeure ou Boréale, et Tebet Mineure eu Australe. Le chemin de Tebet vers le Cathay se fait aisément par l'Hindoustan et Mogor, par voie de Quiximir. L'on passe à Alar puis à Meiro, entre des chaînes de montagnes et l'on gagne Tebet Majeure. Puis, traversant de nombreuses populations on atteint Lassam où commence le district du Cathay qui va de Tenduc à Cambalo.

'De Tebet, il y a également une route pour Cottear ou Cottam et Sim, par Quiximir, comme le renseignent les gens de l'Hindoustan qui, de Mogor et Quiximir passèrent au Cathay et à Sim et revinrent au Cambodge sous le gouvernement de Zech Abdoraen en 1611.'

Cambaia is not Cambodia, but Cambay in Gujarat.

'L'on avait donné le nom de Coc Sim ou Chine Majeure au pays de Coc Sim ou Cachinchine, qui était dépendant du Mansim, bien qu'il parût dépendre du Sim. Cette province de Sim, où se trouvaient des Chrétiens chaldéens et qui était inconnue jusqu'à ce que le descobridor en entendit parler, formela côté occidentale du Mansim. Jusqu'en 1611, quand fut découverte la province de Sim par la voie de l'Hindoustan, l' on ne comptait en Chine que les deux contrées désignées respectivement sous les noms de Mansim et de Cochin-chine.' (Janssen's Translation, p. 76.)

Godinho de Eredia says that the ancients divided China into Sim, or Chim, Mansim or Manchim, called Maior China, and Coc Sim or Cochim or Menor China. (64v) Among the five Kingdoms of Tenduc, he places, giving for reference Marco Polo: (1) Gog; (2) Magog, de lapis Azul; (3) Cindacui; (4) *Cranganor*; (5) Jendu, 'com montes Idiffa de pratta'. (65r).

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çitio he deffenssauel por ser çercado de Montes ao redor do Reino, de sorte que os Montes seruẽ de Muralha entre o Indostan e Mangin china. / e alem da experiẽçia dos Perigrinos: Tambem o declaraõ as Istorias do Indostan, e aquele Itinerario de Alexandre Magno chamado escander, escrito em letra Arabia na lingoa Persia e por cima de tudo faz Mençaõ deste Reino SIM. os concilios caldeos que estaõ nos (*Fol.* 81r) Archiuos do Arceb'-pado da Serra. ou Angamale antigamente sufraganeo ao Patriarcha de babilonia porqto. este Reino era pouoado de Christaos Nestorianos / e finalmente nossos escritores fazem mençaõ do Sim e Mangin e naõ declaraõ o citio do Sim. nem do Iendo e deue ser o Tenduc / e da parte do Norte tem cabul, e da parte do sul tẽ Purat. e da parte do occidente Persia. e da parte do Oriente tem os Montes de Tebeth. e de altura do Norte, tem na parte septẽtrional .40. gr. 16. m. / e no sul .31. gr. 50. m.

in silks, and earthenware,[1] almiscre,[2] and every kind of gilt articles and of pretty baubles like those of China; but it is a kingdom that does not communicate with the neighbouring kingdoms. And its position is defensible, as mountains surround the whole kingdom, so that the mountains serve like a wall between Indostan and Mangin China.[3] And, besides the experience of the pilgrims, the histories of Indostan also speak of it, and that Itinerary of Alexander the Great, called Escander, which is written in Arabic characters in the Persian tongue; and, above all, this kingdom of SIM is mentioned in the Chaldean Councils which are in the (*Fol.* 81r) Archives of the Archbishopric of the Serra or Angamale, which anciently was suffragan to the Patriarch of Babylon, because this kingdom was peopled with Nestorian Christians;[4] and, finally, our writers speak of Sim Mangin, and they do not explain the situation of Sim, nor of Iendo,[5]

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[1] *Louça* is dishes, plates, pots and other like ware. *Louça da India*= China-ware.

[2] Musk.

[3] A curious mixture of Mahāchīna and China.

[4] The Archives of the Archbishopric of the Serra (Mountains of Malabar) or Angamale did mention Bishops sent to China and Mahāchina, but the difficulty in Malabar about 1600 was to know where Mahāchina (Great China) was located.

[5] Manuel Godinho de Eredia here identifies Iendo with the Tenduc of Marco Polo, where there were Nestorian Christians. Cp. with Janssen (fol. 65v-66r): 'A Christandade do Cathay da India superior foi fundada por lo Apostolo S. Thome ou por seu discipolo no tempo do pontificado de Lino, anno 69 do nacimento de Christo nosso Salvador, e postoque os Argones Christaos estavão espalhados por todo Cathay, todavia os Consilios Caldeos, que se aeharão nos archivos do (*Fol.* 66r) Arcebispado da Serra ou Angalame, suffraganeos ao Patriarcha de Babilonia fazem menção dos Christãos de Jendu, chamado coruptamente Tenduc: e

*Consilio Chaldeo do Arch. da Serra.*

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E entre as serranias de Tebeth. and it must be the Tenduc. And on the side of the

tambem os dittos Consilios fazem menção dos Christãos de Sim pollos papeis que me aprezentou o mestre de Caldeos, o P. Juan Maria da Comp. a de Jesu, E alem desta informação affirma Marco Polo Veneto liv. 2. ser povoada de Christaós muyta parte do Athay e Mansim, porque o Mansim ou China era governada por governador christão chamado Marsarsis ou Marsalis: onde ædificeu igrejas no anno 1268: e no anno seguinte a requerimento de Coblay Tartaro, por ordem de P. P. Gregorio X, passarão de Roma ao Cathay 2 sacerdotes theologos de Ancona, chamados Nicolas e Guilhermo. E Garibay, na sua Istoria Pontifical, tratta de Fr. Anselmo com seus companheiros, religiosos da ordem dos Pregadores, que, por licença do P. P. Inocencio Vo. passarão a empreza do Cathay. E sobre esta Christandade escreve S. Antonino. E porque são terras do sertão septentrional, não temos muyta communicacão desta gente, somentes sabemos delles que entendem o Caldeo. E porisso he de crer foi muyto prospera aquella Christandade de Jendu do Cathay, e por Christãos valerosos e esforçados forao nomeados e mandados por Cublay Tartaro Emperador pera a conquista de Mansim, e foi conquistada por estes Christãos Alanos, como nota Marco Polo Veneto no lib. 2. cap. 62. E bem pode ser sejão estes os Alanos, que entrarão em Espanha no tempo de Arcadio e Honorio, primeiro que os Gôdos, anno 412, porquanto estes Alanos da entrada de Espanha erão da Scythia, e os Gôdôs da Gothia.'

*Marco Polo. Liv.* 2, *cap.* 6.

*Macro Polo, Lib.* 2, *cap.* 62.

(*Translation by Janssen*, p. 77): 'La religion chrétienne fut introduite dans l'Inde Supérieure, bu Cathay, par l'apôtre St. Thomas ou par ses disciples, sous le pontificat de Lin, en l'an 69 de l'ère chrétienne. Et non seulement dans tout le Cathay se trouvaient répandus de ces Argonautes chrétiens, mais encore les canons des conciles de Chaldée, qui se trouvaient dans les archives de l'Archevêché de Serra ou Angomale, suffragant du Patriarche de Babilone, font mention des chrétiens qui existaient à Iendu, ou par corruption Tenduc. Ces conciles parlent aussi des chrétiens de Sim. C'est ce dont j'ai pu me convaincre par l'examen des documents que m'a communiqué le maître des Caldéens, le père Jean Marie de la Compagnie de Jésus.

'En dehors de ces renseignements, nous trouvons dans Marco Polo, liv. II, cette affirmation que la plus grande partie de l'Attay et de Mansim était gouvernée par un chrétien appelé Marsaris ou Marsalis, que fit bâtir des églises en 1268. Et l'année suivante, à la demande du Tartare Coblay, par ordre du pape Grégoire X, deux théologiens d'Ancone appelés Nicolas et Guillaume se rendirent de Rome au Cathay.

'Garibay, de son côte dans son Histoire Pontificale, parle du frère Anselme et de ses compagnons qui, avec l'autorisation d'Innocent V, entreprirent le voyage du Cathay. St. Antonin parle également de cette crhétienté du Cathay.

'Nous n'avons pas du reste beaucoup de renseignements sur ces populations, parce qu'elles habitaient les terres situées à l'extrémité septentrionale de la contrée. Nous savons seulement qu'elles comprenaient le Chaldéen. (*Fol.* 78.)

'Il y a donc lieu de croire que cette contrée chrétienne était très prospère et que ses habitants étaient valeureux et forts. Car ce fut à eux que l'empereur Tartare Coblay s'adressa quand il voulut faire son expédition contre la Chine. Il les envoya conquérir cette province de Masim et Marco Polo, liv. II. ch. LXII, renseigne que cette contrée fut soumise par des chrétiens Alains.

'Il pourrait se faire que ce fussent des Alains, plutôt que des Goths, qui entrèrent en Espagne en 412, à l'epoque d'Arcadius et d'Honorius,

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Nagerserrin estaõ vales onde habitaõ gigantes de .12. pês de alto. e andaõ cubertos de Pelecamelo e trazem cabeca e barba rapada, e entendem a lingoagem do Indostan como me affirmou ch(um) Indostano que foi catiuo dos gigantes.

north, it has Cabul; and on the side of the south, it has Purat; and on the side of the west, Persia; and on the side of the east, it has the mountains of Tebeth; and, being in the northern altitude, it has in the northern part 40 degrees and 16 minutes,[1] and in the southern part 31 degrees and 50 minutes.

And between the mountain ridges of Tebeth and the mountain ridges of Nagerserrin[2] are valleys where live

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car ces peuplades qui firent invasion en Espagne venaient de la Scythie, tandis que les Goths sont originaires de la Gothie.'

Tripule's *Cathay*, I find no references to the Missionaries, Nicholas, William, and Ansdon and his companions.

Elsewhere Godinho states (Fol. 65) that the capital of Capiom in China flourished at the time of the idolatrous Monarchs who preceded Preste Juan, 'e depois se passou aquella corte de Campion pera Jendu ou Tenduc no oriente na parte Serica, quando se fundou aquella Christandade de S. Thome, de que se acharão reliquias como hum calçado ou sappatos do ditto apostolo, que os naturaes tem em muyta veneração' (and afterwards that court of Campion passed over to Jendu or Tenduc in the east in the Serica part, when was founded that Christianity of St. Thomas, of whom were found relics, as a shoe or slippers of the said apostle, which hold in the natives great veneration).

That tell-tale shoe of St. Thomas is a good proof that the Chinese still venerate St. Thomas in the shape of a traveller Saint carrying over his shoulder a staff, from the end of which hangs a sandal. His name is Tamo. Mylapore and Malabar had kept the story of St. Thomas' traveller's staff; China, we now find, had stories about St. Thomas' staff and his sandal. Stories of the sandal will be found also in the Hindu books.

Again Godinho says of the Christians in China: (*Fol.* 64r): 'E pera declaração destas provicias (of Cathay), he de notar que na

*Consilio Chaldeo.* provincia Tenduc ou Jendu governava aquelle Preste Juan da India, Monarcha Christam baptizado pollo apostolo S. Thome ou por seu discipolo puasi no tempo do pontificado de Lino anno 69, quando Espanha estava despovoada por secca, o qual monarcha por armas senhoreou os Indoscthas da India superior, chamada a Serica ate a anno 1167, no pontificado de Gregoria 8o. no tempo de Dom Affonso Enrrique 1o.

*Garibai Chronica.* Rey de Portugal: no qual tempo os Tartaros da (Fol. 64v) Provincia de Tartar da Cidade de Coromoran, gentes estrangeiras e mais septentrionaes, elegerão por Rey a hum Chinchis, o qual vendose em grande magestade prettendeo senhorear o mundo, e começou com arrogancia formar guerras contra seu senhor Joan Can ou Huncan, successor do Preste Juan, de quem em guerras teve vittorias com que o ditto Chinchis senhoreou aquelle antigo imperio de Jendu ou Tenduc e fez tributario o Cathay e quasi toda India superior.'

[1] This makes Kashmir reach too far north.

[2] As either Khatmandu or Bhatgaon, adjacent towns in Nepal, was called Nagar (the town), the Nagerserrin Mountains seem to be the

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giants 12 feet high, and they go covered with camel-skins, and they shave their head and their beard, and they understand the language of Indostan, as was asserted to me by an Indostano who was a prisoner of the giants.

## BENGALA.

O Reino de bengala esta cituado no Tropico de cancro em .23 .gr. 30. m. e tem da parte do Norte Patanes. cocho: e a Prouincia incognita de gentes mostruosa(s) porque no sertaõ se acha hũ Mar Mediterraneo ou laguna grande, em que esta plantada a Il(ha) chamada Zanzi. de ambito de 10. legoas. pouoada de 3. cores de gente branca, More (na e) preta com Azas e Voão pouco a pou(co) na face da terra: como o declara o Itinerario de Alexandre Magno em Persio de letra Arabia.

E nos Vales dos montes Imaus ou Naugracot. em certas Ilhas daq'las lagunas habitão gentes de varia forma de Mõstros. como gente de hũ pẽ. e outros de orelhas grandes na Ilha Azus. e outros de rosto no peito, na

## BENGALA.

The Kingdom of Bengala is situated in the Tropic of Cancer, in 23 degrees and 30 minutes. And on the north side, it has Patanes,[1] Cocho,[2] and the unknown province of monstrous people; for inland is found a mediterranean sea or great lagoon in which is situated the Zanzi Island,[3] 10 leagues in circuit, and inhabited by people of three complexions, white, swarthy, and black;[4] and they have wings and fly gently[5] above the ground, as is declared in the Itinerary of Alexander the Great, written in Persian in the Arabic character.

And in the valleys of the Imaus or Naugracot Mountains, in certain islands of those lagoons live people with various monstrous forms: like the people with one foot, and others with long ears in the island Azus; and others with

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mountains separating Nepal from Hindustan. One would, however, suppose that the giants were placed in Tibet rather than in Nepal, as the Tibetans are taller and stronger than the Nepalese.

[1] Patna. [2] Cooch Behar.

[3] Is not this Lake Palte near Gyantze (=Zanzi ?) ?

[4] Godinho has a chapter on white, brown and black people in South India, by which he understands parts of Australasia. (Cf. Janssen, fol. 54r and v.)

[5] One of the meanings of *pouco a pouco* is 'softly'. Perhaps, some religious dance in which the dancers wore wings and appeared to hover above ground, led to the notion of wingal beings flying.

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Ilha bartil. e outros de cabeca de caõ na Ilha Atouara. e outros de cabeça de Elephante na Ilha gaeza. e outros de cabeça de Peixe na Ilha ratem. e os Pigmeos de 4. Palmos de alto gente como chinas Vermelhos e cabeludos despidos na Ilha Amani. e os Pigmeos Negros de hũ couado de alto comedores de carne humana ou Antropofagas da Ilha Sarao, e postoque pareça fabula todauia Alem de o certificar Plinio na sua Istoria Natural do Liuro .7.º tambem o declaraõ as istorias do Indostan de antiguidades e outros escritos da Persia, sobre esta Materia, e eu conheci hũ Indostano quevio homẽ de hũ pê no sertão. e outra pessoa achei q' vio homẽ de orelhas grandes. (*Fol.* 81v.)

Alem do camarû de bengala

their face on their breast in the island Bartil; and others with a dog's head in the island Atouara; and others with an elephant's head in the island Gaeza; and others with the head of a fish in the island Ratem; and the Pigmies, four palms high, people like the Chinese, red, and hairy, and naked, in the island Amani; and the black Pigmies, one ell high, who are eaters of human flesh, or anthropophagi, in the island Sarao; and, though it appears fabulous, yet not only does Pliny assert this in the 7th Book of his Natural History, but the histories of Indostan on antiquities declare the same, as also other writings of Persia on this matter. And I knew an Indostano who saw a man with one foot in the inland parts, and I met another person who saw a man with long ears.[1] Besides the camarù[2] of Bengala, (there is):

## O SIND.

O Sindi ou Indi he aq'lo Reino chamado Nager Terra plantada no Tropico de cancro em .23. gr. 30. m. / e tem na parte do Norte candahar, cabul. E no sul tem o Mar da India. / E no occidente a Persia e coracone. chamado polos Naturaes Iran. / e da

## SIND.

Sindi or Indi is that kingdom which is called Nager,[3] a country situated in the Tropic of Cancer, in 23 degrees and 30 minutes. And on the north side, it has Candahar, (and) Cabul; and on the south side, it has the Sea of India; and on the west side, Persia and

[1] The remarkable thing for the man with one leg would have been if he ran as fast as a horse and used his foot as a parasol when lying down. Again, there was nothing remarkable about the man with the long ears unless he could wrap himself up in them as in a blanket.

[2] Not identified; perhaps *comarca* (Port.): a subdivision of a province; district. (Camarū is Kāwarū, Kāmarū or Kāma-rūpa= Western Assam adjoining Bengal.)

[3] Thus called, perhaps, from Nagar Parkar, in the Thar and Parkar District.

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parte occidental o gozarate. aqu em initaõ em na tudo na secta Idolatra serimonias e Vestiaria e exercicios e nas mais obres. / E naõ trato largamẽte destas Materias porque minha pretençaõ naõ he mais que escreuer sobre o pertẽcẽte a cosmographia.

Laus Deo Opt. Max.o.

(*In another writing, on this page*): Descripçam do Indostan e Guzarate.

Coraçone, which by the Natives is called Iran; and on the west (*read*: east) side it has Gozarate, which they imitate in everything, in the idolatrous sect, ceremonies, dress, occupations and all other things. And I do not speak at length of these matters, as my object is to write only of what appertains to cosmography.

Praise to God, the Good and Great.

(*In another writing*): Description of Indostan and Guzarate.

## A NOTE ON MANOEL GODINHO DE EREDIA AND A 'CHRONICA DE GOZARATH'.

Sir E. Denison Ross wrote to me on January 1, 1930, from the School of Oriental Studies, London: 'I am much interested to hear of your Portuguese description of Gujarat by Godinho. I expect you have already seen the elaborate index I printed with the last volume of my Arabic History of Gujarat; this may possibly be of use for your notes, especially as it is exactly contemporary. I am myself working at a very interesting Portuguese MS., copied for me in Lisbon, describing the early life of Sultan Bahadur; it is, unfortunately, anonymous and often difficult to understand, owing to the bad spelling and total absence of stops or capitals. Perhaps, if I sent you further details, you might be able to identify the writer.'

I had little hope of being able to identify the author of Sir E. Denison Ross' MS. However, in February, 1930, while, at St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, I examined for my own purposes Godinho de Eredia's *Declaraçam de Malaca*, published by Léon Janssen, I found marginally at fol. 75v a reference to a 'Chronica de Gozarath'. A passage (*ibid.*) appears to have been extracted from it: 'E aquelles Baneanes de 12 familias se recolherão no Gozarate e no Metropoli Tanna de Bombayn: como se mostra naquelles grandes e sumptuosos aedificios de pagodes.' The names of these 12 families of Baneanes are enumerated in my own MS. by Godinho, at fol. 78v. Accordingly, I am led to think that much else in my MS. (Fol. 78r–78v) may have been derived from the same *Chronica de Gozarath*, among other things the name of the first king of Gujarat, *i.e.* Vinjalmete or Qadaxim, and the list of the Muhammadan kings of Gujarat.

At fol. 75v of Godinho's *Declaraçam de Malaca* there is also a marginal reference to a *Chronica da Persia* and *Chronica*

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*Persiana*. In another place of the same work I remember there was also a reference to a Persian history of Alexander the Great, but I did not note the page. There is a similar reference in my MS. as also to histories of Hindostan (fols. 80v, 81r).

On my arrival in Darjeeling on March 1, 1930, I found more information on the *Chronica de Gozarath* in a MS. work by Miss Ethel M. Pope: 'India in Portuguese Literature.' The title-page showed that she had in preparation a translation of *Chronica de Guzarate*, 'a Portuguese MS. of the 16th Century'. At p. 127 she writes:—

'While in Lisbon we saw a most interesting manuscript called: *Chronica geral dos successos do Reino de Guzarat em Cambaya depos do morte do Soltao Modafar*', 4 vols.,[1] (General Chronicle of the events of the Kingdom of Guzarat in Cambay after the death of the Sultan Modafar), 3 vols.,[2] whose copy we made and intend to publish in English in the near future. It is an anonymous work and without date, but has the characteristics of a manuscript of the sixteenth century.

'It begins with this summary: This book contains three matters quite distinctive. The first volume which contains 41 folios is a general chronicle of the events of the Kingdom of Guzarat which is called Cambaia. The second begins with a general description of all the coasts, islands and kingdoms of India, beginning with the Red Sea and extending as far as China, pointing out particularly the peculiarities of the customs and religions of the inhabitants and the commerce and trades which are in each. The third is the Trojan chronicle which was translated from Latin into Portuguese by Guido de Culuna, a fabulous work which treats of ancient time up till the loss of Troy. The Trojan Chronicle was separated from this volume.

'There are now 7 folios missing, 41–47.'[3]

As Miss Pope and Sir E. Denison Ross might have been working at the same MS. without having heard of each other's doings, I informed Miss Pope on March 10, 1930, of the coincidence and advised her to get into touch with Sir E. Denison Ross.

From her description of the second volume of the MSS. it now seems to me that, as Godinho de Eredia refers in his *Descripçam de Malaca* to a *Chronica de Gozarath*, which I have reason to think he used for his 'Discourse on Indostan and Guzarate', he might be the author of the treatise bound up with Miss Pope's *Chronica de Guzarat*, *i.e.* of 'a general description of all the coasts and islands and kingdoms of India, beginning with the Red Sea and extending as far as China'. His MS.

[1] *Sic.*—In his 'Discourse on Indostan and Guzarate' (fol. 78v) Godinho writes 'Mazafar', and enumerates three of the name.

[2] *Sic.*

[3] In which of the 3 or 4 volumes are these folios missing?

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'Discourse on Indostan and Guzarate', prepared by me for publication, was perhaps part of a more comprehensive treatise, the two forming, with his Description of Malaca, South India and Cathay, a complete geography of all the eastern parts known to him.

Though Godinho de Eredia refers to a Chronicle of Gujarat, it does not follow that he is the author or translator of it. Such a Chronicle may have been written or translated long before him. The same for the Persian Chronicle or Chronicle of Persia, and the History in Persian of Alexander the Great to which he also alludes.

What do the Portuguese and Spanish bibliographers know of Godinho de Eredia, or of a Chronicle of Gujarat, a Persian Chronicle and the Persian History of Alexander the Great? Away from libraries, I shall suggest that a search be made in the first instance in Leon Pinelo's *Epitome de la Bibliotheca Oriental y Occidental, nautica y geographica*, 3 volumes, of which a copy exists in the Goethals Indian Library, St. Xavier's College, 30 Park Street, Calcutta.

Writing to me on February 27, 1930, Sir E. Denison Ross says: 'I have discovered some clue to the author of the Lisbon MS. dealing with ten years of the reign of Sultan Bahadur. I think he is Diogo de Mesquita, who wrote an account of his captivity which has not indeed come down to us, but from which Correa derived materials for his history.'

Similarities between Correa and the MS. now used by Sir E. Denison Ross may go far to establish the authorship of that MS. and attribute it to Diogo de Mesquita. Sir E. Denison Ross may be able to do that. I cannot now here compare Correa with my own MS. Miss Pope writes that João de Barros (1496–1570), though working in Lisbon, had a description of Gujarat and its history. He sent for the chronicles of the kingdoms of the East. In Dec. I, Bk. 9, ch. 3, he quotes one of the religious books of the Malabarese on their history. He also had chronicles of the kings of Gujarat, Vijayanagar and the Deccan. On those of Gujarat, see Dec. IV, Bk. 5. 'A little further' (Miss Pope) he says he took some things from the Persian Chronicles. For the History of the Moghuls he drew on Persian documents (Dec. IV, ch. 1). He notes that the Muslims of Gujarat and the Chronicles of the Deccan and those of Vijayanagar differ among themselves on the coming of the Muslims to India (Dec. II, Bk. 5, ch. 2). My references are from Miss Pope's MS., pp. 63, 67, 68. A search in do Couto may reveal what oriental sources he had at his disposal. The same for Castanheda. These authorities are not now within my reach.

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Article No. 24.

# Letters and other Papers of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., a Missionary in Tibet (1713-21).

*Edited and translated*

By the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.

In 1904, I made for the first time the acquaintance of Father Carlos Sommervogel's *Bibliotheque de la Compagnie de Jésus*. The article on Fr. Ippolite Desideri, a Jesuit Missionary in Tibet, drew my attention especially (cf. Vol. II, coll. 1963-64; Vol. IX, coll. 204-205). And well it might, for Kurseong and Darjeeling are at the very gates of that Forbidden Land, whose mysteries act as a spell on so many inquisitive minds.

One of the MS. letters of Desideri (Agra, Aug. 21, 1714) was said to be in the Stonyhurst College Library. When appealed to, one of our Belgian Scholastics, then at Stonyhurst, the Rev. Fr. J. Van Neste (now very worthy Professor of Chemistry at St. Xavier's College, Calcutta) was kind enough to copy the letter, an Italian one, for me. His letter of October 23, 1904, says that he had copied half of it already and that the complete transcript would be sent off in a week. The Stonyhurst College Library possessed nothing else of Desideri's. The transcript duly reached me shortly after. Somehow, I delayed the translation till the beginning of my stay in Calcutta (1909 or 1910).

I had by then acquired a fair knowledge of Desideri's special circumstances in Tibet, chiefly through Carlo Puini's *Il Tibet (Geografia, Storia, Religione, Costumi) secondo la relazione del Viaggio del P. Ippolito Desideri* (1715–21), Roma, Presso la Società Geografica Italiana, 102, Via del Plebiscito, 1904. The whereabouts of the original MS. had long puzzled our bibliographers. Now that we have it in print, it is very tempting to undertake the translation of it. In fact, I have made the translation of Desideri's text at pp. 11–264 (338–383, in Puini), but Puini has so completely disturbed the order of the manuscript that, unless one be willing to follow his own order and include all his comments, there is no means of publishing the translation. Moreover, we know Puini has omitted from the Relation whatever did not refer to Tibet, whereas the Relation has considerable

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*Editorial Note:* This paper was received in 1930 but for various reasons it remained unattended before the death of the author. It is now published in its original form, and Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the Philological Secretary, has revised the proofs.—*B. G.*



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portions on Desideri's journey to India before his expedition to Tibet, and on his stay in India, after that expedition. Not only that, but the Society of Jesus, as we see from the work of Father Charles Wessels, S.J., *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia* (1603–1721), The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1924, pp. 275–281, still possesses what appears to be a better MS. of the same Relation (MS. A.), and another one, apparently a rough draft, which contains many sections not utilized, or not fully utilized by the author in the Relation of his journeys (MS. A.). It is entitled *Notizie istoriche*. To publish a translation of the text as we find it in Puini will never be satisfactory. All the available texts should be obtained first, after which that text should be selected for translation which is found to be the most complete, the other texts serving only by way of comment; to this should then be added all portions in the other manuscripts which are not yet represented.

Professor Puini, in addition to the MS. *Relazione* now in the Biblioteca Magliabecchiana of Florence, which, as we said, he edited in a very unsatisfactory manner, published 5 letters of Desideri's, four of which, though printed in the 18th century, were practically unknown or inaccessible.

These are:

1. A letter to the General of the Society of Jesus, Leh (Ladakh), Aug. 5, 1715.
2. A letter to the same, Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717.
3. A letter to Fr. Felice of Montecchio, a Capuchin at Patna, dated Takpo (Tibet), March 12, 1718.
4. A letter to the same, Trong-gnê (Tibet), Aug. 4, 1718.
5. A short letter to the Pope, Kutti (Tibet), Sept. 21, 1721.

This last, it seems, appeared in *La Rivista Europea*, July 1876, p. 293 (cf. Sommervogel, Vol. IX, No. 9); but Puini (*Il Tibet*, pp. XLII, 360 n. 1) speaks of it as a MS. letter in the Propaganda Library.

Desideri's *Avvertimenti a' Missionari Viaggiatori nel Tibet* appeared in the *La Rivista Europea*, June, July 1876. Cf. Sommervogel, Vol. IX, No. 6. This I have not seen.

The first four letters mentioned above under Nos. 1–4 are said by Puini to have been taken from the *Sommario* of the case between the Capuchins and the Jesuits for priority in Tibet. Cf. Puini, *op. cit.*, XLII, 19 n. 6, 360 n. 1. This *Sommario* appears to be distinct from Father Desideri's three *Difesa* against Father Felice of Montecchio, printed at Rome in 1728, and from Fr. Felice of Montecchio's own statements on the case.

Puini states (p. XLII) that he had another MS., a relation to the Holy Father by Desideri, dated Febr. 13, 1717 (no doubt from Lhasa) about Desideri's entrance into Thibet and his

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remaining there. This MS. is shown to be in the Propaganda Library, but we do not find it published in Puini's *Il Tibet*.

Carlo Puini also wrote an article: *Di alcune lettere inedite o ignorate del P. Ippolito Desideri da C. di G., Missionario nel Tibet*, published in *Lavori presentati al Professore Marinelli nel venticinquesimo anniversario delle sue nozze*, Firenze, tip. M. Ricci, 1895, 8vo., pp. III–104. Cf. *Moniteur Bibliographique de la C. de J.*, fasc. XIII, 1895 (*Rédaction des Études*, 1896, April), or Sommervogel, Vol. XI, col. 205, No. 8. A friend, whose name I have now forgotten, was good enough to send me a copy of that article, and I shall add it to these pages, with a translation.

I am myself now in possession of a certain number of rotographic facsimiles of autograph letters by Fr. Desideri. They are all addressed to the General of the Society:—

(*a*) Goa, Nov. 12, 1713; 1 p.
(*b*) Goa, Nov. 15, 1713; *do.*
(*c*) Surat, Dec. 30, 1713; 2 pp. f'scap.
(*d*) Delhi, Sept. 20, 1714; 2 pp.
(*e*) Lhasa, Dec. 21, 1719; 1 p.
(*f*) Kutti, Sept. 21, 1721; 1 p. f'scap; very small writing.
(*g*) Kutti, Oct. 5, 1721; 1 p.

All these letters (*a–g*) are in the possession of the Society of Jesus in Europe. From the same source I have a letter from Fr. Giuseppe Antonio Martinetti, S.J., Damão, Nov. 29, 1713, to the General of the Society of Jesus (3 pp., autograph), in which there is question of Tibet, and Martinetti's asking to return to Europe.

All these papers (*a–g*), except one, come from *Goana: Epistolae* 1569–1742, Goa. 9: Desideri's letter (*c*) of Surat, Dec. 30, 1713, is marked 'Prov. Goan.'.

In 1911, my friend Fr. Wessels anticipated me by publishing in the original Italian the MS. letter copied for me at Stonyhurst in 1904. It appeared at pp. 30–39 of *Atti e Memorie del Convegno di Geografi Orientalisti tenuto in Macerata il* 25, 26, 27 *Settembro* 1910, Macerata, Premiato Stabilimento Tipografico Avv. F. Giorgetti, 1911, in 8vo (24×17), pp. LVIII–187, in Onoranze Nazionali al P. Matteo Ricci, Apostolo e Geografo della Cina, 1610—1910-11. Cf. *Moniteur Bibliographique de la C. de J.*, 1912, No. 3280. I have no copy of the work, but Fr. Wessels was kind enough to send me on Oct. 26, 1912, a type-written copy of the Stonyhurst letter published by him. This copy presents a number of discrepancies from the text supplied me in 1904 by Father Van Neste. Having myself handled a number of Desideri's autograph letters, I judge that Fr. Neste's copy is the more faithful of the two. Accordingly, I shall add his transcript to this collection.

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There is yet another letter of Desideri's which I include here. It was for long the only one known to the learned world the well-known letter (Lhasa, April, 10, 1716) to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi published in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (150 recueil, 1781, pp. 183–208; edn. 1843, t. II. pp. 531–555). We publish it again below from C. Markham's *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet*, 2nd edn., London, 1879, pp. 302–308, Markham having taken it himself, perhaps, from Astley's *Collection of Voyages*, Vol. IV, together with his account of *Travels of Johann Grueber, Jesuit* (pp. 295–302). We have, however, retouched Markham's text.

Besides these letters, there is one dated February 13, 1717, in Father Zaccaria's *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis*, pp. 185-186, it is not addressed to the Pope, and is therefore not the letter of the same date, addressed to the Pope, which Puini (*Il Tibet*, p. XLII) says exists in MS. in the Propaganda Library, but did not publish. Cf. our notes *supra*.

I have not seen Fr. Desideri's three *Difesa della Compagnia di Giesù . . . contro le scritture del R.P.F. Felice da Montecchio, Cappucino*, printed all three at Rome, in 1728 (4to, pp. 18, 31, 19; cf. Sommervogel, Vol. II), at least two of which are still in the possession of the Society of Jesus.

My notes also show the following in the possession of the Society of Jesus, all of which, but for want of funds, might by now have been in my collection :—

1. Di 13 scritture de P. F. Felice de Montecchio con risposte alla Cong. di Prop.
2. Descriptio itineris in Tibet a P. Desideri.

Varia: Dominicus a Fano, O. Cap., 15/I 665; 28/W 98; 3/I 718; Appello al Papa, 1721.—1719 16/I Roma; 54 pp. fol. de decr. S. Congreg., 1718.—(Our collection shows Desideri's *Appello al Papa* of Sept. 21, 1721; but he wrote another in January 1721. Is the date 1718 correct, or should it be 1728?)

3. Fel. de Montecchio all' Eminentissimi d.l. Prop. contra Patrem Desideri.
4. 1719 16/I Roma: P. Tamburini Patri Desideri, ut statim relinquat Tibet. This will appear in the present collection.
5. 1723. Accounts of the Father Procurator.
6. 1724 16/I, Eutropio de Saumur, O. Cap., Patri Desideri.
7. 1728. Difess Il d.l. Comp. contro Fel. da Montecchio alla S. Congreg.
8. 1728 30/VIII. Ant. Milesius, Refl. de difesa della Comp. per P. Desideri.
9. Difesa R. Desideri quia non prompte Thibet reliquit.
10. 1730 3/XI, Genova, P. Tambini, S.J., Proc. delle Indie, testimonium pro Desideri.
11. 1732. Missio Tibetana privative Capucinis tradita (a small note, without date, place or name. I have this and publish it below).

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It will be seen from all this that neither Puini nor Fr. Wessels has exhausted the subject of Desideri's travels and stay in Tibet, and of his activities after his return to Italy. We too shall have to leave untouched on this occasion the better and greater part of Desideri's writings.

We may also warn the reader here that a large number of Desideri's letters either never reached their destination, or, if they did, they remain to be discovered. Fewer were lost than he himself imagined while in Tibet. The letters sent to the College of Agra are probably lost for ever; but those addressed to the Provincial of Goa, not a few of which must have reached the addressee, must be hiding among the Archives of the Provincial of Goa, where these are now scattered. The greater part of these Archives ought to be now in Portugal. We have also evidence in the extant letters that Desideri wrote valuable letters not only to his Superiors in Rome and Goa, but to his friends in the Society of Jesus, both in India and Italy. Of these, however, we possess only two, one written to Ildebrando Grassi, Lhasa, Apr. 10, 1716, and another to Fr. Piccolomini, Agra, Aug. 21, 1714.

The documents now published comprise:—

(1) Letter of Desideri, Goa, Nov. 12, 1713, to the General.

(2) Letter of Desideri, Goa, Nov. 15, 1713, to the General.

(3) Letter of Fr. Giuseppe Antonio Martinetti, Damão, Nov. 29, 1713, to the General.

(4) Letter of Desideri, Surat, Dec. 30, 1713, to the General.

(5) Letter of Desideri, Agra, Aug. 21, 1714, to Fr. Piccolomini, in Italy.

(6) Letter of Desideri, Delhi, Sept. 20, 1714, to the General.

(7) Letter of Desideri, Leh (Ladakh), Aug. 5, 1715, to the General.

(8) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, Apr. 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi, a Missionary in India.

(9) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717, to the General.

(10) Letter of Desideri, Takpo (Tibet), March 12, 1718, to Fr. Felice of Montecchio, Capuchin (Patna).

(11) Letter of Desideri, Takpo (Tibet), Aug. 4, 1718, to the same.

(12) Decree of the Propaganda (Rome, Dec. 12, 1718) to the General of the Society of Jesus, telling him to recall Fr. Desideri from Tibet.

(13) Letter from the General (Rome, January 16, 1719) to Fr. Desideri, recalling him to Rome.

(14) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, Dec. 21, 1719, to the General.

(15) Letter of Desideri, Kutti (Tibet), Sept. 21, 1721, to the General.

(16) Letter of Desideri, Kutti (Tibet), Sept. 21, 1721, to the Pope.

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(17) Letter of Desideri, Kutti (Tibet), Oct. 5, 1721, to the General.

(18) 1732. The Mission of Tibet is assigned to the Capuchins.

Our collection of Desideri letters comprises all those which Fr. Wessels refers to at p. 274 of his work.

We add:—

(19) Desideri on the political events in Tibet (1707–21). Cf. Puini, *Il Tibet*, pp. 338–350.

(20) Desideri's dates in Puini and in our letters.

(21) An article on Fr. Desideri by Prof. Carlo Puini (1895).

(22) Desideri's *Notizie istoriche* and other Italian writings noticed by Fr. C. Wessels.

(23) The Desideri's MS. used by Puini.

(24) Two specimens of Desideri's Tibetan writings.

(25) Bibliographical notes from Carlos Sommervogel, S.J.

We add five documents which reached us after the above materials had been fully dealt with.

(26) Letter of Fr. Francis Borgia Koch, S.J., to Fr. Anthony Mordax, S.J., Vienna (Goa, 1706). In reality the letter must be of 1709.

(27) Fr. Francis Anthony Zaccaria, S.J., on Fr. Desideri, including a letter from Lhasa, Febr. 13, 1717.

(28) Letter of Desideri to Pope Clement XI (Lhasa, Febr. 13, 1717).

(29) The case of Fr. Ippolito Desideri as represented to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda by Fr. Felice da Montecchio, Capuchin, in *Sommario A*. (1728).

(30) Letter of the Viceroy Court de s. Vicente to the King of Nepal (Goa, Febr. 23, 1667).

The following correspondence is alluded to in the letters we publish below:—

(1) Letter of the General, Rome, July 6, 1709, commending to the Superiors at Goa the reopening of the Tibet Mission. Cf. No. 2.

(2) Letter of the General, Rome, March 21 (22?), 1711, to Fr. Giuseppe Antonio Martinetti, India, received by him in March 1713. Cf. No. 3.

(3) Letter of Fr. Giuseppe Antonio Martinetti, Surat, April 1713, to the General. Cf. No. 3.

(4) Letter of the Provincial of Goa, 1713 (?), to Fr. Desideri telling him to stay at Agra. Received at Delhi after May 11, 1713. Cf. Nos. 5 and 6.

(5) Letter of Desideri, Goa, 1713, to Fr. Piccolomini, Italy. Cf. No. 5.

(6) Letter of Fr. Desideri, Surat, beginning of 1714, to Fr. Piccolomini. Cf. No. 5.

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(7) Letter of Desideri (before his departure from Surat on April 26, 1714) to the Provincial of Goa, asking for a companion to Tibet. Cf. No. 5.

(8) Letter of the Provincial of Goa to the above, which must have been received by Desideri before his leaving Surat on April 26, 1714. Cf. No. 5.

(9) Letters-patent of Fr. Joseph da Sylva, Visitor of Mogor, Delhi (?), Aug. 15 (?), 1714, to Desideri, allowing him to go to Tibet. Cf. No. 5.

(10) Letter of Fr. Manoel Freyre, Delhi, to Fr. Desideri, Agra, who received it on Aug. 17, 1714, at Agra; telling him he is ready to start with him for Tibet. Cf. No. 5.

(11*a*) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, end of July, 1716, to the General (*via* Goa and Portugal), on his journey up to Lhasa and his staying there. Cf. No. 9.

(11*b*) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, end of July, 1716, to the same unknown correspondent to whom he wrote from Lhasa, Febr. 13, 1717. Cf. the letter published by Fr. Zaccaria (our No. 26).

(12) Letter of Fr. Dominic of Fano, Capuchin, from Nepal, before leaving Nepal (Aug. 4, 1716) for Lhasa, where he arrived on Oct. 1, 1716; asking the Propaganda what is to be done by the Capuchins, since Desideri went to Lhasa during the absence of the Capuchins and is there now. Cf. No. 9.

(13) Two Decrees of Propaganda, one of March 1, 1717, another of Sept. 20, 1717, enjoining on the General of the Society to abandon the Missions of Tibet. Cf. No. 12.

(14) A letter or note from the Capuchins announcing to Desideri their forthcoming arrival at Lhasa. Cf. No. 9.

(15) Several letters of Desideri, Lhasa, between Oct. 1, 1716, and Febr. 15, 1717, to the Provincial of Goa. Cf. No. 9.

(16) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, to the Pope, enclosed with his letter to the General, Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717. Cf. Nos. 9 and 15. This must be the letter of Febr. 13, 1717, to the Pope, which, according to the article by Carlo Puini, published below, is in the *Carte referite delle Indie Orientali e Cina*, under that date (Library of the Propaganda).

(17) Letter of the Pope (Rome, Jan. 6, 1714) to the King of Tibet, translated by Desideri into Tibetan and presented to the King on Dec. 4, 1716. Cf. No. 9.

(18) Eleven letters of Desideri, Lhasa, between the middle of April 1716 to Febr. 15, 1717, to the Provincial of Goa and the Rector of Agra. Cf. No. 9. Some of these must have reached their destination, since Desideri's companion, Fr. Manoel Freyre, returned to Mogor shortly after reaching Lhasa, and since we have the letter which Desideri addressed from Lhasa, on Apr. 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi.

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(19) Letter from Goa to Desideri, saying that in Nov. 1717 Jesuit Fathers will be sent to Tibet. This reached Desideri in Tibet. Cf. his letter of March 12, 1718 (No. 10).

(20) Letter of Desideri, Takpo, enclosed in his letter from Takpo, March 12, 1718, to Fr. Felice of Montecchio, Patna; to be remitted to the Jesuits coming to Tibet on their arrival at Patna. Cf. No. 10.

(21) Letter of Fr. Felice of Montecchio, Patna, Dec. 23, 1717, to Desideri, which Desideri received in July 1718, and answered from Takpo on Aug. 4, 1718. Cf. No. 11.

(22) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, beginning of June 1717, to the Jesuit Provincial of China, to be forwarded by the Chinese envoys then at Lhasa; in duplicate. Cf. No. 11.

(23) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, beginning of June 1717, to Fr. Ludovico Gonzaga, China, to be forwarded by the Chinese envoys then at Lhasa; in duplicate. Cf. No. 11.

(24) Letter of the Provincial of Goa, appointing Desideri Superior of the Jesuit Mission in Tibet. Cf. his letter of Lhasa, Dec. 21, 1719 (No. 14).

(25) Appeal by Desideri to the Pope and the S. Congregation of Propaganda, both enclosed in his letter of Lhasa, Dec. 21, 1719, to the General. Cf. No. 14. A copy is enclosed for the Pope and one for the General.

(26) Decree of Propaganda (Rome, Dec. 12, 1718), seen by Desideri at Lhasa between April 14, 1721, when he arrived from Takpo at Lhasa, and April 28, 1721, when he left Lhasa for Nepal. Cf. No. 15. Already in his letter of Lhasa, Dec. 21, 1719, Desideri refers to a similar decree or news about it as having been received by the Capuchins. Cf. No. 14.

(27) Letter of the General (Rome, Jan. 16, 1719) to Desideri, recalling him from Tibet. This was transmitted to Desideri by the S. Congregation of Propaganda through the Capuchins and was received by Desideri at Takpo in January 1721. (Cf. No. 15.) The letter of the General mentions an order sent by the General to the Provincial of Goa in 1718, and recalling Desideri from Tibet. This was not received by Desideri. Cf. No. 15.

The letter of the General (16.1.1719) mentions a letter by the General, 1719, to the Provincial of Goa and to Desideri, sent via Lisbon by the Goa ships, and recalling Desideri from Tibet, and a similar order to Desideri sent by another route. Desideri received only the letter of January (16.?), 1719.

(28) Letter of Desideri, (Takpo), Jan. 1721, to the General and other letters of the same date. Cf. No. 15.

(29) Letters of Desideri, Takpo, January 1721, to the Pope, the Propaganda and the General. Cf. No. 15 (end).

(30) Not many letters, but very many letters, by Desideri, sent from Tibet to the General in 1716–21. Cf. No. 15.

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(31) Letters received by Desideri in Tibet (1716–21): from friends in Italy, i.e. from Fr. John Baptist Conti (several times), Fr. Galuzzi, Fr. Corsoni, Master Silvestri, and others not mentioned. Cf. No. 15.

(32) Letter of the General in answer to Desideri's letter (2 letters ?) from Goa, Nov. 12 and 15, 1713, received by Desideri in Tibet in Sept. 1718. Cf. No. 15.

(33) Letters by Desideri to the General, to the Pope, to Cardinal Tolomei, and Count (?) Fedri (?), sent in February 1717 by the Capuchins, by way of the French ships, were received in Rome in 1718, as Desideri was duly informed. Cf. No. 15.

(34) Letter of the Dutch Director, (Patna ? Singhia ?), 1721 (?), to Desideri, received at Kutti in Sept. 1721. Cf. No. 15.

(35) Letter of Desideri, Takpo, March 1718, to the General. Cf. No. 15.

(36) Letter to the Pope enclosed in his letter to the General (Kutti, Oct. 5, 1721). Cf. No. 17.

(37) Letter of the General, Rome, January 1723, to Desideri, answering his letters of Lhasa, Dec. 21, 1719, and of Kutti, Sept. 21 and Oct. 5, 1721.

(38) Letter of the General, Rome, Sept. 22, 1726, to Desideri, answering his letter of Delhi, Sept. 20, 1714.

We shall set down here some of the chief dates in the remarkable career of this great traveller for Christ.

Born at Pistoia on Dec. 21, 1684 (Dec. 20, 1684, in Zacharia, our No. 26), he entered the Novitiate of the Society of Jesus on April 27, 1700 (May 9, 1700, in Zacharia; our No. 26). Even before he became a priest, he had conceived the idea of going to Tibet. (Puini, *Il Tibet*, p. 3.) Ordained a priest on Aug. 28, 1712, he set out from Rome for Lisbon on Sept. 27 of the same year, being then twenty-seven years and nine months old. He arrived at Lisbon in March 1713, left for India on April 7, and reached Goa on Sept. 27, 1713. He left it on Nov. 17, 1713,[1] and passed through Chaul, Bassein and Daman, where he fell ill on his arrival (Dec. 21). On January 1, 1714, he started for Surat and arrived on the 4th of the same month.[2] Here Fr. Joseph da Silva, the Visitor of the College and Mission of Agra, showed himself favourable to the new enterprise of reopening the Tibet Mission, to which the Provincial of Goa had destined him.

The journey from Surat to Delhi filled the interval of March 25[3] to May 11, 1714. From Delhi he went to Agra, returned to Delhi on or shortly after Aug. 22, and with Fr. Manoel Freyre

[1] Wessels, p. 210, has Nov. 13, 1713.
[2] We shall have to discuss these two dates lower down.
[3] March 26, in Wessels, p. 211, and in Desideri's letter of Delhi, Sept. 20, 1714.

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set out for Tibet on Sept. 23.[1] On Oct. 9, they were at Lahore, resumed their journey on the 19th, and reached Kashmir (Srinagar) on Nov. 13. On May 17, 1715, after a serious illness, which overtook Desideri, they proceeded and arrived at Leh, alias Ladakh, on June 26. Here they took information about the Tibet where Fr. de Andrade had been and discovered that, besides Little Tibet (Baltistan) and Great Tibet (Ladakh), there was yet a greater Tibet, where the Capuchins were or had been and the capital of which was Lhasa. Fr. Freyre, who wished to return to India the moment he arrived at Leh, finding that the journey back to Srinagar would lie across the mountains, which he dreaded, insisted on going to Lhasa, and thence back to Agra. As he was Desideri's Superior, he insisted on taking Desideri with him to Lhasa. They left accordingly on Aug. 27 (17, in Puini, p. 32), 1715,[2] and arrived at Lhasa on March 18, 1716. According to Puini (p. 30 n. 1. 50) Freyre returned to India shortly after his arrival there. He had left by the time the Capuchins arrived.

When the Capuchins reappeared at Lhasa on Oct. 1, 1716, after they had left it in 1711, they found Desideri alone at Lhasa, and the question arose who was to cultivate the mission-field, the Jesuits represented by Desideri, or the Capuchins, who had been appointed to the Tibet Mission by the Propaganda in 1703 and had been at Lhasa between 1708 and 1711. While the question was referred to Rome for settlement, Desideri stayed on at Lhasa, in his house or in two of the Lamaseries in the neighbourhood, where he devoted himself, exclusively to the study of the language and the composition of books of controversy in Tibetan verse, or at the hospice of the Capuchins at Takpo-Khier, where his occupations appear to have been similar. He was two years in Takpo (Puini, 315). The order of the General recalling Desideri, at the request of the Propaganda, reached Desideri in January 1721, at Takpo, and immediately he withdrew. Some ill-informed writers, such as the late Rev. Graham Sandberg (*The Exploration of Tibet*, Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co., 1904) will have it that Desideri stayed on after being recalled, and that he had been sent by the Jesuits to spy on the work of the Capuchins. Nothing can be more pitiable. His was on the contrary as remarkable case of prompt obedience as one could wish.

The journey back from Lhasa, which he began on April 28, 1721, took him through Kutti (arrival: May 30; departure: December 14), Khatmandu, Bhatgaon, Bettiah territory, Singhia, Patna, Benares, Allahabad, and Agra, where he arrived on April 20, 1722. In September he was at Delhi, where he stayed until in 1725 he left for Pondicherry *via* Allahabad, Benares,

[1] Sept. 24, in Wessels, p. 211.
[2] Aug. 17, 1715, in Wessels, pp. 214-215.

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Patna, and Chandernagore. The Mogor Catalogue of Dec. 1724 mentions him as at Delhi (*JASB.*, 1910, p. 536). He reached Pondicherry on Jan. 10, 1726, studied Tamil to make himself useful in the Carnatic Mission, but on January 21, 1727, left for Rome with the process for the beatification of Blessed John the Brito. Apparently the chief reason for his returning to Rome was that he had repeatedly asked the General, the Propaganda and the Pope to come to Rome in order to present to them the state of religion in Tibet and urge what reasons he thought he had for defending Jesuit priority in the Tibet mission-field. He arrived at Rome on Dec. 23, 1727 (Puini, 10), on January 23, 1728 (Wessels, p. 273).

From the point of evangelization Desideri's career in Tibet was a failure. He learned Tibetan, wrote Tibetan prose and verse, translated Tibetan books, may have composed, as he intended, a catechism, a grammar and a dictionary, taught the knowledge he had acquired of the language to the Capuchin Fathers, but failed in restoring the old Jesuit mission-field. A little more knowledge at the start of the past history of our Missionaries in Tibet and of Tibetan geography would have avoided the conflict with the Capuchins and would have saved the situation. Had he known where de Andrada had been, all might have been different. But, he did not know, nor did Fr. Freyre, nor did the two Fathers at Agra (1714), nor did the Visitor and the Provincial at Goa, nor any of the Fathers who since 1703 had been busy collecting information about reopening the Jesuit Mission of Tibet. Yet, from 1640 to 1713 only 73 years had elapsed.

Between 1624 and 1640 or so, the Jesuits of the Goa Province, with and after de Andrada, had been at Tsaparang in Guge, and at Rudok; they had visited Ladakh in 1731 in the person of Frs. de Azevedo and de Oliveira. In 1626 the Jesuits of the Cochin Province had gone by Bengal and Kuch Bihar to the Bhutan of our present maps and the dual province of U-Tsang, the capital of which is Lhasa. They had visited Gyantse and Shigatze, had been in touch, at least by correspondence, with the Tsaparang Mission, had crossed Nepal twice on the way back to Bengal, but had not, as far as we are aware, visited Lhasa. By 1632 the Jesuits of Cochin had retired, owing to loss of personnel, and they were not privileged to return.

Desideri considered himself sent to the Tibet of de Andrada. The great mistake he made was to go to the Srinagar of Kashmir instead of striking through the Himalayas, *via* Srinagar in Garhwal, Badrinath and Mana, the route followed by de Andrada in 1624 and later again. After abandoning Tsaparang and Tibet proper (1641 ?), the Jesuits had a mission at Srinagar in Garhwal till as late as 1654, and perhaps later. Most modern geographers or historians, imperfectly acquainted with the literature of de Andrada's travels, have also understood that de

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Andrada's Srinagar was the capital of Kashmir. How could Desideri make the mistake? Had he not seen any of de Andrada's printed relations? Srinagar, Badrinath, Mana and Chaparangue (Tsaparang) are mentioned there, and the distances from Delhi are set forth. How then did he begin by going to Lahore and Kashmir, a considerably greater distance? Had the Fathers of Agra no traditions, no papers, to show the old route? And what of the Archives of Goa? They were as if thrown into a well, says a Jesuit somewhere. If Desideri had had time to consult the Archives while at Goa, he would have found in them papers now in the British Museum, of which I have copies, and which would have given him ample information. But he was at Goa only from Sept. 27 to Nov. 17, 1713. No doubt, Desideri had heard of the Capuchins who in 1708 had reached Lhasa through Nepal. He must have heard of them at Surat anyhow, where he was several months the guest of the Capuchins. He may have met also at Daman Fr. Giuseppe Antonio Martinetti, who in Nov. 1713 had reliable information of the doings of the Capuchins in Nepal and at Lhasa, which he had received from an Armenian at Patna, a friend of the Capuchins. Before he left Delhi in 1714, Desideri might have known that the Capuchins had left Lhasa in 1711 and were not yet back. Had his intention been to oust the Capuchins, why did he not go to Lhasa by Patna during their absence? He did not, but went in search of the Tibet of Andrada by way of Kashmir. He did not even suspect at the start that Lhasa was in Tibet, it would seem. He had heard of two Tibets, Little Tibet (Baltistan) and Great Tibet (Ladakh). When he arrived at Leh (Ladakh), he discovered that Lhasa was the capital of Greatest Tibet, also called Great Tibet. Apparently all the time he had heard that Lhasa was the capital of Bhutan or Po, and had concluded it was not the Tibet of de Andrada. At Leh Desideri learned that the Capuchins had been at Lhasa and were perhaps still there. It was one of his reasons to refuse at first to go there with Fr. Freyre. But Fr. Freyre, his Superior, overruled his decision of staying in Ladakh. Desideri had no proof that de Andrada had been in Ladakh. He went in search of his mission in the third Tibet, and this brought him to Lhasa. He even entertained the notion that a habit, a biretta, and other things had been left by de Andrada at Lhasa or in that direction. It could not be. de Andrada had never set foot at Lhasa, nor any of the Fathers of the Tsaparang Mission. Freyre and Desideri set out from Leh without discovering that de Azevedo had been there in 1631. They passed through Rudok without discovering that it had been for a time an offshoot of the Tsaparang Mission. They passed through Gartok without knowing how near they were to the Tibet of de Andrada, to Tsaparang. They went to Lhasa. Then the inevitable happened when the Capuchins reappeared on the

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scene. What labour and what expense were thus thrown away, because a few points of history and geography had not been cleared up at the start! With Desideri at Tsaparang, the Capuchins of Lhasa would have had no reason to quarrel about priority of occupation, nor would Desideri have had. Both the Capuchins and the Jesuits would have had as large a field as would have satisfied their ambitions.

It is worth noting that the General of the Jesuits urged the reopening of the Jesuit Missions in Tibet at the time when the Capuchins were commissioned by Propaganda to go to Tibet by way of Nepal. That was, in fact, the route which the Pope in 1703 pointed out to the Capuchins on a map in the Vetican. It is not impossible that when the Jesuits heard that on March 14, 1703, the Congregation of Propaganda had decreed to make arrangements with the Procurator General of the Capuchins to open a Capuchin Mission along the banks of the Ganges towards Tibet, they felt as if they were being overlooked. When on March 30, 1704, Father Michael de Amaral was appointed Visitor of the Jesuit Province of Goa, they resolved to re-establish the Jesuit Mission in Tibet. From that moment till the time when Desideri appears on the scene, the question continued to be examined. Father Manoel Monteiro was commissioned to inquire at Agra about the most suitable route and to gauge the chances of success of a fresh effort.[1] When he died in 1707, he had not done more than gather some information from Armenian traders about the most practicable roads.

'As Amaral meanwhile was relieved of his post in 1706, the whole plan seemed off. But, when he was again appointed Visitor in 1707, two young Goa missionaries, Fathers Carvalho and Gill, certain of Amaral's support, wrote to the General and volunteered for the Tibetan Mission. Though they did not see their wishes fulfilled, the Visitor's influence continued to be felt. For, on December 15, 1708, the Provincial Manuel Saraya[2] informed the General that at the instance of F. de Amaral he had appointed John Carvalho and Peter de Torres for Tibet, but had been forced by the death of two missionaries in Maysore[3] to send them thither to supply the vacancies. Rome favoured and even urged the return to the old mission-field, as appears from a letter of the General, F. Tamburini, of July 6, 1709.

'Probably before receiving this letter, on January 3, 1710, Saraya informed the General that Fathers Joseph Martinetti and Francis Koch[4] had been charged to undertake a new

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[1] In the Catalogue of November 1705, he appears as *missus ad Thibetanam Missionem investigandam*, 'sent to examine the question of the Thibetan Mission'. Cf. *JASB.*, 1910, p. 535.

[2] Read: Sarayva.

[3] Mysore.

[4] *Francis Koch*. Born at Klagensfurt, Oct. 10, 1678, and admitted into the Society, Oct. 21, 1695, he taught grammar and belles-lettres.

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venture from Agra—though in fact nothing came of it—and on December 28, 1710, he reaffirmed his diligence in the matter. Such was the state of affairs when on September 27, 1713, Father Desideri disembarked at Goa.' (Cf. C. Wessels, S.J., *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Tibet*, pp. 206-207.)

In his *Notizie Istoriche del Thibet*, the MS. in the possession of the Society of Jesus (cf. Wessels, p. 276), Book I, has a chapter giving an 'Account of the Mission which the Company of Jesus had had in Thibet, from its foundation up to the time of the author'. Did Desideri discover by June 22, 1728, when he completed that MS. in Italy, that de Andrada had never been at Lhasa, but at Tsaparang? I cannot say; but, having arrived at Rome on January 23, 1728, he may not have had the time to make diligent researches in the history of de Andrada's mission and the position of Tsaparang. Working up the materials he had brought from Tibet and all his diaries would have kept him sufficiently busy till June 22, 1728. The simple discovery of the position of Tsaparang might have led him to advocate in his three *Difesa* a compromise, a division of Tibet into an area for the Jesuits with head quarters at Tsaparang, and another for the Capuchins at Lhasa.

In April–July 1912, a young Englishman, Mr. Mackworth Young, was sent to Gartok on a commercial mission. On the way back, at the instigation of Sir Edward Maclagan then at Simla, who supplied him from his library with one of de Andrada's relations and with notes from myself, he went out of his way to visit Tsaparang on the return journey and had no difficulty in recognizing the place and the neighbourhood of the Tsaparang of de Andrada. Nay, he found indubitable proofs of the passage and stay of the Jesuits there. I have still among my papers the report of Mr. Mackworth Young drawn up at Sir Edward Maclagan's residence, Armadale, Simla. A copy of it was taken by Fr. C. Wessels, S.J. Mr. G. Mackworth Young has since written *A Journey to Toling and Tsaparang in Western Tibet*, in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, Vol. VII, No. 2. (1919), pp. 177–198, where he refers to his discoveries.

*St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling.*

*Nov.* 1, 1929.

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Sommervogel states that he wrote from Goa in 1706 a letter respecting his forthcoming journey to Agra and thence to Tartary. Fr. Huonder (*Deutsche Jesuiten—Missionäre des* 17 *und* 18, *Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg, Herder, 1896) says that he was destined for a Mission to Tibet, the king of which had asked for Missionaries. He died at Agra on Oct. 8, 1711. One 'P. Franciscus Borgia', a German, left Lisbon for India in 1700 (A. Franco's lists). The reference in Sommervogel is: *Brief P. Koch, Soc. Jesu, an R. Patrem Mordax, Soc. Jesu, geschrieben zu Goa, 1706. Von seiner Reis von Goa nach Agra, und ferner in die Tartarey.*—In the *Welt-Bott* of Fr. Stöcklein, V, No. 117.

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1. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society, Rome (Goa, 12 Nov., 1713).

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: *Goana Epist.* 1569–1742 (*Goa.* 9).)

(*P. 1.*) Molto R. do in X.po P.re N.ro,

P.C. CCLXXII.

Si compiace S.D.M. p. mezzo dl P.e Procinciale di chiamarmi, e destinarmi all nuova Missione del Tibet. Con tutto il mio cuore, abbraccio, e seguo la voce, e volontà di Dio, e questo sarà lo scopo, ed il fine, a cui consacro tutto me, tutti i miei pensieri, opere, forze, e vitta sino all' ultimo respiro, Mà perchè chi vuole efficacem.te il fine cerca tutti i mezzi, e particolarmente i

Our Very Reverend Father in Christ,

The Peace of Christ.

It pleased His Divine Majesty by means of the Father Provincial to call me and destine me to the new Mission of Tibet.[1] With all my heart I embrace and follow the voice, and will of God, and that will be the aim and the end to which I consecrate my whole self, all my thoughts, works, strength and life, up to my last breath. But, since he who efficaciously wants the end

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[1] The letter is dated Nov. 12, 1713. Desideri had arrived at Goa only on Sept. 27, 1712. We have reason to think that the General had asked the Provincial to let him go to Tibet, in case he judged him a fit subject for such an enterprise: for in his letter to the General (Kutti, Sept. 21, 1721) Desideri says that the General gave him permission at Rome in 1712 to go to Tibet, and that the Provincial of Goa confirmed that permission in 1713. We must therefore take exception to the conclusion reached by Fr. Wessels, pp. 207-208. 'Was Desideri specially commissioned by the authorities at Rome to re-establish the Tibet-Mission? We have it on his own authority (*P.* 208) that for some time before leaving Europe he had entertained the idea of working in that field, and his purpose to devote himself to that Mission was approved of and blessed by Pope Clement XI at a special audience granted to the two travellers, but neither Desideri's letters nor any other extant writing contain any hint, that he had a special charge with regard to Tibet. His letters rather go to show that he had not. Thus when writing to the General on November 12 and 15, 1713, he informs him that he has been chosen and destined for the new mission by the Provincial and that he is delighted at the appointment. He then urges the General to address him a special letter confirming the appointment and ordering him (Desideri) explicitly to open the mission of Tibet and to act in all this under direct responsibility to Rome; thus he will be able to overcome all the difficulties that might be raised against the undertaking. Six weeks later he returns to this point.' There was no need in 1713 for Desideri to recall to the General that he had given him permission in 1712 at Rome to reopen the Tibet Mission. The Provincial chose and destined Desideri, as we now can see, because the General himself had recommended him to the Provincial of Goa for the task. Nor does Desideri ask the General to confirm the choice of the Provincial, but to make it impossible for the Provincial to recall his choice and decision.

The two travellers at the audience of the Pope in 1712 were Desideri and the companion of his travels to India, Fr. Ildebrando Grassi.

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piu efficaci, p. ottenerlo; p. questo, conoscendo io, che l' autorità di Sua P.tà èi l mezzo, trà gl' umani, il più efficace, questa invoco, questa con ong'instanza dimando.

Dissi, l'autorità di Sua P.tà essere il più efficace per conseguire il fine propostomi, perchè ella sola frà tutti può rimuovere tutti gl'impedimenti, che distornino il conseguimento del fine sopradetto. Due sorti d'impedimenti riconosco in una tal impresa. Alcuni sono le difficoltà, e i travagli grandi, che possono incontrarsi nel viaggio; mà di questi non fò caso veruno, perchè pongo la mia fiducia tutta nel mio Dio potentissimo, misericordiosissimo, fedelissimo, e sò di certo, che *spes non confundit*; e tanto e lungi, che mi sbigottiscano i travagli, che anzi questi m'invitano, perchè questi sono ciò che son venuto a cercare nell' India p. amor del mio buon Gesù, risolutissimo ò di sup. are tutti i travagli, ò di morire in mezzo ad essi soddisfatissimo di tal sorte, perchè così morirò con una morte simile a quella dl Redentore, de' santi, e de' veri figliouoli dlla mia amatiss. a Madre la Comp. a. L'altra sorte d'impedimenti, i quali l' esperienza di clò che in altri succedè altre volte m'insegna essere i più gagliardi, e perciò più da temersi, e perciò da meglio precautelarsi contro d'essi, sono le volontà de' Nostri medesimi, che incatenano chi corre, tag-

seeks out all the means, chiefly the most efficacious means, to obtain it, I therefore, knowing that the authority of Your Paternity is among human means the most efficacious one, ask for that, and request it with all earnestness.

I said that the authority of Your Paternity is the most efficacious means to obtain the end proposed to me, because it alone, of all the rest, can remove all the obstacles which might prevent the attainment of the end above-said. I see two kinds of obstacles in such an enterprise. Some are the difficulties and great toils which can be met on the journey; but of these I make no account, because I place all my confidence in my most powerful, most merciful, most faithful God, and I know for certain that *spes non confundit* (hope confoundeth not);[1] and the toils, instead of frightening me, invite me rather: for these are the things I have come to seek in India for love of my good Jesus, being firmly resolved either to overcome all toils, or to die in their midst, most happy in such lot, because thus shall I die death similar to that of the Redeemer, of the Saints, and of the true sons of my most beloved mother the Company. The other obstacles, which the experience of what happened at other times to others teaches me to be the most troublesome, and therefore the most to be feared, and therefore the most to be guarded against, are the

[1] Rom. 5. 5.

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liano le ali a chi vola, in una parola a spada tratta si oppongono a' voleri dello zelo di Sua P. tà, e perciò a' manifesti voleri di Dio.

P.re Nostro, eccomi genuflesso a' piedi suoi con tutto il cuore. Quivi posto la supplico per amor di Dio, che così vuole; e p. il sangue preziosissimo di Gesù, che merita di essere esaudito, la supplico, dico, a darmi in questo genere l'aiuto, ed il rinforzo della sua autorità, dandomi assoluta, totale, e independente facoltà di proseguir' il viaggio fino al Tibet, p. potermi prevalere di essa in caso, che, conforme si dice quì comunemente da tutti io, ricevessi un' arresto p. istrada, dopo che già saranno partite le lettere, che si mandano a Sua P. tà.

P.re N.ro Dio mi chiama al Tibet, e se non giungo là, non proverrà certam. te da me; onde quando S.D.M. nel Giudizio mi dicesse; p. che non andassi? che cosa gl'hò da rispondere? Non avevo l'autorità di ciò fare mentre gl' uomini me l' impedivano; Mà perchè sarebbe mia colpa l'istesso non procurare tal' autorità, p. questo gle la dimando, e di nuove gle la chieggo p. il sangue preziosiss.o di Gesu.

La supplico altresì ad applicare buon numero di Messe, e a far fare orazioni nelle nostre case, e particolarmente nel Noviziato, p. ottenere, ché S.D.M. benedica, prosperi, e conduca a buon' esito quest'

wills of Ours themselves, which bind him who runs, and clip the wings of him who flies, in one word with drawn sword are opposed to the wishes of Your Paternity's zeal, and therefore to the manifest will of God.

Our Father, here I am, kneeling at your feet with all my heart. Placed here, I beseech you for God's sake, who wants it so, and by the most precious blood of Jesus, which merits being heard, I beseech you, I say, to give me in this matter the help and the support of your authority, giving me absolute, complete and independent permission to pursue the journey up to Tibet, so that I may avail myself thereof in case that, as is commonly said here by all, I be stopped on the way, when the letters now being sent to Your Paternity will have left.

Our Father, God calls me to Tibet, and, if I do not get there, it will certainly not be because of me; hence, if at the Judgment God should tell me: Why didst thou not go? what sort of thing have I to answer? I had not the authority of doing so, since men prevented me? But, as that would be my fault, in that I did not procure such authority, I therefore ask it of you, and again I beg for it by the most precious blood of Jesus.

I also beseech you to apply a good number of Masses, and to cause prayers to be said in our houses, and in particular in the Novitiate, to obtain that His Divine Majesty bless, prosper, and bring to good

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impressa di tanta gloria di Dio, e dalla qualle si può sp.are la conversione, e salute di tante anime. E posto a' suoi piedi la supplico dell'aiuto dlle sue S. S. Orazioni, e S. S. Sacrifizj, e dlla sua S.a Benedizione.

issue this enterprise of so much glory to God, and from which may be hoped the conversion and salvation of so many souls. And, kneeling at your feet, I beg the help of your Holy Prayers, and of your Holy Sacrifices, and of your Holy Blessing.

Di V.P.

Goa, 12. Novembre 1713.

Ind.mo in X.po Servo,

*Ippolito Desideri.*

Your Paternity's

Goa, the 12th November 1713.

Most unworthy Servant in Christ,

*Ippolito Desideri.*

2. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society, Rome (Goa, 15 Nov., 1713).

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: *Goana Epist.* 1569–1742 (*Goa.* 9).)

(*P. 1.*) Molto R.do in X.po P.re N. ro,

P.C. CCLXXII.b.

Con altra via hò dato parte a Sua P.tà dell' essere io stato destinato da questo P.re Provinciale p. tentar di nuovo l'impresa d' aprire la Missione dl Tibet. Con questa 2.a via confermo il medesimo. Sò che questa è volontà di Dio, et è volontà di Sua P.tà che mostrò il Suo zelo grande, e giustissimo, che intorno à ciò hà, con quelle parole, che ritrovo in una sua lettera scritta a'6 di Luglio dl 1709., che sono le seguenti-Ex datà occasione valde commendamus, ut aperiantur novae Missiones, et ferventius agatur de reditu ad *Tibetum*, Nec deterreant ullae difficulties; *nam causa Dei est*, qui iã sternit viã p. Mogolense imperium.

Our Very Reverend Father in Christ,

The Peace of Christ.

By another *via* I have informed Your Paternity[1] that I have been destined by this Father Provincial to try anew the enterprise of opening the Mission of Tibet. By this second *via* I confirm the same. I know that this is the will of God, and the will of Your Paternity, who showed the great and most just zeal you have, regarding this, by these words which I find back in a letter of yours written on the 6th July 1709, which are as follows: 'Occasion offering, we greatly commend that new Missions be opened, and that more fervour be shown for returning to Tibet. And let no difficulties frighten: for it is God's cause, who already

[1] In the letter of Goa, Nov. 12, 1713.

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Ah P.re N.ro, io non posso quì esprimerle, che animo, che vigore mi diano quelle belle parole: *Causa Dei est.* Le prometto di certo, conforme me ne sono già risolutissimam. te protestato col mio Dio, che quanto è p. parte mia, ò io hò da morire p. il viaggio, ò hò col favor divino a entrare nel Tibet; nè fò conto veruno, hè di patimenti, nè di difficoltà, nè di pericoli, nè della morte. Mi dichiaro, e mi protesto, che p. la gloria di Dio hò da fare tutto il pos ibile con l' aiuto dlla Divina grazia. Di sorte che, se succedesse, che p. il viaggio io mi vedessi mancare, e già vicino a morire se vedrò di poter dare, prima dll' ultimo respiro, un passo di più verso il Tibet, mi dipiù verso il Tibet, mi dichiaro, e mi protesto, che hò da dare quel passo di più, e consecrarlo all gloria di Dio, e alla conversione dl Tibet. Questo è p. parte di me aiutato dalla grazia divina. Mà se (il che Dio non permetta mai) se conforme è succeduto altre volte, e conforme si dice comunemente, che sia p. succedere anche questa volta, doppo essersi di quà mandate bellissime lettere a Sua P. tà, mi venisse un' arresto, e mi venisse da' nostri medesimi impedito, e sturbato, ciò che addesso mi vien comandato, ciò che manifestamente è volontà di Dio, ciò che è volontà espressissima di Sua P. tà, tante volte, e con tanto zelo, e fervore manifestata; se mi fosse impedito cio, che porta seco di consequenza tanta

paves the way through the Mogol empire'.

Ah, Our Father, I cannot here express to you what courage, what vigour these beautiful words give me: It is God's cause! I promise you for sure, as I have already protested most resolutely to my God, that, as far as in me lies, either I have to die on the journey, or I have with the divine favour to enter Tibet. Nor do I make any account, either of sufferings, or of difficulties, or of dangers, or of death. I declare and protest that, for the glory of God, I have to do all that is possible with the help of the Divine grace, so that, should it happen that on the journey I see myself breaking down and already near death, yet see that before my last breath I can make one step more towards Tibet, I declare and protest that I shall make that step more, and shall consecrate it to the glory of God, and to the conversion of Tibet. This for my part, helped by the divine grace. But if (which may God never permit!) if, as has happened at other times, and as is commonly said will happen also this time, after most beautiful letters have been sent from here to Your Paternity. I should be stopped, and I should be prevented by Ours themselves, and *that* should be disturbed which now is ordered me, that which manifestly is the will of God, that which is the very express will of Your Paternity, manifested so many times and with such zeal and fervour: if that be

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gloria di Dio, e la salute eterna di tante anime redente col Sangue preziosiss.o di Gesù; che potrò, che doverò io fare in tal caso? Io non voglio aspettar' un tal caso; Mi stimo obligato in coscienza di premunirmi avanti, e di' implorare il di lei potentissimo aiuto in questo particolare.

P.re N.ro, eccomi genuflesso a' suoi piedi, i quali riverentemente bacio. La prego, la supplico per quello zelo ardentiss.o che hà della salute dll' anime, per il sangue preziosissimo di Gesu, col quale esse furone redente: per amor di Dio, la di cui maggior gloria le stà tanto a cuore; la supplico a favorirmi, p. maggior assicuramento di un negozio tanto importante, di una sua Patente, nella quale espressamente mi dia ordine di andar' ad aprir la Missione del Tibet, e di andare con l' autoritá, e dipendenza immediata di V.P. tà, non ostante qualunque ordine in contrario che mi fosse già stato fatto da altri Superiori in queste parti; aggiungendo ordine espresso, che nissuno chiunque sia, mi disturbi, nè mi trattenga, nè m'impedisca in modo veruno l'ademoire. la volontà, e gl'ordini Suoi.

In oltre si degni di raccomandare, e far raccomandare premurosissimam te a S.D.M. nelle nre case, e especialm. te nel Noviziato, e me miserabile, e il buon successo di questa impresa e la conversione del

prevented me which of consequence carries with it such glory of God and the eternal salvation of so many souls redeemed by the most precious Blood of Jesus, what shall I be able, what shall I be obliged to do in such a case? I do not want to await such a case. I consider myself obliged in conscience to forearm myself and to beseech your most powerful help particularly in this.

Our Father, here I am kneeling at your feet, which I most reverently kiss. I beg you, I entreat you, by that most ardent zeal which you have for the salvation of souls, by the most precious blood of Jesus, whereby they were redeemed, by the love of God, whose greater glory have so much at heart, I entreat you to favour me for the greater safety of so important an affair, with a Patent of yours, wherein you expressly give me the order to go and open the Mission of Tibet, and to go with Your Paternity's authority and immediate dependence, notwithstanding any order to the contrary which might already have been given me by other Superiors in these parts, adding the express order that no one, whoever he be, shall trouble me, or shall divert me, or shall impede me in any manner from fulfilling your will and orders.

Besides, deign to commend and to get commended most earnestly to His Divine Majesty in our houses, and especially in the Novitiate, both wretched me and the good success of this enterprise and the conversion

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Tibet. Con che fo fine supplicandole dlla sua S. a Benedizione, e S. S. Sacrificj.

Di. V.P.

Goa, 15 Novembre 1713.

Ind.mo. in X.po Servo,

*Ippolito Desideri.*

(*P.* 2) (*Address*): Al Molto R.do in X. po P.re N.ro Il P.re Michel' Angelo Tamburini Prep. to Gen. le d. a Comp.a di Gesù.

*Roma.*

(*Endorsement on the same page as this address*):

Goae 12 et 15 Novembris 1713.

P. Hippolitus Desiderii.

Explicat desideria quibus flagrat, ingrediendi Missionem Tibet tensem, vel moriendi in ipsamet expeditione, et ne ab aliquo nostrorum, impediatur, petit ut P. V.a illi mittat Patentes litteras, quibus independenter ab aliis possit progredi in hac determinatione, etc.

of Tibet. Wherewith I end, beseeching your Holy Blessing and Holy Sacrifices.

Your Paternity's

Goa, the 15th November 1713.

Most unworthy Servant in Christ,

*Ippolito Desideri.*

(*Address*): To our Very Reverend Father in Christ, Father Michelangelo Tambirini, Provost General, of the Company of Jesus.

*Rome.*

(*Endorsement*):

Goa, the 12th and the 15th November 1713.

Fr. Hippolitus Desideri.

He explains his ardent desires of entering the Tibet Mission, or of dying in the very expedition, and, lest he be prevented by anyone of Ours, he asks Your Paternity to send him letters-patent whereby he may pursue this determination independently from the others, etc.

3. Letter of Fr. Giuseppe Antonio Martinetti, S.J.,[1] to the General of the Society, Rome (Damao, 29 Nov., 1713).

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: *Goana Epist.* 1569–1742 (*Goa.* 9).)

M. to R.do in X.po Padre Nostro,

P.C. CCLXXIII.

Hebbi l'honore di ricevere nel fin di Marzo di quest'

Our Very Reverend Father in Christ,

The Peace of Christ.

I had the honour of receiving at the end of March of this

[1] The signature of the writer of this letter is not clear. Fr. Wessels reads Martinetti, and so it could be read, if his name were otherwise known to have been Martinetti. I have his name down as Joseph Anthony

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anno la lettera di V.P.M.R. da, scritta a 21 (22 ?) di Marzo del 1711: ne hò fatto la dovuta stima, sì per inferirne la vuona salute di V.P.tà, come anche per essersi compiaciuta di gradire le notitie, che le havevo trasmesse.

Stando nel mese d'Aprile sulle mosse per cicornare a Prov. a di Goa acrissi dà Surrate in questo stess' anno a V.P. dandole conto delle disgratie, e calunnie ch' havevo sofferto: come correndo rischio d'essere affrontato dal Vicere, havevo già determinato di passare al nostro Coll.o d' Aspahan in Persia; e come finalmente conosciuta più chiara che la luce del sole la mia innocenza, era stato invitato dal P. Ant. o d' Azevedo, e da PP. più gravi d.a Prov. a à ritornarvi, ai quali inviti mi era reso; venendovi di fatto nel mese di Maggio.

Promisi n.a su d.a lettera di ragguagliare à V.P. tà lo

year [1] the letter of Your Very Reverend Paternity, written on the 21st (22nd ?) March 1711. I made due esteem thereof, both because I inferred from it your Paternity's good health, and also because you were pleased to think well of the informations I had transmitted to you.

Being in the month of April on the point of returning to the Province of Goa, I wrote from Surrate this same year to Your Paternity, giving you an account of the disgrace and calumnies [2] I have suffered: how, running the risk of being insulted by the Viceroy,[3] I had already resolved to go to our College of Aspahan [4] in Persia; and how, finally, when my innocence appeared clearer than day light I had been invited by Fr. Antonio d'Azevedo, and by the most worthy Fathers of the Province, to return thither, to which invitations, I had yielded, coming there in fact in the month of May.[5]

In the above-said letter I promised to inform Your Pa-

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Martinelli in the Catalogue of January 2, 1710, where he appears with Fr. Francis Borgia Koch as in Mogor. The name was read Martinelli by Fr. Van Meurs. The Catalogue of January 1708 and of December 1716, which immediately precedes and follows, does not contain their names. (Cf. *JASB.*, 1910, p. 536.) I find the name of 'P. Josephus Antonius Martineti,' who came out, from Lisbon in 1708, in Fr. A. Franco's *Synopsis Annalium Societatis Jesu in Lusitania ab anno* 1540 *usque ad annum* 1725. Augustae Vindelicorum et Graecii, M.DCC. XXVI. We may therefore decide in favour of Martinetti.

[1] Since he says he had taken information on Tibet during three years, and we find him for the first time in the Mogor Catalogue of January 2, 1710, he appears to have come back from Mogor to Surat in the beginning of 1713 or not long before.

[2] I do not know what is meant by these calumnies.

[3] The Viceroy of Goa.

[4] Ispahan.

[5] I understand that in the month of May 1713 he arrived at Goa. What brought him to Damao soon after ?

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del Tibete per minuto; mà hò fatta riffless.e non essere già necessaria tanta minutia; supposto il non appartenere più alla Comp. a tal Miss. e; e ne dirò in breve le ragioni.

Prim. te perche con tutto l' impegno del suo zelo v' è già entrata la Congreg.e de Prop. dà; la quale già vi hà mandati 8 soggetti per la parte di Pattnà; due de' quali sono morti, uno à ritornato in Europa, uno resta in Pattnà, un altro in Bottant alla metà del viaggio, e trè vi sono entrati, il più vecchio de' quali intendo che è pur morto: e le nuove che di là mandano sono (P. 2) piene di disperatione di farvi alcun profitto. Così mi scrisse un Armenio amicissimo

ternity minutely of the state of Tibet; but I have reflected that such minuteness is no longer necessary, considering that that Mission no longer belongs to the Company; and I shall briefly tell the reasons.

First, because with the utmost of its zeal the Congregation of Propaganda has already entered there, having sent thither already[1] subjects by the side of Pattnā, two of whom have died, another has gone back to Europe, one remains at Pattnā, another is in Bottant, half-way the journey, and three have entered there, the oldest of whom, I hear, also died; and the news they send from there is (P. 2) full of despondency of doing there any good. Thus wrote to me from

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[1] The eight Capuchins sent since 1704 must be the following:—

(1) Fr. Gianfrancesco of Camerino.
(2) Fr. Felice of Montecchio.
(3) Fr. Giuseppe of Ascoli.
(4) Fr. Giuseppe Maria of Fossombrone.
(5) Fr. Francis Mary of Tours.
(6) Bro. Fiacre of Paris.
(7) Fr. Giovanni of Fano.
(8) Fr. Domenico of Fano.

One of the two who had died would be Fr. Gianfrancesco of Camerino, who died at Mardin, in Mesopotamia, in 1704, during the overland journey of the first six mentioned above; the other was probably Fr. Giuseppe of Ascoli, who was the first Capuchin to reach Lhasa, on June 12, 1708; he died at the English factory of Patna (date disputed). The one who went back to Europe would be Fr. Giuseppe Maria of Fossombrone, who returned from Jerusalem or Palestine; some also make Bro. Fiacre of Paris go back from Bagdad. The one who remained at Patna appears to have been Fr. Felice of Montecchio. We have the name of four who reached Tibet in 1708–11; Giuseppe of Ascoli, Giovanni of Fano, Domenico of Fano and Fr. Francis Mary of Tours. One of these four must be the one who is said to have stayed half-way in Bottant, by which Nepal is meant. The oldest of the 'three' who went to Tibet must be Fr. Francis Mary of Tours, who died, it appears, at the Dutch factory of Singhia, near Patna, at a date not ascertained exactly by previous writers.

On the whole, Fr. Martinetti's correspondent was pretty well informed; but Martinetti's news was old. He does not know on Nov. 29, 1713, that the Capuchins withdrew in 1711, and that one, or even two, of them went to Rome at the end of 1712 or in the beginning of 1713 to represent

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loro da Pattnà, il quale havea dimorato per 30 anni mercante nel Tibet. La ragione è perche, dal tempo, che vi fù il Nostro P. Andrade, 80 e piu anni, si è tutto mutato quel Regno. Nel tempo dell' Imp.-e Arnzeb del Gran Mogol si fece tutto moro, per ricevere da lui un buon soccorso contra un Regolo vicino, che andaua entrando vittorioso nel loro Regno: Micuperato il perduto, tornarono all' Idolatria, e al presente stanno più fissi che mai ne suoi errori.

Pattnā a great friend of theirs, an Armenian, who has stayed 30 years as a merchant in Tibet. The reason is that, from the time our Father Andrade was there, 80 years and more ago, that Kingdom has become quite changed. At the time of the Emperor Aranzeb of the Great Mogol, it became quite Moor, in order to receive from him a good succour against a neighbouring Kinglet, who went and entered victoriously their Kingdom: when they had recovered what they had lost, they returned to Idolatry, and at present they are more than ever rooted in their errors.[1]

2º; Perche anche supposto che il campo fosse libero, e dasse speranza di frutto, è impossib. e, per l'enorme distanza, a questa Prov.a l'assistervi aì perche le spese altrepassano le sue forze, come anche perche e scarza di soggetti, e per farvene giunger uno è necess.o mandarne quattro.

2ndly: Because, even supposing that the field is free and gives hope of fruit, it is impossible for this Province, owing to the enormous distance to stay there, both because the expenses exceed its means, and because also it is short of subjects; and to make one reach there, it is necessary to send four.[2]

3º: Perche quel Regno è già diviso frà vary Regoli, e non sisàa qual appigliarsi.

3rdly: Because that Kingdom is now divided among various Kinglets, and it is not known to whom to go.[3]

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to the Propaganda that the financial situation at Lhasa was desperate and that the Mission must be strengthened in men and means. Why had Martinetti in April 1713, while at Surat, not sought the last information from the Capuchins at Surat, who generally gave hospitality to the Jesuits passing through the place?

[1] The Kingdom here referred to cannot be the Tibet of Lhasa. We do not think it can mean Nepal. Does Martinetti refer to Little Tibet, or Baltistan, which Desideri says was formerly Buddhist, but had in great part become Muhammadan, by being under the government of the Great Mogol? Cf. Puini, *Il Tibet*, p. 27.

[2] The answer to this objection is that the Provincial of Goa had just appointed Desideri to reopen the Mission.

[3] The Capuchins had found where to go. Martinetti had not discovered where de Andrada had been.

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4º: Perche se pur si doyesse, sentare, sarebbe dalla Cina, ò anche Cocincina con la quale confina: onde fù provid.a del Cielo che per ogni parte mi fosse impedito l'andarvi. Queste sono le vere notitie; e se altre costi si spacciano (riservando sempre un miracolo d.a divina Onnipot.a) creda che sono favole; perche in trè anni hò esaminato bene il ponto.

Conchiudeva io la lettera su d.a con una caldissima supplica a V.P.M.R., ai cui piedi prostrato le chiedeva licenza di ritornare in Europa. Perche supposto il non essere più capace di intraprend.e le Missione, como fui dicchiarato in Goa, non posso in alcun modo accomodarmi a questi geny, ed a questi impieghi. Le Missioni di quà più disgustano con l'inconstanza del frutto che si vede doppo due giorni, di quel che consolino con la frequenza alla Missione.

Mio Riveritissimo P. Gen.le (P. 3) Io le parlo chiaro come à mio Padre. Io non hò fatto voto per l' Indie: l'oggetto della mia risolut.e, ch'erano le Missione già è svanito: vivo

4thly: Because, if we had to establish ourselves, it should be from China, or even Cochinchina, on which it borders;[1] hence it was heavenly providence that my going thither was impeded from every side.[2] There are the true informations; and, if others are spread over there (always excepting a miracle of the divine Omnipotence), believe that they are fables, because I have well examined the point for three years.[3]

I concluded the above-said letter with a very warm request to Your Very Reverend Paternity, prostrate at whose feet I asked for permission to return to Europe, because, considering the inability of further undertaking the Missions, as I was told at Goa,[4] I cannot in any way accommodate myself to these characters and these employments. The Missions here disgust more by the inconstancy of the fruit, which is seen after two days, than they console by the concourse to the Mission.

My Most Reverend Father General, (P. 3) I speak to you clearly, as to my Father. I have not made a vow for the Indies; the object of my resolution, which was the

[1] This is childish.

[2] This man appears to congratulate himself on having found no entrance into Tibet. Fr. Wessels (p. 207 n. 3) says well of him: 'Evidently this man was not the stuff of which missionaries are made, and that he could be mistaken for a possible successor to an Andrade seems, to say the least, somewhat surprising.'

[3] Did he not feel that his objections might be overruled, and that he might be thought to have been remiss in taking information?

[4] Was he not told at Goa in May 1713 that personally he was unfit for opening new Missions, or reopening that of Tibet?

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afflittissimo per più cause, che non mi è lecito confidare a fogli che volano sì longi. Io non hò fatto alcuna colpa per meritare questo esilio, e questa sì dura, e si grave mortificatione. Le spese del viaggio con licenza de' Superiori grà stanno depositate e sono 250 scudi ch'hebbi d' elem.a dal Medico Francese del Gran Mogol; e q.do non bastino sò dove posso senza viltà supplire al di più. Sia servita la supplico di mandarmi la licenza, la quale guidico nel Sig.e essermi necessar.a; e tanto necessaria che non faccio caso di qualunque giudicio si formi del mio ritorno; perche sā quel dio che mi ha da giudicare che la chiedo per bene dell'anima mia; e quanto più esamino avanti à Dio questo punto, tanto più mi par d'essere obligato a chiede la. Non mela neghi di gratia, perche l' apprehensione di una causa giusta è sovente Maestra ne' spiriti fiacchi com' è il mio di dottrine, e d'inventioni nocive; nelle quali supplico S.D. M. è non lasciarmi cadere, e V.P.M.R. per carita ad ovviarle;

e chiedendole la sua S. ta Benedizione le baccio suppli-

Missions, has now vanished; I live most afflicted, for several reasons, which it is not licit for me to trust to pages that fly so far. I have not committed any fault for which I should deserve this exile, and this so hard and heavy mortification. With the permission of the Superiors, the expenses for the journey are already deposited, and are 500 scudi, which I had in alms from the French Physician of the Great Mogol; [1] and, if they do not suffice, I know where I can without shame supply the remainder. Be pleased, I beg of you, to send me the permission, which I judge in the Lord is necessary for me, and so necessary that I care not what judgment be formed of my return; because the God who has to judge me knows that I ask it for the good of my soul; and the more I examine this point before God, the more it seems to me I am obliged to ask it. Do not, I pray, deny it me, because the perception of a just cause is often in weak spirits as is mine, the Mistress of harmful teachings and inventions,[2] wherein I beseech His Divine Majesty not to let me fall, while I beseech Your Very Reverend Paternity, of your charity, to obviate them.

And, begging your Holy Blessing, I entreatingly with

[1] Who was the French physician at the Court of the Mogol who had given Martinetti 500 scudi for his return to Europe? Had he not received that money before he retired from Agra to Surat?

[2] This is like a threat of leaving the Society in case his request for returning to Europe is not granted.

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chevole con le lagrime agl' occhi le mani.

Damone 29 9bre 1713.

D.V.P.M.R.da
Indegno in X.po Fiklio,

*Gioseppe Ant.o Martinetti.*

(P. 4) (Address):

Al M.to R. do in X.po Padre N.ro
Il P. Michel' Angelo Tamburini
Preposito Generale d. a Comp. di Gesù.
*Roma.*

(*Traces of the seal below the address.*)

the tears in my eyes, kiss your hands.

Damone,[1] the 29th November 1713.

Your Very Reverend
Paternity's Unworthy Son in Christ,

*Goseppe Antonio Martinetti.*

(P. 4) (*Address*):

To Our Very Reverend Father in Christ,
Fr. Michel' Angelo Tamurini,
Provost General of the Company of Jesus.
*Rome.*

(Traces of the seal below the address.)[2]

4. Extracts from a letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society of Jesus, Rome (Surat, 30 Dec., 1713).[3]

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: *Goana Epist:* 1769–1742 (*Goa* 9).)

Fin quì hò fatto la causa comune di q.ta Prov. e da Comp.a. Mi sia lecito aggiun-

Up to here I have spoken in the common cause of this Province and of the Company.

---

[1] Damao.

[2] The seal is too indistinct for description. It appears to show the monogram of the Society of Jesus, I H S, with rays all round the inner rim of the seal.

[3] The date of the letter is clearly Surat, Dec. 30, 1713, and Fr. Wessels (p. 210, n. 4) rightly observes that in his letter of Leh, Aug. 5, 1715, Desideri dates his arrival at Surat on January 4, 1714. Cf. Puini, p. 361. Puini (p. 6) says moreover that he left Samão on January 1, 1714, and arrived at Surat on January 4. His letter of Delhi, Sept. 20, 1714, also gives January 4, 1714, as the date of his arrival at Surat. How then did Desideri date the *end* of his letter, which appears to have been a rather long one, from Surat, on Dec. 30, 1713, when he was still at Damão? I do not see any plausible reason. On his arrival at Damão on Dec. 21, 1713, he fell ill (Puini, 6). Had he been at Surat on Dec. 30, he should have left Damão on Dec. 27 at the latest, since he calculates elsewhere 4 days of travelling (January 1–4) for the journey from Damão to Surat.

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gere qualchè cosa in causa mia propria.

Conforme già scrissi a V.P. da Goa, il P. Prov.le mi avvisò p. la Missione dl Tibet. Con tutto ciò tanto in Goa, quanto nel restante dlla Prov. a hò sentito in q.to particolare tanto in contrario, e tanti esempi sò di altri mandati, e poi trattenuti; che a dirla chiaramente hò concepito un gran timore di dover ricevere un solenne arresto in Agra. Questo arresto (confesso sinceramente la mia fiacchezza, e il mio poco spirito) mi trafiggerebbe l' anima, e mi riuscirebbe sommamente aspro.

Avendo io fatte con specialiss.a attenzione varie dilizenze hò inteso, che quelli Genti dl Thibet sono beniss.o disposte: hò inteso, anche *ex confessione* di verij Nostri, che quelle Genti desiderano, che là tornino i N.ri; sò di certo, che q.ta Prov.a hà la Comp.a varij Beni, le rendite de' quali *ex Justitia* appartengono all Missione dl Thibet. Sò *etiam ex confessione* di chi ha il maneggio, che una tal Sig. ra Donna Giuliana, che stà nel Mogor, hà già dato molta

Be it permitted me to add something in my own cause.

As I already wrote to Your Paternity from Goa, the Father Provincial destined me for the Mission of Tibet. However, both in Goa and in the rest of the Province I have felt in this particular so much to the contrary, and I know of so many examples of others who were sent and were then detained,[1] that, to speak to you clearly, I have conceived a great fear that I am bound to receive a solemn order to stop, when at Agra. This stopping (I candidly confess my weakness and my little spirit) would pierce my soul, and would be for me most disagreeable.

Having with very special attention made sundry inquiries, I have understood that those peoples of Tibet are very well disposed; I have understood, also from the declarations of sundry of Ours, that those Peoples wish Ours to return thither;[2] I know for certain that in this Province the Company has various goods, the revenues of which *ex Justitiâ* (in Justice) appertain to the Mission of Tibet.[3] I know *etiam* (also) from the confession of who has the

[1] The examples of others, sent and then detained, seem to refer to Tibet. We have, indeed, noted in our introduction the examples of Frs. Manoel Monteiro, John Carvalho, Peter Gill, Peter de Torres, Joseph Martinetti and Francis Kock (1706–1713), none of whom carried through the project of reopening the Tibet Mission. Desideri may have had in mind similar cases in connection with other Missions.

[2] See note 6 of our introduction. We shall hear more of this in the letter of Leh, Aug. 5, 1715.

[3] The King of Tsaparang had indeed given the Fathers in 1626 a large sum of money, amounting to Rs. 8,000, for founding the Tsaparang Mission. (Cf. *JASB.*, 1925, p. 60.) The money must have been invested in properties in Bombay, presumably at Parel.

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quantità di denaro da impiegarsi in limosine p. li Poveri dl Thibet; e sò di certo, che q. to denaro stà nelle mani de' Nostri. Sò di certo, che vi è la strada praticata, e non una, mà più d'una p. il Thibet; e q. to mi consta *ex confessione* anche de' Nostri, e particolarmente di chi è stato in Agra.

Tutto ciò presupposto torno a dire a V.P., che quant' è del canto mio sono risolutissimo di far tutti i tentativi, tutte le diligenze, tutto il possibile per riaprire quella Missione, a cui sono stato destinato, fin' all' ultimo passo, fin' all' ultimo respiro, e di non desistere giamai, senza riguardo nè a difficoltà, nè a patimenti, nè a pericoli, nè pur' alla morte medesima. A cio mi son' impegnato col mio Dio, e di nuovo m'impegno, col voto che gl' hò fatto di non desistere dal canto mio da tal' impresa, e di far gagliardissime instanze, ed efficacissime a' Superiori p. eseguir tal' opera e di usar

management, that a certain Signora Donna Giuliana, who is in the Mogor, has already given a great quantity of money to be spent in alms on the poor peoples of Tibet; [1] and I know for certain that this money is in the hands of Ours. I know for certain that the road to Tibet is used, and not one, but more than one; and this is clear to me from the confession of Ours also, and particularly of who has been at Agra.[2]

All this being presupposed, I say again to Your Paternity that, inasmuch as depends on me, I am firmly resolved to use every attempt, every diligence, all that is possible to reopen that Mission, to which I have been destined, even to the last step, to the last breath, and never to desist, caring not, either for difficulties, or sufferings, or dangers, or death itself. To this I have pledged myself with my God, and I again pledge myself, with the vow I have made to him not to desist on my side from such enterprise, and to make most earnest and efficacious entreaties to the Superiors in

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[1] This point is obscure to us yet. Probably more is to be learned from Desideri's *Notizie Istoriche*, Bk. 1, ch. 5, 'of the Churches and Christianity which the Company of Jesus has at Delly and of some notable Christians living there'. Cf. Wessels, p. 276. The portion of Donna Juliana in the Florence MS. was obtained by W. Irvine, the editor of Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, for the late Fr. S. Noti, S.J., formerly of Bombay, I have not seen it. On Donna Juliana cf. my article in *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Vol. VII, No. 1, 1917, pp. 1–11.

We suggest that the Fathers previously appointed to investigate the possibilities of reopening the Tibet Mission had received money from her for that purpose. We shall see further, letter of Delhi, Sept. 20, 1714, that she lent the money necessary for Desideri and Freyre's expenses on the Tibet journey.

[2] Fr. Giuseppe Antonio Martinelli had been at Agra. Desideri may have met him at Damão.

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tutte le diligenze che mi sarano moralmente possibili p. condurre a fine quest' intento; e di non arrendermi giamai a tutti gl'ostacoli, che da' Nostri mi fossero posti, eccettuandone il commando de' Superiori.

Posto ciò, rinovo nelle mani di V.P., e ratifico questo mio voto; e p. sgravio della mia coscienza la prego, la riprego, e la supplico per il Sangue prezioso di Gesù, che si degni con la sua autorità di confermarmi l' avviso di andar' a riaprire la Missione del Thibet, datomi in Goa dal P. Prov. le; e a darmi con tutta la pienezza della sua autorità ordine, che non ostante qualunque impedimento che mi fusse fatto da' Nostri, e non ostante qualunque contrordine, e contravviso che ricevessi da' questi sup. ri e Prov. li locali, con ordine espresso, e immediato di V.P., io ò proseguisca, ò di nuovo intraprenda l'impresa di riaprire la Missione dl Thibet.

Padre N.re io non le dimando ciò *utcumque*, mà gle lo dimando p. scarico, e sgravio dlla mia coscienza, e perchè *attentis omnibus, et diligenter expensis* formo giudizio, che la Comp. a è gravemente obbligata a far tutto il possibile p. riaprire quella Missione, perchè quelli dl Thibet hanno dato a conoscere evidentemente che vogliono la Santa Fede Cattolica; e dall' altra parte si sono

order to pursue that work, and to use every diligence which I shall morally be able to make in order to bring this plan to execution, and never to yield to all the obstacles which Ours may throw in my way, the orders of the Superiors expected.

This settled, I renew in Your Paternity's hands and ratify this my vow; and, for the discharge of my conscience, I beg you, beg you again, and beseech you by the previous blood of Jesus that you deign with your authority to confirm unto me the instruction of going to reopen the Mission of Tibet which was given me at Goa by the Father Provincial, and to give me with all the fulness of your authority the order that, notwithstanding any impediment which might have been caused me by Ours, and notwithstanding any counter-order and counter-instruction which I might receive from these local Superiors and Provincials, I should, under express and immediate order of Your Paternity, either prosecute or undertake anew the enterprise of reopening the Mission of Tibet.

Our Father, I do not ask you this *utcumque* (in any manner whatever), but I ask it you for the relief and discharge of my conscience, and, because *attentis omnibus, et diligenter expensis* (all things considered and carefully weighed), I form the opinion that the Company is under the grave obligation of doing whatever is possible to reopen that Mission: for those of Tibet have given to

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chiaram. te dichiarati che voglieno p. loro Maestri non altri, che quelli d. a Comp. a, descrivendo a minuto il vestito, che portano i Nostri in Agra, perchè con tal vestito entrò là in altri tempi il n. ro P. Andrade. Sicchè se a quegli mancher e la Feda, ne sarà rea la Compagnia, in caso che si manchi (il che Dio non p. metta mai) dal canto nostro di fare il possibile.

know to evidence that they want the Holy Catholic Faith; and, on the other hand, they have clearly declared that they want for their Teachers no others than those of the Company: describing minutely the dress Ours wear at Agra, because with such dress did our Father Andrade enter there in other times.[1] Therefore, if the Faith will fail them, the Company will be guilty of it, in case we fail (which may God never permit!); on our side to do what is possible.

P. re N. ro io scarico la mia coscien-(*Next page*)-za.

Our Father, I discharge my conscience. (Next page.)

*Ecce ego, mitte me.* Ancorchè mi sia necessario camminar p. le fiamme, e ancorchè mi fosse necessario passar p. tutto l'Inferno a fine di arrivare a dar la notizia di Dio, e d.a Santa Fede Catholica a quelle povere Genti dl Thibet, p. le fiamme camminerò, e p. tutto 'Inferno passeròl' confidato in Dio, purchè la Comp. a non resti punto aggravata, purchè si promova la gloria di Dio, purchè si procuri la salute eterna di quell' anime. *Ecce ego, mitte me*; son pronto ad andar senza verun sussidio, senza viatico, senza cosa veruna; Bastami solo la fiducia nell' assistenza Divina, giacchè

*Ecce ego, mitte me.* (Lo, here I am; send me).[2] Even if I ought to walk through the flames, and even if I ought to pass through the whole of Hell, in order to succeed in giving the knowledge of God and of the Holy Catholic Faith to those poor peoples of Tibet, through the flames shall I walk, and through the whole of Hell shall I pass, confident in God, so that the Company may not remain one whit burdened, so that the glory of God be promoted, so that the eternal salvation of those souls be procured. *Ecce ego, mitte me.* (Lo, here I am; send me). I am ready to go without any

[1] This information is very baffling. It appears to have been obtained at Goa, or at Damão, and before reaching Surat. In his letter from Leh, Aug. 5, 1715, he gives it as doubtful. If it were correct, men from the King of Tsaparang should have come to Surat to ask for Fathers like those who had been there in 1624–40; the information would have led the Capuchins to ask for the Tibet mission-field. In that case the men came to Surat several years before Propaganda assigned Tibet the Capuchins in 1703. How is it that, nevertheless, in 1706, Fr. Francis Borgia Koch was destined to a Mission in Tibet, the King of which had asked for Missionaries?

[2] Isai. 6. 8.

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tengo scolpite nel cuore le parole di V.P. scritte a' Sup. ri di q. ta Prov.a in una sua lettera, nella quale ordinandogli, che trattino di aprir nuove Missioni, e che trattino con maggior impeyno *de reditu ad Thibetum*; e animandoli a non isgomentarsi p.niuna difficoltà apport loro quel belliss. o motivo suggeritole certam.te dal suo cuore tutto pieno di spirito, e di zelo: *Causa Dei est.*

subsidy, without any viaticum, without anything. Enough for me is my confidence in the divine assistance, since I hold engraved in my heart the words of Your Paternity, written to the Superiors of this Province in one of your letters, wherein, ordering them to consider opening new Missions, and to consider with greater earnestness *de reditu ad Thibetum* (returning to Tibet), and encouraging them not to be dismayed by any difficulty, you adduce for them that most beautiful motive, surely suggested to you by your heart all full of spirit and of zeal; *Causa Dei est* (It is God's cause).

Altro più non aggiungo p. non far torto alla sua fervorosiss.a carità, e zelo. *Amanti tantummodo nuntiandum fuit*; riflettè molto benè S. Agostino, nel considerare, che Marta e Maddalena allorchè. Stava molto infermo Lazaro, solam. te diedero di ciò avviso, a Gesù, che era assente; senza aggiungere preghiere, nè altro. Così io giudicando che basti solo rappresentar ciò che hò gid scritto a V.P. tà sopra.to punto, p. muovere la sua carita, lo zelo suo dlla maggior gloria di Dio, e dlla salute dll' anime; p. questo non aggiungo altre preghiere altre suppliche; *Amanti tantummodo nuntiandum fuit.*

I add nothing more, not to wrong your very fervent charity and zeal. *Amanti tantummodo nuntiandum fuit* (To him who loved it was enough to announce), as Saint Augustine very well reflected, when he considered that, when Lazarus was very ill, Martha and Magdalen only sent word thereof to Jesus, who was away, and added no prayers, nor anything else. Thus I, judging that merely to represent what I have already written to Your Paternity suffices in order to move your charity, your zeal for the greater glory of God, and of the salvation of souls, do not therefore add other prayers, other entreaties. *Amanti tantummodo nuntiandum fuit* (To him who loved it was enough to announce).

Solam. te posto a' suoi piedi riverentem.te li bacio, e la supplico dlla sua S.a Benedizione, e che si degni impetrarmi

Only, placed at your feet, I reverently kiss them, and I beg you to give me your Holy Blessing, and that you deign

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dal S ig.re quello spirito che si conviene p. vivere, e morire da vero Figlio d.a Comp.a, e da uomo Apostolico d.a Comp.a, p. adempire i disegni di Dio che ciò pretese col chiamarmi, e mandarmi p.mezzo di V.P.all 'Indie.

La supplico ancora ad applicar Messe, e far fare Orazioni da' N.ri, particolarm.te da Novizj p.il buon' esito di q.ta impresa, e p.la conversione dl Thibet. E facendole umiliss.a riverenza mi raccomando alle sue S.S. e Orazioni, e S.S. Sacrifizj.

Di V.P.

Suratte 30. Xbre 1713.

*SOLI.*

Ind.mo in X.po Servo,

*Ippolito Desiderj.*

ask of the Lord that spirit which behoves, to live and die as true Son of the Company and as Apostolic man of the Company, to fulfil the designs of God, who intended *that*, when calling me and sending me through Your Paternity to the Indies.[1]

I also beg you to apply Masses, and to get Prayers made by Ours, chiefly by the Novices, for the good success of this enterprise and for the conversion of Tibet. And, making most humble reverence to you, I commend myself to your Holy Prayers and Holy Sacrifices.

Your Paternity's

Suratte, 30th December, 1713.

*PRIVATE.*

Unworthy Servant in Christ,

*Ippolito Desideri.*[2]

5. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J. to Fr. Piccolomini, Italy (Agra, Aug. 21, 1714).

This letter, now translated for the first time into English, is preserved in the Stonyhurst College Library (A.I. 36, 2nd Part, pp. 4, 4to). (Cf. Sommervogel.) It is dated from Agra, Aug. 21, 1714, and is addressed to Fr. Piccolomini, in Italy.[3] It recounts Desideri's journey from Surat to Delhi and from Delhi to Agra, his three months' stay at Agra and his forthcoming departure for Tibet. It is the most circumstantial

[1] This is one of the passages showing that Desideri contemplated the Tibet field when leaving for India; it also implies, in the light of Desideri's other statements, that the General destined him for Tibet when sending him to India.

[2] There is no reference yet in this letter to the Visitor, Fr. Joseph da Sylva, whom, judging from the further letters, Desideri found at Surat on his arrival there. Would not this show that the letter was written at Damão, with the intention of posting it at Surat?

[3] Fr. Francis Volumnius Piccolomini: b. at Siena, July 7, 1682; admitted into the Society of Jesus, June 1, 1698; taught grammar, 2 years; rhetoric, 3 years; philosophy, 6 years; moral theology, 2 years; canon law, 6 years; master of novices; Rector of the German College, Rome; died at Rome, Jan. 14, 1740. Cf. Sommervogel, *Bibl. de la C. de J.*, VI, 700.

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account we have thus far of this part of Desideri's travels. It should be compared with his *Notizie isotiroche*, of Desideri's Bk. I, ch. IV: 'Departure from Goa and journey up to the city of Delly, the capital of the Empire of the Mogol. Brief account of that court.' (Cf. Wessels, p. 276.)

We may well pardon Desideri the pathos of his farewell to all his old friends. To have an idea of what such a journey at such a time meant, one must remember the terrible experiences of Fr. Anthony de Andrada in his first expedition to Tibet (1624), and Desideri's own subsequent hardships. He was sent to reopen de Andrada's mission, but he walked to the unknown, not knowing where de Andrada had been.

To understand the good man's emotion on the eve of setting out for Delhi, Kashmir and Ladakh, let us remember that his was a self-imposed mission, one to which for years before coming to India he had felt himself drawn. What had inspired him with the idea, we cannot say. Perhaps, what he had read of de Andrada, either de Andrada's own two printed accounts of his first and second journey to Tsaparang, or the stray literature on the subject as found in the histories of the Generals of the Society. He may also have been impelled by the efforts of the General to reopen the Tibet Mission, which between 1706 and his own departure from Italy in 1712 had led to nothing. To inspire him the more there was the example of the Capuchins sent to Tibet in 1704, who had actually penetrated to Lhasa in 1708.

M. to R.do in X.po P.re,

P.C.

Tanto prima di partir di Goa, quanto prima di partir di Surat, scrissi a V. R. dandole nuova di me e del mio arrivo a detti luoghi, adesso vò continuado le notizie di questo 3° tomo ò 4° del mio viaggio; perche di poi, Dio sà quando, è se, le potrò più inviar nuove di me.

Dunque fui necessitato a trattenermi quasi trè Mesi in

Very Reverend Father in Christ,

The Peace of Christ.

Before my departure from Goa as well as from Surat, I wrote to Your Reverence, giving you news about me and my arrival at the said places.[1] I now continue the account of the 3rd or 4th tome of my journey:[2] for God knows when, or whether at all, I shall be able to send you any news of myself hereafter.

So then, I was obliged to stay about three months at

[1] We do not know where these two letters are.

[2] The first tome may have been in Desideri's mind his story up to his embarking at Lisbon; the second, his voyage to Goa; the third what happened at Goa and up to his writing to Piccolomini from Surat; the fourth would be the present letter.

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Surat, a cagione delle guerre, e turbolenze di quest' I mperio del Mogor; e in detto tempo stiedi in casa de' P.P. Cappuccini, che quivi stanno alla cura di quei Cristiani che in Surat si ritrovano. Party finalm.te a' 26 di Marzo, quando già era cominciata la forza del caldo, che in questi luoghi è molto grande, e partij in compagnia d'alcuni altri pochi. Nell' ottavo giorno del viaggio eramo in un certo passo aspettati da un grosso numero di Ladri armati, parte a piedi, e parte a cavallo; mā si compiacque il Sig.re di farsi difesa di chi andava posto nelle sue

Surat,[1] because of the wars and disturbances in this Empire of the Mogor.[2] And, during the said time, I lived in the house of the Capuchin Fathers, who there are in charge of the Christians found at Surat.[3] Finally, I left on the 26th of March, when had commenced already the strength of the heats, which in these parts are very great; and I left in the company of some others.[4] On the eighth day of the journey, at a certain pass,[5] we were awaited by a large number of armed robbers, some on foot, some on horseback; but it pleased the Lord

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[1] He remained at Surat between Jan. 4, 1714, and March 26. 'During the time I was obliged to remain at Surat, I began the study of Persian.' (Letter from Leh, Aug. 5, 1715, cf. Puini, *op. cit.*, p. 361.)

[2] On the death of Bahādur Shāh (Feb. 18, 1712) there was the usual struggle for the throne and the ensuing massacre of kindred. Jahāndār Shāh succeeded, but was massacred after eleven months. His nephew Farrukhsiyar Shāh, who ascended the throne on Jan. 9, 1713, began his reign by terrible reprisals on the nobles who had opposed his father 'Azīm-ush-shān. In 1713-14 there was a violent disturbance at Ahmadābad, between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. Ahmadābad lay on Desideri's route to Delhi.

[3] On the Capuchins at Surat, see Fr. Felix, O.M.C., *The Capuchin Mission at Surat*, in *The Franciscan Annals of India*, Agra, 1910, pp. 20-23; 38-41; 86-89; 112-116; 136-137; 176-179. If Fr. Felix expresses there the opinion that in 1713 the house of the Capuchins was occupied by the Carmelites, we find here that it cannot have been so in the beginning of 1714.

[4] In this letter there is not the slightest allusion to Fr. Desideri's two companions on the journey from Surat to Delhi: Fr. Joseph da Sylva, the Jesuit Visitor of the Mogor Mission, and Fr. Melchior dos Reys, who went to Agra as the new Rector of the College there, which meant that he was virtually the Superior of all the Fathers in the Mogor Mission. 'On the 26th of March, I left with the Fr. Visitor and arrived on May 11 at Delly, where Fr. Freyre's going to Tibet was ratified.' Cf. Puini, *op. cit.*, p. 361. At p. 6, *ibid.*, March 25 is, given as the day of departure from Surat. The word 'ratified' in the passage just quoted, might show that already at Surat there had been question of Fr. Freyre's going with Desideri to Tibet, but it may mean also that the Visitor approved at Delhi of Freyre's spontaneous offer to go with Desideri. Puini (p. 6) can be misunderstood as meaning that Fr. Freyre became Desideri's companion from Surat, whereas he was stationed at Delhi, before Desideri set out from Surat. Fr. Wessels (p. 210) states that at Surat Desideri learned that 'Fr. Manoel Freyre was to be his Superior and travelling companion.' This does not appear from our letters. Is it stated so in Desideri's *Relazione* as published by Puini or in his *Notizie istoriche*?

[5] Probably a pass in the Satpura Range.

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mani; sicchè non ricevemmo verun danno; anzi varii di quei ladri ci vennero per buono spazio accompagnando. Non così successe ad altri non Christiani, che in quella medesima mattina passarono da quell' istesso luogo, poichè gl'infelici furono costretti a ricevere sopra di se quella tempesta, che per noi era preparata, e lasciarono quivi non solo la robba, mà ancor la vita in preda al furore degli spietati Ladroni.

A 5d' Aprile arrivai a Amadabat Città molto grande, e popolata di circa due milioni d'anime, dove si crede che regnasse il P. di S. Giosafat, e dove conservasi tuttavia una veste, che dicono fosse di S. Barlaam. In detta Città fui ricevuto in Casa degl' Olan-

to defend who went committed to his hands; hence, we received no harm; some of these robbers even came along a good distance, accompanying us. It did not happen so to others, non-Christians, who that very morning passed by the same place: for the poor fellows were forced to face the storm which had been prepared for us, and there they left, not only their belongings, but life itself, the victims of the fury of the cruel robbers.

On the 5th of April I arrived at Amadabât, a very great City, with a population of about two million souls,[1] where it is believed reigned the Father of Saint Josaphat, and where anyhow is kept a garment which they say belonged to Saint Barlaam.[2]

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[1] Ahmadābad. At p. 6, in Puini, we have: 'Amadabaad, the capital of the Province of Guzarat'. Puini adds that they arrived at Amadabaad in April 1, whereas we have here April 5. The latter date alone is correct, since they were yet in a pass on the 8th day after their departure from Surat; moreover, Desideri adds here that after staying at Amadabaad on April 6, they left it on April 7.

[2] The principal characters of a legend which was a favourite subject of writers in the Middle Ages. It is a christianized version of one of the legends of Buddha, as even the name Josaphat shows, Josaphat being a corruption of Joasaph, corrupted through the middle Persian Budasif (Budasif = Bodhisattva). A Latin translation of the Greek text was made in the XIIth century and was used for translations into nearly all the European languages. In the East it exists in Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Hebrew.

I give here the usual opinion on this matter, but I shall add that I am not fully satisfied. At Amadābad the custodians of the tradition enunciated by Desideri may have been the Armenians and the Abyssinians, both of whom had churches there in Tavernier's time. I should think that the story of Barlaam and Josaphat spread to Europe through the Georgians, and that a section of the Georgians (called Guzr in Persian) actually gave their name to the province of Gujarat, and to the Gujrat and Gujranwala of the Punjab. When these Georgians settled in India, had they not already a smattering of Christianity, which they lost subsequently in India? And was not their chief town in Guzarat at Ahmedābad? I expect most readers will deride the passage in Desideri as puerile local tradition, while it may be a very precious survival of ancient Christianity in India. Can the tradition here voiced by Desideri be traced to other authors, earlier or later? So many passed through Ahmedābad, and the English and the Dutch were established there so early, that it

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desi, che quivi si ritrovano, e vi stiedi tutto il giorno seguente.

La mattina del 7. partij in compagnia d'una Cafila, che appunto in quel giorno s'imbattè a partir da Amadabât. Cafila chiamano una compagnia di molta gente, rutta, ò quasi tutta armata, che si unisce a far viaggio; ed è ciò necessarissimo a cagione dell' incontrarse frequentis simamente grossi squadroni di Soldati, dimoranti per lo più ne' monti, che sono di suo offizio Ladroni, de' quali è pieno tutto questo vasto Imperio. La Cafila, con cui partij era composta di due mila persone ò più, gran parte dè quali erano Soldati a Cavallo, e gran parte erano soldati a piedi. Cosi uniti cominciavamo la mattina prima di farsi giorno a marciare con buona ordinanza a maniera d'esercito, con tromba, Tamburi, Stendardi, Offiziali, Carri di Bagaglio, Cameli, etc. In cotal guisa seguivamo a com-

In this City I was received at the house of the Dutch, who are found there,[1] and there I stayed the next day.

On the morning of the 7th, I left in the company of a Cafila,[2] which just that day happened to leave from Amadabât. They call Cafila a large body of people, armed all of them, or nearly all of them, who combine to travel together. And this is quite necessary, because one meets very often great troops of soldiers, staying mostly in the mountains, who by profession are robbers, and with whom the whole of this vast Empire swarms. The Cafila with which I started consisted of two thousand persons, or more, a great number of them soldiers on horseback, and a great part foot-soldiers. Thus united, in the morning, before daybreak, we began marching in good order, like an army, with trumpet, drums, standards, officers, baggage-carts, camels, etc. We went along in this style up to a convenient hour,

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would be very wonderful if Desideri had been the first to record the Ahmedãbad tradition.

Even if the christianized legend were borrowed from a tale of the Buddha, the introduction to the Christian version appears to reflect correct Indian history when it states that St. Thomas evangelized India and that India swarmed with Christian monks, monasticism having been brought to it from Egypt.

[1] For the Dutch at Amadabaad, cf. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. IV. *Amadabaad*, Bombay, 1879, pp. 272-3, 285. Valentyn states that the Dutch lodge in 1639 and 1679 was important. After 1679 the number of employees was diminished. In 1711 there was a head merchant (*koopman*) with 5 subalterns, Dutchmen, and some natives. Cf. Ive Deel, Ilde Stuk, p. 151, col. 1.

It is gratifying to see the hospitality thus extended by the Dutch to the Jesuits. They were not less amicable at Agra, and to the Capuchins passing through Singhia, near Patna. Nor were the English, wherever they were found, less hospitable to our Missionaries.

[2] *Cafila*. Arab.: *kāfila*: a body or convoy of travellers, a caravan. My two copyists read *casila*, which I treat as a misreading for *cafila*.

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minare fin' ad era competente, ed in fine ci accampavamo in qualchè luogo spazioso, e sempre vicino ad alcun lago, fiume, ò fosso, per ristoro della nostra sete. Quivi a campagna aperta passavamo la notte in riposo, mà sempre con sentinelle vigilanti. Il cammino molti giorni fù buono, mà molti giorni ancora fù aspro, e travaglioso; e sempre reso molto grave da un' eccessivo caldo, e specialm.te ogni giorno da un vento infocato, che rendeva penosissimo il viaggiare anche agl' stessi animali. Gl' incontri di pericoli furono varij, mà sempre si superarono col favor divino senza verun danno. Proseguimmo in tal modo fino quasi al fine di Aprile, nel qual tempo la Cafila restò smembrata, e divisa in varie parti, poichè diverso era il termine di ciascuna parte di essa.

Con una di queste parti seguitai io il mio viaggio sino alla Citta chiamata Sanganêr. Quivi avendomi conosciuto per Europeo, i Ministri della Città persuadendosi, che sotto abito di Religioso, e di povero, fossi un molto ricco Mercante, mi arrestarono, e esigevano una buona quantità di denaro. Fui quivi costretto a fermarmi due giorni, nel qual tempo quella parte di Cafila, con cui andavo tirò innazi il suo viaggio. In

and finally encamped in some spacious place, and always near some lake, river, or ditch,[1] where to quench our thirst. There, in the open, we spent the night resting, but always with sentries on the watch. For many days the road was good, but many days too it was rough and difficult; and it was rendered very difficult all the time by the excessive heat, and chiefly every day by a hot wind, which made travelling most painful, even for the animals themselves. The dangers we encountered were of various sorts, but with the divine grace we always escaped without harm. We continued in this way up to about the end of April, when the Cafila broke up, and divided off to several parts, the destination of each lying in a different direction.[2]

With one of these sections I pursued my way up to the City called Sanganèr.[3] Here, having recognized me for a European, the officials of the town, persuaded that under the habit of a Religious and a poor man might be hidden a very rich merchant, arrested me and exacted a large amount of money. Here I was obliged to stop two days, during which time that part of the Cafila with which I went proceeded

[1] *Fosso*='ditch'. Can it be for *pozzo*='well'?

[2] The caravan broke up probably at Ajmer.

[3] Sanganer is 7 m. S.W. of Jaipur; hence *Amir* must not be identified with Ajmer, but with Amber or Amer, *alias* Jaipur. Amber was a few miles further ahead (*piu avanti*). The Amber Rajah then reigning was Jai Singh II Siwae (born *circa* 1683; died 1743). He is known as the great astronomer prince, and at a later date he had at his court several Jesuits, astronomers, mostly Germans.

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tanto saputosi nella Città di Amir, posta alcune miglia più avanti, dove risiede il Regolo di quei luoghi, il mio arresto in Sanganer, venne una buona riprensione a' Ministri di quella Città con ordine espresso, che subito subito mi lasciassero andare senza veruna contribuzione per il mio cammino. Così spedito, mà senza la solita compagnia, tirai innanzi, fidato, che il Sig.re, a cui maggior gloria solam. te erano indirizzati tutti i miei passi, mi assisterebbe in tutto, e mi defenderebbe in tutto, come buon Padre; ò almeno, quando si degnasse di disporre altrimenti, mi darebbe forza di tutto sopportar con giubilo di cuore per suo amore. Si compiacque però di guidarmi sicuram.te, e prosperam.te, di modo che agl' undici di Maggio con somma felicità, e con una straordinaris.sima speditezza arrivai sano, e salvo alla gran Città di Delly, capo di quest' imperio, residenza del Re, e abitate da trè milioni, e piu di gente.

Sta quivi all cura di quei trecento più ò meno Cristiani, che quivi si ritrovano un nostro Padre, daun fui accolto, e ricevuto con molta cortesia, e carità. Quivi nella prima nolle si degnò il Sig.re di darmi il ristoro, e conforto di tutti

on its journey. Meanwhile, when in the City of Amir, some miles further, where resides the Kinglet of those places, they learned of my arrest at Sanganer, there came a severe reproof for the officials of that City, with express order that at once, they should let me go on my way, without any payment. Thus free, but without the usual company, I pushed forward, trusting that the Lord, to whose greater glory were directed all my steps, would assist me throughout, would defend me throughout, like a good Father, or at least that, if he deigned to dispose otherwise, he would give me strength to bear all with jubilee of heart for love of him.[1] Now, he was pleased to guide me safely and securely, so that with extraordinary speed I arrived safe and sound, on the eleventh of May[2] at the great City of Delly, the Capital of this Empire, the residence of the King, and inhabited by three million people and more.

There, in charge of three hundred Christians, more or less, lives a Father of Ours,[3] by whom I was welcomed and received with much courtesy and charity. There, the first night, the Lord deigned to give me rest and refreshment from

[1] What happened to Fr. Joseph da Sylva and Melchior dos Reys? Were they not dressed like Desideri, suspected of being merchants, arrested, and set free with Desideri? If they were not arrested, they would surely have waited at Sanganer till Desideri was set free. Here is a case for the negative evidence of silence.

[2] The same date is given at pp. 6 and 361 of Puini, and in Desideri's letter of Lhasa, April 10, 1716; also in his letter of Delhi, Sept. 20, 1714. It is evident that Desideri kept a diary.

[3] Fr. Manoel Freyre.

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gl' incomodi, e patimenti del passato viaggio. Convien sapere, come avendo in goa ottenuto d'andar' a procurar d' aprire una nuova Missione nel Thibet, fui destinato sì, mà solo, e senza verun compagno in un' impresa molto ardua, ed in luoghi tanto remoti, e da' Nostri, e da qualunque Cristiano. Avevo scritto al p. Provinciale a Goa, che si degnasse mandarmi almeno un Padre per compagno, affinchè quando si compiacesse S.D.M. di farmi trovar' alcuna Messe, avessi chi m'aiutasse, ò quando volesse di me disporre altrimenti ò nelviaggio, ò nel termine, avessi la compagnia, e l' aiuto d' alcun nostro Religioso. M' aveva promesso il P. Provincial di mandarmi un Padre, e di soddisfare al mio desiderio, mà però non poteva quello da Goa arrivar' a queste parti, se non doppo un' anno, nel qual tempo m'era necessario star' in queste parti aspettando il di lui arrivo, Mà però in quella prima notte di Delly parlando con quel Padre, che quivi trovato avevo, e manifestandoli il mio intento d' andar a procurar d'aprir una nuova Mis sionedl Thibet, mi s'offerseper venir'egli in mia compagnia, ed io riconoscendo ciò come dono della mano pietosa di Dio, restai molto consolato, e soddisfatto. Mà perchè non potevano così subito partire.

all the discomforts and sufferings of my past journey. You must know that, having obtained leave at Goa to go and try to reopen a new Mission in Tibet, I was sent indeed, but alone, and without any companion, on a very arduous enterprise, and to places, so remote both from Ours and from any Christian. I had written to the Father Provincial at Goa, asking him kindly to send me at least one Father for a companion, so that, should His Divine Majesty be pleased to make me find some harvest, I might have who would assist me, or, should he wish to dispose of me otherwise, either on the journey or at the goal, I might have the company and help of one of our Religious. The Father Provincial had promised to send me a Father and to gratify my desire, but he could not come from Goa to these parts till after a year, and meanwhile I had to stay in these parts and await his arrival. But, now, that first night at Delly, as I was speaking to the Father whom I had found there, and I made known to him my project of going and trying to open a new Mission, that of Tibet, he offered to come with me, and I, seeing in this a gift from the merciful hand of God, was much consoled and satisfied.[1] But we could not start

[1] Desideri must have written to the Provincial before his departure from Surat, and must even have received the answer before that departure on March 26, 1714. How then can it be said that Fr. Freyre was appointed Fr. Desideri's companion by the Visitor Fr. Joseph da Sylva, while the Visitor and Desideri were still at Surat? (Cf. Puini, 6; Wessels, 210.) Desideri's interview with Fr. Freyre the first night they were together at Delhi precludes the theory.

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sì a cagione del doversi trovar' alcun Padre, che restasse alla cura de'Cristiani di Delly, sì a cagione dell' esser già vicine a cominciar le pioggie, le quali in questi loughi ne' presenti Mesi sono dirottissime, e continue; percio doppo essere stato dieci giorni in Dellỳ, partij per Agra, indi distante sette giornate.

Arrivato in Agra, per buona sorte contro l'ordinario costume, trovai quivi due Patri, e subito un d'essi, che era destinato per andar'a trovar alcun riposo delle sue fatiche a Goa, s'offerse d'andar' egli alla cura de' Cristiani di Dellỳ, perchè 'l altro Padre potesse meco venire per la Missione dl Thibet. Così stabilite le cose, sopravenendo il

so quickly, both because some Father had to be found to remain in charge of the Christians of Delly, and because the rains were already about to begin, which in these places during the present months are very excessive and continual; therefore, after a ten days' stay at Delly, I went to Agra, a distance of seven days thence.

Having arrived at Agra, I found there by good luck, against the usual order of things, two Fathers,[1] and presently one of them, who was destined to go to Goa there to find some rest from his fatigues, offered to go and take charge of the Christians of Delly, so that the other Father might come with me to Tibet. Matters thus settled, the time

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[1] The two Fathers at Agra were probably the new Rector, Fr. Melchior dos Reys, and the outgoing Rector. The Catalogues for the Mogor Mission show for January 2, 1710, Fr. Emmanuel Durão as Vice-Rector at Agra. We have no catalogues till December 1716. (Cf. *JASB.*, 1910, p. 536.) The personnel of the Mogor Mission in 1714 seems to have been: Fr. Joseph da Sylva, the Visitor; Fr. Melchior dos Reys, Rector, about May 28, at Agra; the outgoing Rector or Vice-Rector at Agra, Fr. Manoel Durão, who would have taken Fr. Freyre's place at Delhi, when he (Freyre) and Desideri left for Lahore on Sept. 23, 1714. In fact, the catalogue of December 1716 shows Fr. Manoel Durão at Delhi, also the Catalogue of Dec. 1718 and of Nov. 1719. In 1713 the Father at Delhi was Manoel Freyre. As there was no missionary at Lahore, the above list appears to be complete for 1713, with the addition of Desideri.

Neither Freire nor Durão are in A. Franco's list, which may mean that they were born in India, or were admitted in India. The same list shows that Fr. Joseph da Sylva, a Portuguese and not yet a priest, came out *via* Lisbon in 1673, and that Fr. Melchior dos Reys, a Portuguese and not yet a priest, came out in 1699 *via* Lisbon.

'Manoel Freyre was born at Anciãɔ in Portugal in 1679 and entered the Society at Goa, October 7, 1694. In 1710 we find him engaged in the Agra Mission, to which he returned after his Lhasa journey. After 1719 his name disappears from the yearly lists. There can be no doubt that he left the Society, for in a letter to the General written from Goa, Dec. 10, 1724, he petitions for re-admission. The reply is not known, but the catalogue of 1728 has a note appended, to the effect that the name of Manuel Freyre has not been entered, because he will not be able to present himself till after a month. Nothing seems to have come of the affair, for his name is not seen either in the catalogues of later years or in the *Catalogus defunctorum*.' Cf. Wessels, 222 n. 2.

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tempo delle pioggie, e non potendo io partire, mi aplicai allo studio dlla lingua Persiana, la quale per il restante del viaggio, che mi rimane, e per entrar nel Thibet m'è necessaria, e di cui avevo preso i prim principij in Surat. Non posso a bastangza spiegar' a V.R., che fatica, e che travaglio seco porti lo studio d'una tal lingua, la quale contiene molta difficultà, special.te per la pronunzia per chi non è tuttavia Bambino, Mà sia pur sempre ed in tutto lodato, e benedetto il Signore, per cui amore se altro non potrò fare in questo tempo. almeno goderò di potergli ogni giorno offerire questo piccolo sacrifizio di questo travaglio, che pur si rende dolce, per star l'occhio posto di mira nel di lui prezioso amore, e nel desiderio della conversione delle anime redente col sangue di Gesù, che sono i due condimenti, che rendono agevole tutto l'aspro, e fanno dolce tutto l'amaro.

Mà non è questo il tormento maggiore, poichè la pena più sensibile è il veder avanti agl' occhi di continuo tanta ruina d'anime preziose, e tante, e tanto grandi offese, che si fanno contro l'Infinito Bene, e non poter nè pur dar un passo per ovviare, a si lacrimevole sconcerto. E questo un continuo, e tormentosissimo eculeo; imperocchè siccome in quello l'atrocità consiste nell'

of the rains coming on, I, being unable to start, applied myself to the study of the Persian language, which I need for the rest of my remaining journey and to enter Tibet, and the first beginnings of which I had learned at Surat.[1] I cannot sufficiently explain to Your Reverence what fatigue and what trouble the study of such a language entails; it offers many difficulties, especially for the pronunciation, for one who is no longer a babe. But, praised and blessed for ever and in all things be the Lord, for whose sake if I can do nothing else at this time, I shall at least have the satisfaction of being able to offer him daily the small sacrifice of this labour, which becomes even sweet when the eye is fixed on his precious love and on the desire of the conversion of the souls redeemed by the blood of Jesus, the two seasonings which make easy whatever is hard, and turn to sweet whatever is bitter.

However, that is not my chief torment: for keener is the pain I feel when I behold continually before my eyes the ruin of so many precious souls, and so many, and such grievous offences committed against the Infinite Goodness, and when I see I cannot make even one step to prevent such lamentable disorder. This is like a rack continually torturing me most cruelly: for, as the atro-

[1] Persian must have been of use to Desideri wherever Muhammadans or Armenians were found. He found both at Lhasa. He says, however, in his Relation (Puini, 82) that a knowledge of 'Hendustanic' was necessary as a preparation for the study of Tibetan.

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essere il corpo, nel tempo medesimo, in cui con funi violente è stirato fortemente per una banda, con altrettanto violente funi stirato per la parte totalm.te opposta; con che di due moti totalm.te opposti si compone una dolorosa carnificina; Così in me appunto sperimento dentro dl cuore. Si compiace S.D.M. *in vinculis charitatis* con dolce amorosa violenza di tirarmi con tutto il cuore là dove è grande la perdita dell'anime e più oltraggiata è la di lui amabiliss.a bontà; e nel tempo medisimo con durissimi legami misono stretti, e stirati. in altra parte i piedi, senz' altro poter fare se non mandar sole e scompagnate le potenze dll'animo, dove non può il corpo far loro compagnia. Mà ben presto ritornano elle a me sconsolate; come cani che scoperta la preda bramata, non potendola essi afferrare tornano al .Cacciatore, e lo stimolano ad andar' egli più avanti a trafiggerla con le sue armi.

Mà sia in tutto fatta la Divina voluntà dell' amabilissimo Padre, e Signor nostro, il quale con queste dimore giustam.te mi gastiga, e mi dà la pena, che ben merito per aver tardato tanto tempo, e tuttavia tardar' a ritirarmi dalle creature, e da me stesso, a tutto darmi .a lui, e perciò giustiaam.te mi punisce col permetter, che non possa io adesso come pur vorrei, tirar fuora dalle fauci dell' Inferno le

city of the rack consists in that the body, at the very time it is being violently drawn with strong ropes to one side, is at the same time and with ropes equally violent drawn in exactly opposite direction, the two totally opposite strains causing a cruel torment, just so do I feel in my heart. It pleases His Divine Majesty to draw my whole heart away *in vinculis charitatis* (with the bands of love) [1] and with sweet and amorous violence to where is great the perdition of souls, and where his most amiable goodness is outraged more; and at the same time with fastest bonds are my feet bound and drawn elsewhere, while I can do nothing else than send, alone and unaccompanied, the powers of the spirit to where my body cannot follow. But soon enough they return to me disconsolate, like dogs, who, when they have discovered the longed-for prey and are unable to seize it themselves, turn to the hunter, and press him to come along and to pierce it with his weapons.

But, let the Divine will of our most amiable Father and Lord be done in all things, who punishes me justly with these delays and chastises me deservedly for having tarried so long, and for tarrying still, to sever myself from creatures and from myself, and to give myself to him wholly. For this does he justly punish me by allowing that I should not now, as I would, be able to snatch souls from the jaws of

[1] Osee. 11. 4.

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anime per darle a lui, e per riporle come in luogo di sicurezza nel Cuore amorosissimo del Crocifisso gesù. Frà tutto questo però mi consolo col ricorso al potentissimo patrocinio della Santissima Vergine, e de' SS.i miei Avvocati, col patrocinio di quali spero in fine di placare il misericordioso Signore, e doppo le lacrime spero di poter *cum exultatione*, scorrere liberamente là dove mi chiama *Dominus messis*, e di poter consolarmi *potrans manipulos* a piè della Croce del mio Signore. E tale speranza va sempre in me aumentandosi per conoscer' io sensibilissimam.te e quasi toccar con le mani di continuo, che S.D. M. stà impegnata in favorire, e promuovere questa mia impresa, mentre incontro aiuti dove meno li potevo aspettare, e veggo con facilità sparire gl' ostacoli tutti, che in mezzo all' opera si frappongono. Faccia il Demonio, e l' Inferno tutto quanto vuole, ponga in contrario tutte le sue forze; non per questo mi atterrisce, perchè *Scio cui credidi*. Sò di certo, che la causa è di Dio, e son consapevole a me, che non ostante l'esser' io in tutto pieno di peccati, e d'ingratitudine alle divine misericordie, nondimeno con l' aiuto dl Sig.re l'intenzione è retta; e perciò non posso dubitar punto, che Dio sarà sempre con me; e *si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos*? Sono risolutiss.o con la divina grazia ò di morir in mezzo all' opera, ò di condurre

Hell, and give them to him, and place them as in a place of safety within the most loving Heart of my Crucified Jesus. Withal, I console myself throughout by having recourse to the most powerful patronage of the Most Blessed Virgin, and of the Saints, my advocates, with whose protection I hope in the end to appease the Lord of Mercy, and to obtain that after my tears I may be able *cum exultatione* (with joyfulness) hasten freely where *Dominus messis* (the Lord of the harvest) calls me, and may console myself *portans manipulos* (carrying my sheaves)[1] to the feet of my Lord's Cross. And that hope is always growing stronger in me, because I know most sensibly, and so to say touch with my hands continually, that His Divine Majesty is bound to favour and speed this my enterprise, since I meet with help where I could least expect it, and see vanishing with ease all the obstacles standing in the way of the undertaking. Let the Devil, let Hell, do whatever they please; let them put forth all their strength in opposition; I am not frightened thereby; for *scio cui credidi* (I know whom I have believed).[2] I know for certain that it is God's cause, and I am conscious that, though I am wholly steeped in sins and ingratitude to the divine mercies, yet with the help of the Lord the intention is right; hence I cannot

[1] Matth. 9. 38; Luke, 10. 2.

[2] 2 Tim. 1. 12.

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a fine questa impresa, che so di certo che Dio vuol da me.

E perchè chi si pone ad una grand' impresa è necessario, che ò tenga buon capitale, ò che almeno riceva da altri qualchè grosso sussidio; perciò trovandomi io senza nè pur tenue capital di virtù, di spirito, e di fervore, affinchè non sia temeraria questa mia impresa ricorro ad altri, e specialmente a V.R., a cui è ben nota la mia grandiss.a miseria, affine di recevere dalla sua, e altrui carità qualche opportuno sussidio. Padre mio amatissimo *sum pauper, miser, et miserabilis* assai assai piu di quello, che si passa imaginare, sono senza punto di vigor vitale di spirito, sono pieno di piaghe, sono aggravato dalla soma de' miei moltissimi peccati, sono molto maltrattato dall' amor proprio, e dalle febbri quotidiane della mie verissime, e immortificate passioni, in somma sono sì fiacco, sì debole, che appena appena stò in piedi, e se mi reggo in piedi è perchè il misericordiosissimo Sig.re spinto dal suo svisceratissimo amore, in vece di abbandonarmi, come di continuo; meriterei per le mie insopportabili ingratitudini, *facit potentiam in brachio suo*, for a moment doubt but that God will always be with me; and *si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos*? (If God be with us, who is against us?)[1] I am quite resolved with the divine grace either to die in the midst of the labour, or to carry through this enterprise, which I know for sure God wants of me.

And, because he who turns his hand to a great undertaking must either have a large capital of his own, or at least receive from others some large subsidy, hence, finding myself without even the smallest store of virtue, of spirit, and of fervour, that my enterprise may not prove rash, I turn to others, and chiefly to Your Reverence who well know my very great misery, hoping to receive from your charity and that of others some timely succour. My very dear Father, *sum pauper, miser, et miserabilis* (I am poor, wretched, and miserable),[2] much, much more than can be imagined; I have not a title of vital vigour of spirit; I am full of wounds; I am burdened with the weight of my very many sins; I am buffeted by self-love, and by the daily fevers of my very true and immortified passions; in fine, I am so weak, so feeble that hardly, hardly, do I stand on my feet; and, if I do stand on my feet, it is because the most merciful Lord, prompted by his passionate love, instead of forsaking me, as I should deserve continually for my unbearable ingratitudes, *facit*

[1] Rom. 8. 31.

[2] Apoc., 3. 17.

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e mi và pietosamente sostenando perchè non cada, degnandosi di esaltar in me la sua misericordia e non i meritati rigori della sua infinita Giustizia, Or se, anche un Religioso di malto spirito, di soda virtù, e di sperimentato fervore, dovendosi porre in mezzo di persone dl mondo, con tutto che siano Cristiani, e timorati di Dio; con tutto ciò hà grandissima necessità d'essere molto, e molto aiutato dalle Orazioni di anime buone, e amiche di Dio; argomenti qual sia l'estrema necessità di me miserabiliss.o peccatore, che vò a pormi (perchè Dio così vuole da me) in paese totalm.te Infedeli, trà gente tutta nemica di Dio, e con uno spaventevole prospetto di tutte le maggiori iniq uità di continuo avanti agl' occhi.

Padre mio amatissimo, posto a suoi piedi, e con le lacrime agl' occhi la prego per quanto amore porta all' amabiliss.o Dio, per quanto zelo hà della sua divina gloria, per il Sangue di Jesù con cui fù redenta la poverella mia anima, la prego e la supplico con tutto il cuore non si acordi mai mai mai di me in ogni sua Orazione, che da quì innanzi farà, ed in ogni suo S.S. Sacrifizio. Preghi, e preghi con gran fervore, con gran premura per me, e specialmente offerisca spesso per me all' Eterno Padre il Sangue preziosissimo di Gesù.

Nè solo questo, mà con santo zelo, procuri d'indurre molti

*potentiam in brachio suo* (sheweth might in his arm)[1] and compassionately keeps sustaining me lest I fall, deigning to exalt in me his mercy rather than the deserved rigours of his infinite Justice. Now, if even a Religious of much spirit, of solid virtue, and tried fervour, when he has to venture among people of the world, Christians though they be and God-fearing, is yet in very great need of being much, much helped by the prayers of good and God-loving souls, judge how extreme is the need of me, most miserable sinner, who go to place myself (God willing it so of me) in countries wholly infidel, among people wholly unfriendly to God, and with the fearful prospect of having continually before my eyes all the worst iniquities.

My very dear Father, I cast myself at your feet, and with the tears in my eyes I beg of you, by all the love you bear to the most amiable God, by all the zeal you have for his divine glory, by the Blood of Jesus with which was redeemed my poor little soul, I beg and beseech you with all my heart never, never, never to forget me in each of your prayers, which henceforth you will make, and in each of your Holy Sacrifices. Pray, and pray with great fervour, with great earnestness, for me, and especially offer for me often to the Eternal Father the most precious Blood of Jesus.

Not only that; but with holy zeal try to induce many,

[1] Luke I. 51.

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moltiss.mi, specialmente persone Religiose a pregar di continuo per me, rappresentando loro le grandi miserie della mia anima per muoverle a compassione, e per far che preghino per me. Nè solam.te preghi, e faccia pregare per me, ma ancora faccia questa grand' opera di carità verso tanti poverelli ciechi quanti sono gl' Infedeli, e specialmente riponga spesso nelle piaghe dolcissime di Gesù in poverelli ciechi di tutto il Thibet, e offerisca per essi spesso a S.D. M. il Sangue salutifero del nostro comun Redentore.

Padre mio, questo sarà una buona occupazione, e di molto frutto, se le sue orazioni, SS. Sacr.i, e buone opere, le quali sono accette a S.D.M., per essere d'un' anima che con fervore l'ama, a che sempre maggiorm.te procura di piacergli, le applicherà tutte ad un fine si buono, si salutevole, e di tanta gloria di Dio.

V. R. sà molto bene quanto fuoco di zelo ardentissimo della divina gloria, e della salute dell' anime ardesse ne' curio di S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, e di S. Teresa amantissime di Dio; mà perchè non era loro permesse l'uscir fuora a salvar' anime con la predicazione, stavano nel loro ritiro di continuo occupate principalm.te in questo santo esercizio di pregare Dio e per la conversione dell' anime, e per quelli Operarij Apostolici che s'impiegavano nella conversione dell anime; in modo tale, che in leggendo le loro vite pare, che Dio principalmente le avesse poste al Mondo, per aiutare e l' anime,

very many, chiefly Religious persons, to pray for me continually, representing to them the great miseries of my soul to move them to compassion, and to make them pray for me. Not only pray and make others pray for me, but do render this great work for charity also for such wretchedly benighted souls as are those of the Infidels; especially do often lock up in the most sweet wounds of Jesus the poor blind ones of the whole of Tibet, and do often offer for them to His Divine Majesty the life-giving Blood of our common Redeemer.

Father mine, it will be a great occupation, one of much fruit, if you apply to a purpose so good, so salutary, and of such glory to God, all your prayers, Holy Sacrifices, and good works, which are acceptable to His Divine Majesty, coming from a soul that fervently loves God and always increasingly tries to please him.

Your Reverence knows very well what a fire of most ardent zeal for the divine glory and the salvation of souls burned in the hearts of Saint Mary Magdalen of Pazzi and of Saint Theresa, those great lovers of God; but, as it was not given them to sally forth to save souls by preaching, their continual occupation in their solitude was chiefly the holy exercise of praying to God, both for the conversion of souls, and for the Apostolic Missionaries employed in the conversion of souls: so much so that, when we read their lives, it seems that God had placed them in the world

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e quelli che con la predicazione attendevano alla salute dell' anime, per mezzo delle loro ferventissime orazioni. E quante, e quante anime vedremo noi nel giorno del giudizio far beata compagnia a queste Sante, e ad esse doppo Dio attriluir la loro eterna salute? Così dunque faccia V.R.; prendasi a petto il coltivare con le sue Orazioni, con frequenti Sacrifizj, con le sue ferventi e sante opere, e con le sue lacrime tutto il Thibet. Alzi V.R. costà di lontano le sue mani di continuo, perchè chi è destinato a combatter quì da vicino contra l'Inferno, avvalorato, ed assistito dal divino favore prevalga, e tiri via dalle zanne dello spietato nemico quell' anime, sopra le quali pare, che voglia già il pietoso Signore fissare uno sguardo benigno affine di salvarle. Tanto spero che farà V.R. con gran premura, e fervore, e che farà far' altresi da altri; e con tal sicurezza resterò molto consolato, e animato, e imitando l'esempio dl gloriosissimo Apostolo, dell' Indie, S. Francesco Xaverio ancor io, ne'bisogni principalm.te, offerirò a S.D.M. le Orazioni di V.R., e dell' altre anime ferventi, e caritive, affinchè da esse placato, da esse mosso, usi misericordia e con l'anima mia miserabilissima, e con quella gente, che a lui desidero col suo favore condurre, perchè sia egli come merita, da tutti conosciuto, da tutti amato e acciocchè se non possono tutte impedirsi, almeno in gran parte si diminuiscano le offese, che contro la sua infinita amabilis-

chiefly in order that by their most fervent prayers they might help the souls and those who by preaching labour for the salvation of souls. And how many, how many souls shall we on the day of judgment see making blessed company to these Saints and attributing to them under God their eternal salvation: Let then Your Reverence do likewise; take to heart to cultivate by your prayers, by frequent Sacrifices, by your fervent and holy works, and by your tears the whole of Tibet. Over there, from afar, let Your Reverence raise your hands continually, that he who is destined to fight here at close quarters the powers of Hell may, stengthened and assisted by the divine favour, prevail and snatch from the jaws of their cruel enemy those souls on whom it seems that the merciful Lord is now willing for their salvation to cast a look of pity. This much do I hope Your Reverence will do with great earnestness and fervour, and I hope that you will make others do the same. With this assurance I shall remain much consoled and encouraged, and, imitating the example of the very glorious Apostle of the Indies, Saint Francis Xavier, I too, chiefly in times of need, shall offer up to His Divine Majesty the prayers of Your Reverence and of other fervent and charitable souls, so that, appeased by them, moved by them, he may have pity both on my most miserable soul, and on that people whom with his favour

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sima bontà dagl' Uomini ingrati si comettono.

Mà ritornanda alla mia narrazione cominciata, dalla quale mi distolse quel vivo sentimento, che di continuo stà altam.te impresso nel mio cuore; dico, come doppo d'es sere stato quasi trè Mesi nel Coll.o nostro di Agra, a causa delle pioggie, e nel tempo medesimo a causa dlla lingua, che mi conveniva studiare, finalmente ricevei Patente in data de' 15 d' Agosto per andar' alla Missione del Thibet, e proseguir' il restante del viaggio, conforme al mio desiderio, e continuam, te replicate instanze. Il di 17. dl medesimo Mese d'Agosto ricevei littera del P. Manoel Freyre, che come dissi stava in Dellỳ, e mi s' era offerto per venir' alla Missione del Thibet, in cui m'avvisava, esser' egli già disposto a venir in qualunque tempo io arrivassi a Dellỳ. Ricevuta tal carta di notte tempo, desidera-

I wish to lead to him, that he may, as he deserves, be known by all. loved by all, and that, if the offences committed against his infinite and most amiable goodness by ungrateful men cannot be prevented all, they may at least be greatly diminished.

But, to return to the narrative which I had begun and which the lively feeling always deeply impressed on my heart diverted me from, I say that, having been about three months in our College of Agra, on account of the rains, and at the same time on account of the language which I had to study, I finally received a Patent, dated (?) the 15th of August, and allowing me to go to the Mission of Tibet, and to continue the remainder of the journey, conformably with my wish and my requests continually repeated. On the 17th day of the same month of August, I received from Fr. Manoel Freyre, who, as I said, was at Delly, and had offered himself to come to the Mission of Tibet, a letter in which he informed me that he was now ready to come any time I should arrive at Delly.[1]

[1] The letters-patent came from the Visitor, who seems to have been at Delhi on Aug. 15, the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady. It is not clear to me whether the letters-patent were dated the 15th of August, or whether Desideri received the letters-patent on the 15th of August. On Aug. 17 he received a letter from Freyre, saying that he (Freyre) was ready to start any time Desideri was ready. Now from Delhi, where Freyre was, to Agra there was a seven days' journey. Freyre would hardly have written as he did, unless the Visitor had notified to him several days before Aug. 15, that he and Desideri could now proceed to Tibet. Nor would Desideri have started for Delhi on Aug. 18, as he intended, unless he had received the letters-patent, which, if dated Aug. 15, could hardly have reached him on Aug. 17, except by the swiftest runners.

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vo nel giorno seguente partire, mà non potei per non esser' ancora finite alcune cose de' sacri arredi per dir Messa,che facevo fare, e i Vasetti per gl'Olij Santi; con che mi convenne aspettare alcuni pochi giorni, cioe sino al di 22. d' Agosto, che è dimani, Ottava dlla gloriossiss.a Assunzione della Santissima Vergine.

Dimani dunque partirò d'-Agra, e forse forse questa sera sul tardi per portarmi a Dellỳ, ch'è di quà sette giornate distante, e arrivato là, doppo pochi giorni partirò per il Thibet, giacchè adesso le pioggie cominciano ad esser minori, non ostante che le strade siano molto caltive. Di Dellỳ in quindici, ò 20 giorni spero di pormi in Lahor Città molta grande dl Mogor, dove stanno alcuni cinque, ò 6 Cristiani. Quivi si fermeremo alcuni giorni per amministrare i SS. i Sacramenti e consolare *in Domino*, questi pochi Cristiani; di poi procureremo subito di passar' avanti a Cascimîr, se pure le Nevi, che in quelle grandi Montagne sono altissime, ce lo permetteranno, di modo che possiamo esser in Cascimîr prima d'Ogni Santi; Indi in Cascimîr è necessario aspettare la congiuntura d'alcuna di quelle Cafile, che sopra hò detto che cosa siano, e con non molto lungo, mà pur trava-

Having received his letter at night, I wished to leave the next day; but I could not, as certain things of the sacred furniture for saying Mass, which I was getting made, and the little vessels for the Holy Oils, were not yet finished. Accordingly, I had to wait a few days longer, that is till the 22nd August, which is to-morrow, the Octave of the glorious Assumption of the Most Blessed Virgin.

So then to-morrow, and perhaps, perhaps late to-night, I shall leave Agra and go to Delly, a seven days' journey from here. Arrived there, I shall, few days after, leave for Tibet, since the rains now begin to abate, though the roads are very bad. From Delly, in fifteen or 20 days I hope to arrive at Lahor, a very great City of the Mogor, where live some five or six Christians. There we shall stop some days to administer the Holy Sacraments and console *in Domino* (in the Lord) these few Christians. After that, we shall try to push on at once towards Cascimîr, provided the snows which lie very deep on those great Mountains allow us, in such a way as to be in Cascimîr[1] before all Saints' Day.[2] In Cascimîr it is necessary to wait till one of those Cafilas—I explained above what they are—chances to form. From Cascimîr, after a not very long, but very difficult journey, one

[1] They left Delhi on Sept. 23, arrived at Lahore on Oct. 9, set out again on Oct. 19, and arrived at 'the very great and delicious city of Cascimîr' (Srinagar, Kashmir) on Nov. 13. Cf. Puini, p. 6.

[2] Nov. 1.

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glioso viaggio da Cascimîr s' entra nel Thibet piccolo. Da questo Thibet piccolo, ò minore, credo che con viaggio un pò lunghetto, e di molti scabrosi monti passeremo al Thibet grande, ò maggiore, dove pare che si possa sperare maggior Messe. Questo è quel che l'Uomo propone, non per altro che per il motivo della gloria Divina, e per ovviare a tanta, e sì lacrimevole strage di tante anime, redente col preziosissimo Sangue dll' amoro, sissimo, e amabilissimo Gesù.

Adesso tocca a Dio, *in cujus manu sortes meae sunt*, al disporre secondo il suo sapientissimo, e rettissimo beneplacito, fuora del quale niuna cosa desidero per santissima che parer possa a' nostri occhi. Certo è, che la speranza, che hò nel Divino favore, che sia per condurre il tutto a buon' esito, e per dispor tutto a salvazione di quelle povere genti, è grânde, ed è molto grande; e in vigor di questa son risolutissimo di non tralasciar diligenza veruna che possa intraprendersi per condurre a fine una tal' opera, a costo di qualsivoghia, fatica, di qualsivoglia patimento, e anche del mio sangue, e della mia Vita. Mà che varrano le mie forze tutte, se non vengano rinvigorite, e sostentate dalle altrui Orazioni appre so l'Altissimo, da cui viene, e hà da venir' ogni beñe, e senza di cui *in vanum laboraverunt* chiunque si pone a voler formar' una nuova fabbrica, come adesso io intraprendo.

enters Little Tibet. From this Little, or Lesser, Tibet, I think that after a pretty long journey, across many rugged mountains, we shall pass into Great, or Greater, Tibet, where it seems a better harvest can be expected. This is what man proposes, with no other motive than that of the divine glory, and to prevent so great and so lamentable a ruin of so many souls redeemed by the most precious Blood of the most loving and most amiable Jesus.

It now belongs to God, *in cujus manu sortes meae sunt* (in whose hands are my lots),[1] to dispose of me after his most wise and most just good-pleasure, outside of which I desire nothing, appear it ever so holy in our eyes. Certain it is that the hope I place in the divine favour, that he will bring it all to a happy issue and will ordain it all for the salvation of these poor peoples, is great, and is very great; and on the strength of this confidence I am firmly resolved not to omit any diligence that can be tried to bring about the success of such a work, at the cost of any fatigue soever, of any suffering soever, and even of my blood and of my life. But what will all my strength avail, if it is not invigorated and sustained by the prayers of others before the Most High, from whom comes and must come every good thing, and without whom *in vanum laboraverunt* (he laboureth in vain)[2] who wants

[1] Ps. 30. 16.

[2] Ps. 126. 1.

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Per tanto posto humilm.te a' suoi piedi torno a pregarla, e supplicarla per il Sangue amabiliss.o e piaghe dolcissime di Gesù, che offerisca a S.D.M. molte Orazioni, opere buone, e SS. Sacrifizj per il buon' esito di quest' impresa, e per la Conversione di quelle Genti; e con il medesimo fervore, e instanze la supplico a procurar' efficacem.te, che in tutta codesta Provincia, da tutti i Nostri, anche da tutti i Novizj si faccia il medesimo con gran fervore, e perseveranza. La fò in questo particolare in cotesta Provincia Procuratore della Missione del Thibet; le incarico questo peso, e se eserciterà bene un tal offizio sappia certo che acquisterà presso S.D.M. un grandiss.o merito farà al medesimo uno cosa gratissima, e sarà nel giorno dl giudizio riconosciuto per Apostolo fruttuosissimo dl Thibet.

Del resto P. Piccolomini mio cariss.mo addio, la riu.o con tutto l'affetto, e la supplico a pregar di continuo per me. Mille saluti cordialissimi al P. Gio: Batt.a Conti, al P. Cotti, al P. Guarini. Al P. Turano, al P. Merlini, al P.

to raise a new fabric like the one I now undertake.

Therefore, humbly and reverently kneeling at your feet, I again beg and beseech you by the Blood and the wounds of our most lovable and sweet Jesus, to offer to His Divine Majesty many prayers, good works and Holy Sacrifices for the happy issue of this enterprise, and for the conversion of these peoples, and with the same fervour and earnestness I beseech you to try efficaciously that, in the whole of your Province, the same be done with great fervour and perseverance by all Ours, also by all the Novices. In this particular I establish you in your Province the Procurator of the Tibet Mission; I lay this burden on you; and, if you discharge faithfully the office, know for certain that you will acquire very great merit before His Divine Majesty, will do what is most pleasing to him, and will on the day of judgment be acknowledged as most successful Missionary of Tibet.

And now, my very dear Father Piccolomini, good-bye. I salute you with all love and beseech you to pray for me continually. A thousand heartfelt greetings to Fr. Giovanni Battista Conti,[1] to Fr. Cotti, to Fr. Guarini,[2] to Fr.

[1] Fr. John Baptist Conti: b. at Ascoli, July 22, 1648; entered the novitiate at Rome, Oct. 11, 1668; taught philosophy at Siena and Rome, where he occupied during 34 years the chair of the higher sciences; was prefect of studies, and a member of several Congregations; d. at Rome, April 20, 1723. Cf. C. Sommervogel, S.J., *Bibl. de la C. de J.*, II. 1388.

[2] Fr. Ignatius Guarini: b. at Lecce, July 30, 1676; admitted, Febr. 19, 1693; professor of humaniora, philosophy, and mathematics; 18 years a lecturer in polemical theology at Rome; sent to Germany in 1739; d. at Dresden, Apr. 28, 1748. Cf. *ibid.*, III. 1899.

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Corsoni, al P. Turano, al P. Crivelli, al P. Isola; in somma a tutti, poichè tutti affettuosissimam.te abbraccio, e a tutti con tutto il cuore mi raccomandi Il Sig.re si degni per sua misericordia di riempire V.R., e tutti gl' altri del suo santo Amore, d'un grande e constante fervore nel suo santo servizio, e nel zelo dlla salute dell' anime, e d'ogni consolazione, finchè ci dia grazia di rivederci nel Santo Paradiso. Vale, vale, vale.

Turano,[1] to Fr. Merlini,[2] to Fr. Corsoni,[3] to Fr. Turano,[4] to Fr. Crivelli, to Fr. Isola,[5] to all in fine: for I embrace all most affectionately, and with all my heart commend myself to all. May the Lord in his mercy deign to fill Your Reverence and all the others with his holy Love, with great and constant fervour in his holy service and in zeal for the salvation of souls, and with every consolation, so that he give us the grace of meeting one another again in his holy Paradise. Farewell, farewell, farewell.

Di. V.R.
Agra 21. Agosto 1714.
Div. ma e Ind. mo in X. po Servo,
*Ippolito Desiderj.*

Your Reverence's
Agra, 21st August 1714.
Most devoted and most unworthy Servant in Christ,
*Ippolito Desideri.*

6. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society of Jesus, Rome (Delhi, 20 Sept., 1714).

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: *Goana Epist.* 1569–1742 (*Goa.* 9).)

M.to R.do in X.po P.re N.ro.,
P.C. CCCXI.

Our Very Reverend Father in Christ,
The Peace of Christ.

Non posso, nè devo privare V.P. d'una consolazione, la

I may not, and I must not, deprive your Paternity of a

[1] Fr. Dominic Mary Turrano: b. at Burgio (Sicily) on Aug. 4, 1679; received into the Society on Oct. 14, 1694; taught at Palermo the humanities, mathematics and theology; became substitute of the Assistency of Italy, vice-provincial of Sicily, and d. at the Professed House of Rome, Nov. 13, 1759. Cf. *ibid.*, VIII. 270.

[2] Fr. James Philip Merlini: b. at Visso (Umbria), Sept. 7, 1662; admitted, July 31, 1679; taught grammar, humaniora, rhetoric; lectured 9 years on philosophy at the Roman College, 1 year on theology; d. at Rome, Febr. 1, 1716. Cf. *ibid.*, V. 979.

[3] Fr. Marlo Corsoni: b. at Pistoia, May 2, 1678; admitted into the Society of Jesus, Febr. 20, 1694; taught grammar; the humaniora 4 years; philosophy 4 y.; was a preacher and a missionary; d. at Rome, May 22, 1747. Cf. *ibid.*, II and III.

[4] Note that Fr. Turano is mentioned twice.

[5] Probably Mark Anthony Isola: b. at Genoa, Nov. 25, 1683; entered the novitiate, Febr. 17, 1700; d. at Genoa, Sept. 21, 1747. Cf. *ibid.*, IV.

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quale sò, che sarà non mediocre ma straordinaria al cuore di V.P. zelantiss.o e della gloria Divina, e del bene dlla Compagnia. Trà pochi giorni, cioè presso a 25. di questo mese il P. Manoel Freyre, ed io partiremo di dellỳ per il Thibet, dove siamo inviati per procurar di riaprire là alcuna Missione; se tanta grazia compiacera di concederci per sua misericordia l'Altissimo. Ad esso, come a Dator d'ogni bene si devono infinite grazie, per essersi finalmente spuntata questa risoluzione, che incontrò sempre tanti impedimenti. Doppo Dio la lode, e molte grazie si devono al P. Giuseppe da Sylva, che presentem.te è Visitatore di questa Missione del Mogor, come potrà V. P. intendere di cio che soggiungo.

consolation, which I know will be, not small, but extraordinary, for Your Paternity's heart, so very zealous both of the divine glory and the good of the Company. In a few days, that is about the 25th of this month,[1] Father Manoel Freyre and I shall start from Delly for Tibet, whither we are sent to try reopening there some Mission, if the Most High is pleased in His Mercy to grant us so much grace. To Him as to the Giver of all good, are due infinite thanks, because this resolution, which always met with so many obstacles, has at last been reached. After God, the praise and much thanks are due to Father Giuseppe da Sylva, who at present is Visitor of this Mission of the Mogor, as Your Paternity will be able to understand by what I add.

Nel Mese di Novembre dell' anno scorso fui dal P. Provinciale avvisato per la Missione dl Thibet. Due giorni doppo un tal' avviso partij di Goa col P. Melchior dos Reys, che andava per nuovo Rett.e dl Coll.o di Agra. A' 4. di Genn.-ro 1714. arrivammo in Surat, dove si ritrovava già il sopradetto P. Visitatore, il quale si mostrò subito inclinatissimo a favourirmi in ordine al farmi conseguire il desideratissimo intento della Missione assegnatami. A cagione delle turbolenze di questo Mogor fummo necessitati a tratten-

In the month of November of last year I was destined by Fr. Provincial for the Mission of Tibet. Two days after that choice, I left Goa with Fr. Melchior dos Reys, who went as new Rector of the College of Agra. On the 4th January 1714, we arrived at Surat, where already was the above-said Fr. Visitor, who presently showed himself very much inclined to favour me, in order to make me obtain the much desired end of the Mission assigned me. Owing to the disturbances in this Mogor we were obliged to stay back

[1] They left Delhi on Sept. 23, 1714. (Puini 6.) Wessels (p. 211) has Sept. 24.

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erci in Surat fino a' 26. di Marzo, nel qual giorno tutti e trè partimmo per il nostro viaggio. Agl' undici di Maggio arrivammo felicem.te a Dellỳ, dove arrivò subito lettera dl P. Provinciale, in cui ordinava, che io restassi nel Coll.o di Agra. Ciò non ostante, trovandosi nuove di buona speranza intorno al Thibet determinò il detto P. Visitatore di mandarmi per la detta Missione, e di procurarmi compagno; e per tale s'offerì il P. Manoel Freyre, che già da alcuni anni stava quì in Dellỳ alla cura di questa Cristianità. Mà Per chè entrava già il tempo delle pioggie, che totalmente impossibilitavano il poter subito partire fui mandato al Coll. o d' Agra, per proseguire lo studio della lingua, che in Surat avevo cominciato. Diradandosi le (*P.* 2) pioggie nel fine d'agosto partij d' Agra, e tornai a Dellỳ. Quivi con maggior impegno, e zelo procurò il P. Visitatore di rendermi in tutto spedito per l'esecuzione de' miei desiderj; e a tal fine prese in presto dall Sio. ra D.a Giuliana Diaz da Costa Benefattrice d.a Comp.a bastante denaro per un copioso viatico, quale giudicò esser necessario per una tal' impresa. Oltre di ciò pose dal canto suo tutti i mezzi, che umanam.te potevano da uno zenlante Supe-

at Surat till the 26th of March, on which day we set out, all three, on our journey. On the 11th of May, we arrived happily at Delly,[1] where presently arrived a letter from the Fr. Provincial, wherein he ordered me to remain in the College of Agra. Notwithstanding this, as we got about Tibet news holding out good hope, the said Fr. Visitor decided to send me to the said Mission, and to find me a companion;[2] and Fr. Manoel Freyre, who for some years already was at Delly in charge of this Christianity, offered himself as such. But, as the season of the rains had already set in, which made it quite impossible for us to be able to start at once, I was sent to the College of Agra, in order to continue the study of the language, which I had begun at Surat. When (P. 2) the rains grew less, at the end of August,[3] I left Agra and returned to Delly. Here, with greater energy and zeal, the Fr. Visitor tried to get me quite ready for the execution of my desires, and to that end he borrowed from the Signora Dona Giuliana Diaz da Costa, Benefactress of the Company, sufficient money for an ample viaticum, which I judged necessary for such an enterprise. Moreover, he used on his side all the means which humanly

[1] From this passage we can conclude that the three Jesuits travelled together throughout from Surat to Delhi.

[2] This passage again shows that the choice of Fr. Freyre was not made at Surat.

[3] Desideri may not have been able to leave Agra on Aug. 22, or the evening of Aug. 21, as his letter of Agra, Aug. 21, 1714, shows he intended doing.

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riore porsiper il presente intents usando anche finezze di giovevoliss.e prevenzioni, le quali meriterebbero d'essere quì rappresentate, mà per non essere a V. P. molesto, le tralascio. Solam.te prego V. P. che per la sua singolar benignità, giacchè non posso iodar le dovute grazie, a chi mi hà tanto, e con tanto impengo favorito, si compiaccia di mostrar' al medesimo P. Visitatore quel gradimento, che veram.te merita, e a dargli le dovute grazie per lo zelo mostrato in questa santa impresa, e che mostra per aprire almeno un' altra Missione, se S.D.M. si degnerà di condurre a fine i di lui santi e fervorosi desiderj.

Si degni altresì V. P. di benedire e il P. Manoel Freyre, che meco viene pemio Superiore, e me, e tutti i nostri passi, e di raccomandare di continuo a S.D.M., e far raccomandare da' Nostri, specialm.te Novizj, il buon successo di questa nostra impresa. Si compiaccia S.D.M. di concedere a V. P. ogni vera felicità, e consolazione, come desidero; e posto a' piedi di V.P. mi raccomando a' suoi SS. Sacr.i, e oraz.ni, e la supplico d.a sua S.a Benediz.ne.

could be used by a zealous Superior for the present object, resorting even to refinements of most useful attentions, which would deserve to be related here;[1] but, not to be troublesome to Your Paternity, I omit them. Only, I pray Your Paternity that, as I cannot give due thanks to one who has favoured me so much, and with so much industry, you would in your singular kindness be pleased to show to the same Fr. Visitor that approbation which he truly deserves, and to give him due thanks for the zeal he has shown in this holy enterprise, and which he shows, in order that at least one other Mission be opened, provided it please His Divine Majesty to bring to issue your holy and fervent desires.

Moreover, let Your Paternity deign to bless both Fr. Manoel Freyre, who comes with me as my Superior,[2] and me, and all our steps, and to commend unceasingly to His Divine Majesty, and to get commended by Ours, specially the Novices, the good success of this our enterprise. May it please His Divine Majesty to grant to Your Paternity all true happiness and consolation, as I desire; and, placed at Your Paternity's feet, I commend myself to Your Holy

[1] We conclude that the Visitor was at Delhi when Desideri arrived there, and that the letters-patent of the Visitor were sent from Delhi to Desideri at Agra. Cf. previous letter, note 1, page 615.

[2] One of the reasons why Freyre was appointed Desideri's Superior on the Tibet journey may have been that he was 5 years Desideri's senior. Desideri was, however, a great deal pluckier, as the sequel shows.

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Div. P.M.R.da.

Dellȳ 20. 7bre 1714.

Ind.mo in X.po Servo, e Minimo suddito
*Ippolito Desiderj.*

(*P.* 3.) Posto l'essersi il P. Manoel Freyre spontaneam.te offerto per venir' alla Missione dl Thibet, e di aver con tal' offerta di se stesso promosso un' affare di tanto bene, mi fò ardito di supplicar V.P., che in caso che da Goa scrivano i Sup.iori a V.P. per ottenere la grazia di far fare la Professione a detto P. Manoel Freyre, si degni V.P. di concedere un benigno rescritto a tal supplica. Mi perdoni V.P. il molto ardire, che in questa mia lettera mi prendo; e spero, che così farà, ben conoscendo, derivar tutto da un' animo impegnatiss.o a promovere questa S.ta impresa, e perciò corrispondente, per quanto posso, a chiunquo favorisce, e aiuta und tal' opera. E di nuovo posto a' suoi piedi, la supplico d.a sua S.a Benedizione.

(*P.* 4.) (*Address*:) Al M.to R.do in X.po P.re N.ro Il P.re

Michel' Angelo Tamburini
Prep.to Gn.le
d.a Comp.a di Gesù.
Roma.

1*a via.*

sacrifices and prayers, and I crave your Holy Blessing.

Your Very Reverend Paternity's,
Delly, the 20th of September, 1714.
Most unworthy Servant in Christ, and Least Subject,
*Ippolito Desideri.*

(P. 3) Since Fr. Manoel Freyre has offered himself of his own accord to come to the Mission of Tibet, and by such an offering of himself has promoted a matter of such usefulness, I make bold to ask Your Paternity that, in case the Superiors write from Goa to Your Paternity to obtain the favour of making the said Fr. Manoel Freyre make the Profession, Your Paternity deign to grant a kind rescript to that request. May Your Paternity pardon me the great boldness which in this letter I venture to show; and I hope you will do so, well knowing that all proceeds from a heart entirely pledged to promoting this Holy enterprise, and therefore eager to make a return, as far as I can, to whoever favours and asists that undertaking. And again, placed at your feet, I crave your Holy Blessing.

(P. 4.) (*Address*:) To Our Very Reverend Father in Christ, Father
Michel' Angelo Tamburini,
Provost General
of the Company of Jesus.
Rome.

1*st via.*

(Below the address, traces of an octagonal seal with the monogram of the Society, I.H.S., in which the H is surmounted

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by a cross; below this monogram, the seal shows three nails, with the heads of the nails upwards.)

(*Endorsements made in Rome:*)

Goana.
Delly 20 Septembris 1714.
P. Hippolytus Desiderii.

Scribit iam iam in procinctu ad Missionem Thibethensem cum socio P. Emanuele Freyre, cujus expeditionis laus debetur praecipue P. Josepho a Sylva actuali Visitatori Mogorensi, quod explicat narratione quae acciderunt ante discessum.

Petit ut R.V.a laudet zelum extraordinarium P. Visitatoris, et ipsum ac simul P. Emmanuelem Freyre benedicat, eosque faciat Deo commendare praecipue a nostris Novitiis.

Et quia P. Emanuel Freyre voluntarie se obtulit ad illam missionem petit, ut si e Goa illi petant apud P. V. professionem, dignetur P. V. a ipsam professionem illi concedere.

Rs. 22 Septembris 1726.

(*Endorsements made in Rome:*)

Goa things.
Delly, 20th September, 1714.
Fr. Hippolytus Desideri.

He writes that he is now ready to start for the Tibetese Mission with Fr. Emmanuel Freyre as his companion, the praise for this expedition being due chiefly to Fr. Joseph da Sylva, actual Mogorese Visitor, which he explains by relating what happened before the departure.

He asks Your Paternity to praise the extraordinary zeal of the Fr. Visitor,[1] and to bless both him and Fr. Emmanuel Freyre, and to have them commended to God, chiefly by the Novices.

And, as Fr. Emmanuel Freyre offered himself voluntarily for that Mission, he asks that, if from Goa they request for him the Profession from Your Paternity, Your Paternity deign to grant him the profession.

Answered: 22nd September, 1726.[2]

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[1] The General's secretary seems to have been quite elated by the zeal shown by Fr. Joseph da Sylva. Desideri had not used the word 'extraordinary'.

[2] It will appear extraordinary that this letter of Dec. 20, 1714, was answered only 12 years later. There is no knowing through what vicissitudes it may have passed before reaching Rome. Circumstances had changed so entirely that the goodwill shown in answering it at all proves that the delay was no fault of the General's Curia. The answer was likely an order calling Desideri to Rome; but he had left Pondicherry for Rome on Jan. 21, 1727, i.e., before the General's answer could reach India. Earlier orders to the same effect had, no doubt, reached him before he left India.

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7. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri S.J.,[1] to the General of the Society of Jesus (Leh, Lasakh, Aug. 3, 1715).

Being destined to the Mission of Tibet, I left Goa on the twenty-first of November 1713,[2] and on the 4th of January 1714[3] arrived at Surat where Father Joseph de Silva, the Visitor of the College and Mission of Agra, already was. As he did not like that I should go alone to such distant places,[4] he proposed to me after some time as my Companion Father Manoel Freyre, who, he said, was to be the Superior.[5] During the time that I was obliged to remain at Surat, I began studying the Persian language. On the 26th of March [6] I started with the Father Visitor,[7] and on the 11th of May [8] arrived at Delhi, where Father Freyre's coming to Tibet was ratified.[9]

As, owing to the rains, I had to wait three or four months, I was sent to Agra where I continued studying the language. At the end of August [10] I returned to Delhi, where I found

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[1] Cf. Puini, pp. 361–370. The letter is in the *Sommario* of the Case between the Jesuits and Capuchins for priority in the Mission of Tibet.

[2] Puini (p. 5) has Nov. 17, 1713, for the departure from Goa. Wessels (p. 210) has Nov. 13, 1713, which is evidently a mistake, since Desideri wrote a letter at Goa on Nov. 12, and another on Nov. 15, 1713. Cf. Letters 1 and 2. In the letter from Lhasa, April 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi, we have Nov. 20.

[3] On this date see our note 1 to Letter 4. Also Jan. 4, in the letter from Lhasa, April 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi.

[4] As Tibet.

[5] This is one of the passages whence Puini and Wessels concluded that the choice of Fr. Freyre was made at Surat.

[6] Note again the date of departure, March 26, against March 25 (Puini, 6); also March 26 in the letter from Lhasa, April 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi.

[7] And Fr. Melchior dos Reys.

[8] No discrepancy found for May 11.

[9] *Doye fu ratificata la venuta del P. Freyre al Thibet.*

It may be on the strength of this passage that Puini (p. 6) states that at Surat Fr. Joseph da Sylva, the Visitor of the Mogor Mission, wanted to appoint Freyre as companion and Superior of Fr. Desideri. Puini (p. 6) can be misunderstood to say also that Freyre became Desideri's companion from Surat, whereas Freyre was at the time at Delhi, as we have seen. Fr. Wessels (p. 210) also says that at Surat Desideri learned that Freyre was to be his Superior and travelling companion. Freyre seems to have offered himself voluntarily at Delhi, after his interview with Desideri the first night they were together. In this letter it is said that 'after some time', the Visitor proposed to Desideri Fr. Freyre as a companion. The conversation can be understood to have taken place at Surat; but Desideri may be anticipating events. When next he says that on arrival at Delhi the going of Freyre was ratified the meaning may be only that it was approved there by the Visitor who had come along from Surat. It is, of course, possible that, when Desideri learned that the Provincial of Goa would send him a companion only after a year, he and the Visitor cast about for a companion in Mogor, and that Desideri was asked by the Visitor to feel his way with Freyre.

[10] The same expression 'end of August', as in Letter 6.

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Father Freyre, and our departure was delayed till the 23rd of September, the day we began our journey.[1]

On the 10th of October,[2] we arrived at Lahor, and, as there was no Father or Priest, we heard the confession of the Christians and gave them Holy Communion. On that occasion, I baptized a baby which a layman had already baptized, but without the necessary formula; also an old woman, and two adult ladies who were well prepared and instructed.

On the 19th of October,[3] we set out from Lahor and in a few days arrived at the Caucasus Mountains.[4] These mountains are very rough and steep, owing to their height; they form like a ladder of mountains, one rising above another, till one reaches a horribly high and steep mountain, called the Pir Pangial, whom the superstitious travellers pay great reverence and offerings to, as they pass, in the belief that (P. 362) it is the abode of a very old man, the custodian of those mountains; opinion, which I believe is founded on the fable of Prometheus.[5] Some of those mountains are perpetually covered with snow and ice. It took me twelve days to cross those mountains on foot. The difficulty I met was that I had often to get on foot across torrents of very cold water, molten snow in fact, between pieces of ice and over most troublesome stones; sometimes, the stones were so troublesome, the torrent was so violent, and I got so benumbed by the piercing cold water that, to pass those torrents, I was finally obliged to hang on to the tail of some pack-bullock which happened to cross. After that, benumbed and wet as I was, I would continue on my way braving the wind and the sharp cold, against which my clothing protected me very ill. Rough though these mountains are, they are very fertile in many places, and pleasant on account of the great variety of trees; they are inhabited and governed by petty kings subject to the Emperor of the Mogor.

On the 12th of November,[6] I arrived at Cascimir,[7] where shortly after, in consequence of what I had suffered before, I had a sharp attack of dysentery, accompanied by complete

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[1] 23rd Sept. (Puini, 6); 24th Sept. (Wessels, 211); 23rd Sept. in the letter from Lhasa, April, 10, 1716, to Fr. Illdebrando Grassi.

[2] 9th Oct. (Puini, 6); 10th Oct. in the letter of Lhasa, April 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi.

[3] 19th Oct. (Puini, 6); 19th Oct. in the letter of Lhasa, April 10, 1716.

[4] They passed through the town of Little Gujarat, and left it on Oct. 28. (Puini, 6.)

[5] Pir Panjal. The pass is at an altitude of 11,400 feet. *Pir* means a holy man. Cf. the similar passage in the next letter. 'The name Caucasus, and the fable of Prometheus, as we learn from Strabo (L. XI. Georgr.), were transferred to the Indic mountains by the Macedonians already in the time of Alexander the Great.' (Cf. Georgi, *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, Roma, 1762, p. 452.)

[6] Nov. 13 (Puini, 6; Wessels, 211).

[7] Srinagar.

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loss of appetite and weakness, so much so that I was in danger of death. At Christmas I rallied sufficiently; but, not long after, in February, I was so ill that every one, and Father Superior too, thought I had not long to live. However, during the six months [1] that we were forced to stay in Cascimir, the mountain-roads being blocked with very deep snow and ice, I made myself acquainted with the Persian language.

On the 17th of May,[2] we started for Tibet. In spite of all the care which Father Superior and I had taken for more than a year, we had never heard except about two Tibets.[3] The first, which stretches from North to West and is only a few days from Cascimir, is called Little Tibet. The people are Maomettans, like its petty kings, who are subject to the Emperor of the Mogor; hence, although the country is productive, it does not produce the fruit we looked for. The other Tibet, which is called Great Tibet, stretches from North to East. Either Tibet is continually in relation with Cascimir, owing to the great trade in wool, which comes from Great Tibet. The journey from Cascimir to Ladac, otherwise called Ladas, which is the fortress and capital where resides the absolute King of

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[1] From Nov. 12, 1714, to May 17, 1715.

[2] May 17 in Puini (pp. 6, 11; Wessels, 211) and in the next letter.

[3] The more I reflect on this passage and the explanations which follow in this letter and the next, the less I understand how much Desideri and Freyre knew of Tibet and its divisions, when they left Delhi, and why they chose the Kashmir route. Surely, both knew that the Capuchins had gone to Tibet by way of Bengal and Patna. It was their fault, if they knew not. Fr. Martinetti knew it, and the other Fathers in Mogor must have known it too. The question for the Jesuits was where de Andrada had been. They did not, we find, discover he had been at Tsaparang. Did they know he had gone to Tibet *vid* Srinagar, and mistake the Srinagar of Kashmir for the Srinagar of Garhwal? We have nothing about that in Desideri's long relation (edn. Puini) or in his letters. Leaving Delhi, Desideri knew of Little or Lesser Tibet (Baltistan), also of a Great or Greater Tibet. He expected a better harvest in Great or Greater Tibet, no doubt because he had heard that little Tibet (Baltistan) had become mostly Muhammadan. (Cf. Letter No. 5.) The Greater or Great Tibet he knew of he placed no doubt near Little Tibet, or in Ladakh; else, he would not have gone to Leh (Ladakh) by Kashmir and Little Tibet. What then did he discover at Leh? That the Great Tibet of Ladakh was also called 'Buton' (Bhutan), and that there was a still greater Tibet, the one whither the Capuchins had gone. But he knew or should have known that before, it appears to me. He should have known before that Tibet stretched beyond the whole northern frontier of Nepal, and that the Capuchins had reached it almost in a direct line from Patna. To put Desideri's discovery otherwise. On leaving Delhi he had heard of only two Tibets (Baltistan and Ladakh). He may have heard Ladakh spoken of as 'Thibet Kalan or Bara Thibet' (Puini, 27), *i.e.* Great Tibet. In Ladakh he found there was a third; the one where were or had been the Capuchins. Freyre at once concluded that this third Tibet was that of de Andrada, and Desideri himself was inclined to think that de Andrada had been in U-Tsang, the capital of which he learned, if he did not know before, was Lhasa. Yet, because the Capuchins were there, or had been there, he was inclined to stay in Ladakh.

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Great Tibet, takes a month, if one goes leisurely up the mountains and down again. The first 6 or 7 days the journey is tolerable; after that the road becomes abominable and remains so several days; not only is the ground itself very rough, but the road is rendered a great deal rougher by the unceasing cold, the icy winds, and the snow through which one must travel by day, whereas, at night, one must sleep in the open, exposed to all these inclemencies; (P. 363) for, in those Kingdoms, barring something or other one stretches on the ground, the ground is one's bed. This Tibet commences at a high and very snowy Mountain called Kantel,[1] the ascent of which constitutes the extreme limit of the dominions of Cascimir, the descent forming the beginning of the territory of great Tibet. We crossed this very snowy Mountain, and so entered this Tibet on the 30th of May, the day of the Ascension.[2]

That day, as also the previous day and the day following, there fell much snow where we passed. This road among snow and ice continues up to Dias, the first fortress and inhabited place of that Kingdom.[3] From Dias onward, the road is also

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[1] *Kantel.* The name of the mountain is not given in Puini (p. 11), but at his p. 26. Wessels (p. 211) and Puini (pp. 11, n. 1, 19) identify it with the Zoji-la; height 11,120 ft. Where did Moorcroft (quoted by Wessels, p. 211) discover that Desideri calls it Baltal Kotal? We do not find that Desideri gives it that name.

[2] 30th May (Puini, 6. 11. 25. 26; Wessels, 211; also in the next letter).

[3] Identified with Dras by Puini (p. 20) and Wessels (p. 212).

'When in 1822 Moorcroft visited Pashkyum, a town south-west of Kargil, on a tributary of the Suru River, the Rajah showed him a book, which he had inherited from his grandfather. It was an edition of the Old and New Testament from the Papal Press dated in the year 1598. It was bound in morocco, with the initials IHS surmounted by a cross stamped on each side of the cover. How it had come there no person could inform me, but it might possibly have been given to the former rajah by Desideri who visited Ladakh, although it is very doubtful if he reached Le.' (Moorcroft, II. 22.) The device on the cover of the book evidently points to its Jesuit origin, but from the date 1598 it can hardly be supposed to have been carried out to Tibet by Desideri in 1715; it would rather have been left there by Father Azevedo during his visit to Leh in 1631. (Wessels, p. 214 n. 3.)

Many other explanations are possible. The Jesuits used to accompany Akbar and Jahangir periodically to Kashmir, *i.e.*, to Srinagar. One of the Raja's ancestors may have come to Srinagar to pay his respects to the Emperor and have made the acquaintance of the Jesuit Fathers. Did not rajas of Baltistan give their daughters in marriage to the Moghul Emperors, notably to Akbar? In that case they may have come on a visit to the Emperor's court at Lahore, or Agra, and have met the Jesuits. This is not the only case of Jesuit MSS. travelling high up the Himalayas.

A copy of the *Speculum veritatis or Aina-i-Haqq Numā*, dated 1678, was found in an obscure cornér of the Kunawar Mountains and sent to Csoma de Koros. Cf. Th. Duka, *Life and Works of A. Csoma de Kőrös*, London, Trübner, 1885, p. 96. This is a work in Persian by Fr. Jerome Xavier. Cf. *JASB.*, 1914, p. 68 n. 2.

We note in passing that Moorcroft may not have known of Fr. Desideri's letter of Lhasa, April 10, 1716, the only text by Desideri which was

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rough, although the snow lies on the very top of the mountains, not where one passes. The journey from Dias to Leh is likewise all the time over mountains, truly the abode of horror, aridity and desolation. These mountains succeed one another, or are placed one above the other; or, what is oftenest the case, they are so near to one another that they are separated only by icy cold water issuing from the snow which melts till it snows again the next winter; and, as the water runs over stones, fragments of mountains, it forms awful torrents. It is impossible to travel by the top of the Mountains, owing to the perpetual snows; hence, there remains only the road half-way down, that is along the slopes of the said mountains. But, ah me! the road is so narrow than one cannot frequently rest on it straight one foot at a time; one must proceed step by step, one foot behind the other, with difficulty and trouble, suspended in such a way that, if the foot slips ever so little, one must fall down the precipice among the rocks and be killed in the furious torrents flowing at the bottom ; if by good luck one were to escape death, one would at any rate be half broken to pieces or miserably maimed, as we saw happening to some poor people. Therefore, all the time, one must advance with fluttering heart and trembling feet, and, on one's lips and in one's inmost heart, fervent commendations to God. The more so, as those mountains, in addition to such paths, are such by nature that, being composed of arid rocks, there is not a tree, not the smallest shrub, not the smallest blade of grass to which, in one's time of danger, one might cling ever so little with trembling hands, if not with safety, at least with some hope. About myself I confess plainly that I often gave myself up for lost; and, if I always escaped happily, I attribute it to the special protection of St. Venantius.[1] At other times, one must cross furious torrents; generally the bridge is nothing but a narrow piece of stake, (P. 364) offering not an inch of security to one's dubious feet. At one place there is a kind of bridge which is truly curious. It is not made of stone, or of wood or of stakes, but of ropes made with thin branches of trees. When passing over such ropes, one must go quite barefooted and commend one's soul to God. This sort of bridge is called Zampà, and, whenever I think of it and how we passed, I tremble and turn pale.[2] But, to say nothing of the quality of the road, there are other discomforts: the great cold, the stormy winds, the deep snow, sleeping on the

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long current; Ladakh is mentioned there, and so is Leh, as the capital of Ladakh.

[1] There is a St. Venantius, martyr, born at Camerino and honoured there, but the place is very far from Pistoia, Desideri's birthplace, and I do not find that St. Venantius is one of the special patrons of travellers.

[2] Cp. Puini, p. 28, where the same bridge appears to be described. Puini says (p. 28, n. 1) there is still a rope-bridge over the Dras, between Tashgam and Chanegund, about 20 miles from the fortress of Dras.

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ground under the bleak cold roof of the sky, and finding nothing else to eat than wheat-meal (*farina di Grano*) and roasted barley, which the Natives eat without any preparation; and even that it is not always to be had: because one does not every day come across a village or settlement, nor can one buy it at all those places; besides, it is extremely difficult to find a handful of firewood for cooking the said meal after reducing it to paste with water; nor must I forget mentioning the no small trouble to which one's eyes are exposed for several days: for, as one has to travel on the snow, the rays of the Sun fall first on the snow and are then reflected into the eyes, which is a cruel torture. I found no small discomfort in that, and for some days I was obliged to walk with my eyes almost completely bandaged with my handkerchief. Add to this the great annoyances one is subjected to, not from robbers, for people here do not resort to that art, but from custom-house officials, to whom, besides the money they exact, one must give a certain amount of tobacco, candy-sugar and coloured cloth, and all for mere thanks. Tobacco, cloth, as also bangles and suchlike things are so to say necessary in all those places, because, as those Kingdoms have no currency of their own, the only currency being a silver coin from the Empire of the Mogor, which is equivalent to five Roman *giuli*, bartering is much in use, especially in buying small articles. Such is the journey from Cascimir to Leh, otherwise called Ladas, namely up to the capital of this great Tibet. In those mountainous Kingdoms there is not a single city, not a single large agglomeration. On that journey, which, if one travels quite leisurely, takes a month, we spent 40 days, arriving at Leh or Ladas on the 25th of June.[1]

I shall now say something about this great Tibet, which is also called Buton.[2] As I have already said, it begins at a high and very snowy Mountain named Kantel and stretches from North to East. (P. 365) It has a King, called in the Tibetan language Ghialpo.[3] The name of the present King is Nima Nimghial.[4] This King is independent, and in Tibet itself there is a petty King who is subject to him, his Tributary.[5] In the first settlements we came to, the population is Maomettan; elsewhere, they are gentiles; yet, they are not as super-

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[1] 26th June (Puini, 6. 11. 25. 29; Wessels, 214); 25th June in the next letter.

[2] Bhutan.

[3] Puini (p. 78 n.) romanizes the word in the form *rgyal-po*.

[4] 'The same therefore as Nyi-ma-nam-gyal, the great-grandson of Seng-genam-gyal, as appears from Dr. Marx' Ladakh documents.' (Wessels, p. 215, referring to *JASB.*, Vol. LX, Pt. I (1891), p. 99.)

[5] Desideri refers here to a Muhammadan kinglet, subject to the King of Leh, who gave him a passport and entertained him at dinner; he also sent servants with the Fathers up to the rope-bridge. (Puini, 27-28.) Wessels (p. 214) calls him independent, by mistake. Wessels supposes him to have lived at Kargil, in the Muhammadan part of Ladakh.

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stitious as the Gentiles are in other parts, and it would seem that they have had in olden times some knowledge of our Holy Faith.[1] God, whom they call Konciok,[2] in their language, is according to them one and Trine. They have their Rosary, and, when reciting it, they say *Om ha hum*.[3] When asked what *Om ha hum* means, they say it is God; then, coming down to the particular, that *Om* means mind, or arm, that is Power; *ha* means Word; *Hum* means the heart, and the three words together mean God. Moreover, they say promiscuously Konciok cik, or one God, and Konciok Sum, or Trine God.[4] (336) They also adore a being whom they call Urghien, who, according to their calculations, was born about 1700 years ago.[5] Some, when asked whether he is God or Man, answer that he is both God and Man. They say he had neither father, nor mother, but was born from a flower; however, in their pictures and statues they represent a Lady with a flower in her hand and say she is Urghien's mother. They adore other beings, who, they say, are not God, but Saints of God. In their Churches, they have an Altar with a cloth and antependium (*con tovaglia e palliotto*). In the middle of the Altar they have something like a Tabernacle, and they say that it is like a particular place for God and Urghien, which Urghien they say, however, is in Heaven, near to God. They have also their Religious, called Lamma; these wear a special dress, different from that of the Laity, and they do not, like the Laity, keep the tuft of Hair on their Head, nor ear-rings in their ears, but wear the tonsure. They do not marry, but most observe perpetual celibacy. It is their office to study the Books of their Law, which are written in a language and characters different from the common current ones; they must assist (at prayers) and recite (them) as in choir,[6] perform their ceremonies, rites and offerings in their Churches, in which they have Lamps burning; and they offer to God and to Urghien wheat or barley, flour or paste, and, in other small neatly polished vessels, water. When these things have been thus offered on the Altar, they next eat them like holy things, (P. 366) and as if they were Relics. Usually, these Religious live many of them together in the same house, and away from the seculars, by whom they are greatly venerated and respected.

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[1] Desideri says he was mistaken in this matter of former Christianity, and in what he writes here of God and the Trinity. Cf. Puini, 186.

[2] *Kon-ccioá* (Desideri); dKon. mchhog = Ratna = precious (Puini, 232).

[3] Om mani padma hum (Puini, 259).

[4] Puini (p. 319) places in A.D. 747 his arrival in Tibet.

[5] 'These and other errors regarding the religion of the Tibetans, into which Desideri fell before he studied it fully, were noted and corrected by him in the Relazione, as may be seen at pp. 186–188 of this volume.' (Note by Puini at this place.)

[6] *A maniera di loro* is probably a misreading by Puini for *a maniera di coro*. At this place the next letter has: *à manière de choeur*.

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They have their local Superiors, and acknowledge one as their general chief and Superior, who is like a General or Pontiff, whom even the King greatly looks up to and pays reverence to, as to one above himself.

These Lammas, the King and his ministers, and the rest also consider both of us as European Lammas, and, seeing us recite our Office in different places and at different times, all of them have shown themselves very eager to know what sort of book we prayed out of, and they have asked with much curiosity the explanation of the pictures which in the Breviary represent the chief Mysteries of the Life of Christ; and, when they have seen and heard it all, all echo the same words:[1] 'Nuru, Nuru,' which means 'Very well! very well!' And nearly all add two things: first, they assert that their book and ours is the same (which I do not, however, believe), and secondly, they exclaim: 'Oh, if you knew our language, or, at least, if we knew yours!' From all this it may easily be inferred that their dispositions are good, and that they are well disposed to hear: *Fides autem ex auditu* (Faith then cometh by hearing).[2] (37) The nature, or character, of the People is gentle and tractable, averse to doing harm to others. The laity are not allowed to marry more than one wife. In their law it is allowed to eat every sort of meat, also beef, which is against the custom of the other Gentiles; neither do they admit the transmigration of Souls.

These people have no culture; they are ignorant, having no sciences, nor any arts, nor relations with other nations, except with porters (*facchini*) from Cascimir, who come here to take wool. These places are very tough, as may be gathered from what has been said above. The Winter lasts the greater part of the year, and on the top of the mountains there is snow the whole year. They are also very poor, all of them. The country produces only Wheat and Barley, nothing more: for the country is all rocks and arid mountains. Besides Wheat and Barley (from which they also make a kind of wine), they eat meat and make great use of butter. The houses, which are very small and narrow, are made of stones placed one above the other and joined at most with mud. They have no other clothes but woollen ones.

As soon as we arrived within sight of this Leh or Ladas, Father Superior, tired of the many toils and sufferings of so long a journey, began to think of returning to the Mogor, and he asked and tried to find out whether there was for returning to the Mogor any other road than the one we had come by. Two days after our arrival, we went to visit the Lampò,[3] or the Chief Minister (P. 367) and first person after the King. In fact,

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[1] *Convengono in questo Epifonema. An epiphonema* is a sentence used in exclamation.

[2] Rom. 10. 17.

[3] Longbo (Wessels, 214).

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Father Superior had obtained in Cascimir and brought with him a letter of recommendation for him.[1] The visit consisted in presenting the letter and asking a passport for our departure. The Lampò received us very well; he showed us honour and treated us kindly, after which he regaled us on butter and Cia.[2] The day of Saints Peter and Paul,[3] the King sent us word that he awaited our visit. Father Superior excused himself for that day; whereupon, the King let us know that he would receive us after three days. Finally, we went to visit the King. He received us very well, very courteously. The next day, the King called for us again, and he expressed a wish that we should bring with us for our visit some things of ours to gratify his curiosity. So, all my baggage, little and insignificant as it was, was taken across. This time, the King did not receive us sitting on his throne, as on the first occasion; but very courteously and very confidentially. He was delighted to see our Books, our poor wardrobe, our Disciplines, Chainlets and Rosaries; and he said that he esteemed much more seeing that than Pearls, Jewels and precious things. After much civility, he regaled us (it was the third time he did so) with plenty of wheat-meal and butter.

Father Superior asked with much insistence that they should give him as soon as possible the passport for our departure; but the King and the chief Ministers answered that they wished and requested us to stay at least another fortnight (15 *altri giorni*). Father Superior accepted. They had two reasons in keeping us back. The first was that they would be pleased to see us stay here (indeed, I had asked two persons to obtain from the king permission to that effect); but Father Superior did not like to remain, and, in case I remained, according to my wish, he proposed conditions unobtainable from these peoples. The second reason was that, if we wanted to go by all means, we had before us a journey of at least three months, and that, as the King had to send people that side, he wished us to go with them for our greater safety.

Our second visit took place on the 4th of July;[4] on the 5th, the King sent us a fourth repast consisting of a Kid. On the 6th we were invited to visit the Supreme Lamma, of whose

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[1] The Fathers had also a letter of recommendation from the son of this minister, who had treated them very honourably, at a place several days beyond the rope-bridge (Puini, 29).

[2] Tea.

[3] June 29. They had arrived at Leh on June 26 (Puini, 6. 11. 25. 29; Wessels, 214); 25th June in the next letter.

[4] Two visits to the King have already been referred to in the last but one paragraph preceding this one. The first visit was to be 3 days after June 29, the second was the day following. The next letter says that the first visit to the king was on July 2; the 2nd, on the 4th, the 3rd on the 8th; the visit to the Grand Lama is there put down on the 6th July; and the 1st and 2nd visits to the Lampo on the 2nd day after their arrival and July 9th.

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importance I have spoken above. We were received and treated, both by him and the other chief Lammas, with great familiarity and courtesy. Among them one is the King's cousin and another is the Lampò's son. At the end we were treated to flour and butter. On the 8th, we were called for the third time to a familiar visit at the King's, and honoured with flour and butter. On the 9th, we were invited to visit the Lampò the second time. He especially showed a great desire, as others had done, that we should know his language, or that he should know ours, so that we might easily converse about our (P. 368) Holy Faith. Then I, as I had done already at other times, seizing the opportunity I was looking for, offered to remain here and learn the language; but Father Superior, as on other occasions, made much difficulty; hearing which, they changed the conversation and said that in their Kingdom there are Lammas enough, and thus my hopes and efforts were disappointed. I pray to God not to allow that in this matter I be ever, on my part, in the least guilty in his Divine sight; nay I wish to stay here motionless as a stone and die a thousand times, but *melior est obedientia quam victimae* (obedience is better than sacrifices).[1]

I said above that, as soon as Father Superior arrived here at Leh, he started inquiring very carefully whether there was another road in order to return to the Mogor by way of Srinagar; he understood that on that road there are mountains, that it is necessary to go on foot and that there are robbers. Accordingly, as it was impossible to go that way and he did not want to go back the way we had come, he made new inquiries and found out that further before us lies another, a third, Tibet. He inquired about the journey and heard that it is one of three months (which means four for us, who always go very slowly),[2] and that there are no mountains. Moreover, it was known for sure[3] that the Capuchin Fathers went to that third Tibet. In fine, he learned that, as a fact, this third Tibet is very near to the Mogor, and that it is the easiest way of all to return thither; hence he wanted to go to this third Tibet, and, from the second day of our stay here, he started pressing and importuning the King, the Lampò, the Great Lamma and others to get a Passport. That was precisely what troubled me.[4] For, if Father Superior does not like on any account to remain in this Tibet, he also protests against remaining in the third, and declares he is resolved to return to the Mogor, although his doing so may oblige me too to go back with him to the Mogor;

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[1] I Kings 15. 22.

[2] Passage in square brackets by Puini.

[3] *Si seppe certo* 'It was known for certain', which can mean that the certain knowledge was acquired at Leh.

[4] This shows what patience Desideri had to practise with his Superior at Leh, for the rest of the journey up to Lhasa, and at Lhasa itself.

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for, since the Third Tibet is so far and necessitates much expense, there is evident danger that, when we arrive there and Father Superior persists, as he does, in returning to the Mogor, whereas I wish to stay in the third Tibet to begin a Mission, the money given us be insufficient for both purposes; and, as I cannot stay against his will, I may be forced to return to the Mogor with him, and so our journey and the plans of the Superiors will prove abortive. Add to this that it is sure that the Fathers of Propaganda [1] went there, and so there is no need there of other Missionaries. Again, other people having come from there, we have questioned them, and, as far as we can gather, it does not appear that they have effected anything all this time, so that it seems there is little or nothing to be expected on that side.[2] All this made me resolve not to go to the third P(. 369) Tibet, the more so as I had at least two strong reasons for remaining in this second Tibet. The first reason is that I see these people so well inclined and disposed, since even the chief personages of the land have many times shown that they wish us to stay here and learn the language to converse about the things of Our Holy Faith. Your Paternity [3] well knows that for one who wishes to open a Mission this is a blow which goes to his very heart, a chain binding his feet. The second reason why I should remain here was the following. I was in doubt whether to open a Mission in the second and third Tibet. Now, since I cannot do so in the two places at the same time, I had to consider, according to the right rule of charity, which of the two Tibets stood in greater need. In this second Tibet there neither was nor is any Missionary, nor is any likely to come, owing to the great asperity of these places, where, as I have seen with my own eyes, snow begins to fall and pile up in the middle of July. Missionaries have gone to the third Tibet and are there perhaps yet.[4] Now, just as, if I found two persons in great need and had only one morsel of bread, I ought to give it to the one who is in greater want, so too in this case. This granted; I felt a scruple in my soul and I proposed it to the Father Superior. His answer was that, if I wished to stay, I might; however, he made me understand that he would not discuss the point, and that I would have to give an account

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[1] The Capuchins.

[2] These 'other men' did not know by July 1715 that the Capuchins had left Lhasa in 1711. A previous set of men seems then to have told the Fathers that they had met the Capuchins at Lhasa, or in the third Tibet.

[3] This style of address makes it clear that the letter was addressed to the General of the Society at Rome.

[4] If Desideri was sure by 1714 that the Capuchins had left in 1711, he may have thought now that the Capuchins had returned.

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to the Superiors. After that he said that, in any case, he wanted to go to the third Tibet, where Father Andrada had been,[1] that being the intention of the Superiors. Left in doubt, with reasons for either alternative, I decided to follow the Father who had been appointed as my Superior, feeling sure that, before God and before Man, he cannot be condemned who, obeying in things not manifestly sinful, conforms to the will of the Superior, to whom it belongs to give an account to God and to Man both for himself and his subordinate. Meanwhile, it is decided that, as soon as we have the Passport, we shall go to the third Tibet. If I have erred in my decision, the error will have been of the mind, not of the will.

The third Tibet is a three or four months' journey from here. During the first 10 or 12 days the journey is across mountains, after that through level country all the time. Those plains are deserts, uninhabited; only now and again do shepherds go there with their flocks, remaining there some time under tents. At times, the road is infested by neighbouring Tartars; so, there is some danger. The third Tibet is also called Great Tibet; it is not in mountainous, but level country, (P. 370) and not very distant from China. In the said third Tibet the law and religion is exactly the same as in this second Tibet; therefore, what I have said about it must be understood to apply also to the third Tibet. Its chief place is called in the Tibettian language Urzan;[2] in the Persian language, Arghiangh ;[3] while in the Indostan language, or that of the Mogor, it is called Lassa or Lassan.[4] The king and the chief Lamma

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[1] How did Freyre now know that de Andrada had been in the third Tibet, if he had gone in search of his Mission in the second Tibet or Ladakh, and did not know in 1714 that there was a third Tibet? Did he conclude it now, after finding no traces of de Andrada's Mission at Leh? The people at Leh could not have remembered de Andrada, who never was there. They might have remembered de Azevedo and d'Oliveira (1631); they might have remembered the King of Tsaparang whom they went to fight in 1629-30, and took a prisoner to Leh, they might have remembered European lamas at Tsaparang till 1640. They seem to have remembered nothing of all this; but then their oblivion was no proof that the Jesuits had been in the third Tibet, and not in the second.

[2] U-Tsang, Lhasa being the capital in the Province of U, and Shigatze the chief town in the Province of Tsang.

[3] What does this represent in Persian? Argun, used at Leh, has been understood by recent travellers to apply to a Christian.

[4] In his *Notizie Istoriche* (Wessels, photograph facing p. 276), Desideri writes: 'Omitting little Thibet, which is otherwise called Balti-stan, and middle Thibet, which is called by the other name of Lhata-yul, of both of which I have said something in the first Book, I limit myself for the present to giving an account of the third, and Great Thibet, which is the chief of them all.

'Though the government, the extent and the limits of the first two are different, the manner of governing, the Religion, and the customs of all three are quite the same and common, without difference.

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of that Kingdom reside there, and it is there that the Capuchin Fathers went and are perhaps still; and it is credible (*credibile*) that our Father Andrada was there in olden times. There is a rumour, but I am not sure, that, 10 or 12 years ago, the King of the said third Tibet sent men to the Mogor in search of the Fathers of the Company; for they say that a dress, a bireta and other things of Father Andrada remained there. Those men, not knowing that we resided at Agra, and Delhy, arrived at Surat and gave out that the King of Tibet wanted, as Masters of the true law, the Fathers of the Company. The Capuchin Fathers who are at Surat kept the matter quiet, and, without letting the Company know, went to Tibet,[1] near the said Urzan or Lassa lies Napall; Napall is not far from Patnà, and from Patnà to our College at Agra the journey is very good, and of one month only. If God gives me the grace of arriving there, I shall give your Reverence better information in another

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'The third, and chief Thibet, is by us Europeans and in the Persian writings called Thibet absolutely. In the Hendustana, or Mogolese tongue, it is called Butant, which means Country of the Gods, that is of the Idols. In their Maps the Geographers give it various other names, calling it at times Kingdom of the Grand Lamà, or of Lhasà; others call it Ussang, others Barantola. But in the language of this Country, it is called . . . . . ' (the photograph ends here). At p. 24 of Puini it is called Bodyul; at p. 34, Butan, 'and in the language of this country it is called Po.'

A clear proof that neither Desideri nor Freyre knew that de Andrada had been at Tsaparang, near Totling, in Nari Khorsum. I have not found Tsaparang yet in Desideri's writings.

[1] One of the reasons why Desideri does not feel sure of the rumour is that so far he has not met the King who had invited Jesuits to his dominions. The story is now supposed to have happened in 1705 or 1707; but it ought to have happened earlier, if the Capuchins of Surat kept their counsel to obtain in 1703 that Propaganda should send them to Tibet, where the Jesuits had formerly been. I find no trace of such a story in the history of the Capuchins. We do not understand how a king of Tsaparang or its neighbourhood, or of some other part of the third Tibet, or of Nepal, could have sent men to Surat to discover Jesuits, and that these men did not discover Jesuits at Lahore, Agra, or Delhi. Who then talked of a soutane, a biretta, and other things left in Tibet by Fr. de Andrada? Yet, there was such a story, as we found in Desideri's letter from Surat, Dec. 30, 1713 (No. 4); it existed in 1706, as we noticed in note 6 of our introduction. Was the story invented at Surat to explain to the Jesuits how the Capuchins happened to have been sent to Tibet? One of the Capuchins sent to Tibet in 1704 was Fr. Francis Mary of Tours. He had been many years at Surat, had gone about 1701 to Pondicherry, had there taken information about the methods of the Jesuits and their Malabar rites, and gone over to Rome, where he was in 1703. He published a tract against the Malabar rites and the Jesuits at Liege, and the Jesuits were suspected of having got him away from Rome to Tibet, to be rid of him. If Fr. Francis Mary of Tours was suspected of having ousted the Jesuits from Tibet, the whole story of the embassy, and d' Andrada's biretta may have been invented by imaginative parishioners of the Capuchins at Surat. Had the story not been a mere suspicion on the part of some Jesuits in India, might they not have made bold to ask the Capuchins point-blank what ground there was for it?

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letter.[1] Bengala is not very far from the third Tibet, and the road is good, and the Capuchin Fathers went from there.[2]

In conclusion, casting myself at Your Paternity's feet, I beg of you to excuse the trouble I give you by asking you to recommend me, with all the efficacy of your most fervent soul, to God in your Holy Sacrifices and Prayers, and to give me finally your holy blessing.

Leh, in the second of the 3 Tibets.

Your Most Reverend Paternity's

Very unworthy and least servant and subject,

Ippolito Desideri.

8. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi, S.J. (Lhasa, April 10, 1716).

For this translation I have used to some extent the work of C. Markham, *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet* . . . . . 2nd edn., London, 1879, pp. 302–308, but I have restored the original spelling of the proper names as in *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*, Paris, 1781, tome XII, pp. 430–445, and have made the translation more literal. I also show the pagination as in the tome of the *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses* just indicated.

Fr. Desideri writes of this letter, as published in *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*:

'In the XVth small volume of the same collection there is a letter of mine, which, when I had arrived at the capital of the third Tibet, I wrote in Italian to Father Grassi, giving him a short account of my journey. I take this opportunity to remark that in it the date and time of our arrival and of our departure from Kascimir must be corrected; but that is not the chief point I wish to draw attention to now; I want to remark that in the said Letter I myself made a mistake about two very important and essential points, which I represented very differently from what I have declared in the Relation. Speaking of the second

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[1] From Leh to Lhasa the journey was performed on horseback. The Fathers had 7 horses: two of these were for the Fathers; 4 others were used by 3 Christian servants and a gentile interpreter; only two horses reached Lhasa; and one of these was in a pitiable state; the other died shortly after the arrival. (Puini, 52. 53.)

[2] Desideri calculates that, leaving Rome in October 1728 for Port Louis in Lower Brittany, and embarking there in January or the beginning of February, 1729, one will arrive at Lhasa only in April or May 1730, or after a year and a half; leaving Rome in November 1728 for Portugal one will arrive at Goa about the middle of September 1729; going by Surat, Agra, Patna, one will leave Patna in December 1730, and reach Lhasa not earlier than April 1731, or a year later than by the first route. (Puini, 81.) The French ships called régularly at Chandernagore.

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Tibet, or Lhata-yul, and of the religion there current, I said first that those people do not admit metempsychosis, but believe that the wicked go to Hell and the good to Heaven; secondly, that they seemed to have some knowledge of God and of the Most Holy Trinity. On these two points I made a gross mistake, and erred greatly in the understanding of both.' (Puini, 186.)

This letter is so similar in many things, choice of details and disposition of the matter, to the previous one, that I am of opinion that he took with him to Lhasa the previous letter, written from Leh, and used it for the composition of the present letter.

(P. 430) A letter from Father Ippolito Desideri, Missionary of the Society of Jesus, to Father Ildebrando Grassi, [1] a Missionary of the same Society, in the Kingdom of Maissur.[2]

At Lhassa, April 10, 1716.

Reverend Father,—The peace of our Lord be with you. Having been appointed to the Tibet Mission, I left Goa on the 20th of November, 1713,[3] and arrived at Suratte on the 4th of January, 1714.[4] Being compelled to sojourn here awhile, I took advantage of my leisure to learn Persian. On the 26th of March,[5] I set out for Delly, where I arrived on the 11th of May,[6] and where I found Father Manuel Freyre, who had been appointed to the same Mission as myself.[7] On the 23rd of September [8] we together began our journeys towards Tibet. We went by way of Lahor, which we reached on the 10th of October,[9] and (P. 431) where we had the pious satisfaction of administering the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist to some Christians, who were bereft of Pastors. We left Lahor on the 19th of October,[10] and in the course of a few days reached the foot of the Caucasus.

The Caucasus is a long range, consisting of remarkably steep and lofty mountains. After crossing one mountain, you encounter a second still higher; this is in turn succeeded by a third, higher than either of the two former ones; and the higher

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[1] 'The companion of Desideri's travels from Rome to Goa in 1712; he was born at Bologna in 1683 and became a Jesuit at Rome, January 23, 1699. After working in the Mysore Mission, he died at Pondicherry, May 22, 1731.' (Wessels, p. 207 n. 4.)

[2] Mysore.

[3] Cp. note 1 to Letter No. 7.

[4] Cp. note 1 to Letter No. 4.

[5] Cp. note 6 to Letter No. 7.

[6] Cp. note 8 to Letter No. 7.

[7] 'Who had been appointed' can be used against my theory at note 9 of Letter 7.

[8] Cp. note 11 to Letter No. 7.

[9] Cp. note 12 to Letter No. 7.

[10] Cp. note 13 to Letter No. 7.

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you mount, the more you have to mount, till you reach the highest of all, named *Pir-Pangial*.[1]

The Gentiles hold this mountain in great awe; they bring offerings to it, and in their superstition worship a venerable old man, whom they believe to be guardian of that place. Herein is doubtless contained a reminiscence of the fable of Prometheus, who, according to the poets, was bound in chains to the Caucasus.[2]

The summit of the highest mountains is always covered with snow and ice. We took twelve days to traverse these mountains on foot, (P. 432) crossing with incredible difficulty impetuous torrents, which, formed by the melting of the snow, dash down with extreme violence amid rocks and boulders. The torrents which we had ever and anon to stem, and the rocks, made it an extremely difficult business to get across, and often was I compelled to hang on by the tail of a bullock passing at the same time as myself, to avoid being carried away by the force of the stream. I do not speak of the extreme cold I had to suffer, through not having taken the precaution to obtain clothing suitable for so rude a climate.

This country of mountains, though in other respects so awful, is pleasing in several places through the number and variety of its trees, the fertility of the soil, and the different races which inhabit it. Some petty States here are dependent on the Mogol. The roads are not everywhere so impracticable for a horseman or for a *giampan*, a sort of palanquin.[3]

On the 10th of March[4] we arrived at Kaschemire.[5] The enormous quantity of snow (P. 433) which falls during winter, and which absolutely closes up the passes, obliged us to remain there for six months. An illness, apparently caused by the first hardships I had undergone, reduced me to the last extremity. I did not fail in continuing my study of Persian, and in making inquiries respecting Tibet; but, though I took every pains, I could then learn only about two Tibets. One extends from the north to the west, and is called Little Tibet, or Baltistan. It is a few days' journey from Kaschemire, and its inhabitants and the princes governing it are Mahomettans and tributaries of the Mogol. However fertile this country may be, it is sure to be barren as far as preachers of the Gospel are concerned; for a long experience had taught us only too surely to expect but little fruit in countries where rules the impious sect of Mahomet.

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[1] The Himalayas.

[2] Cp. text, and note 15 to Letter No. 7.

[3] Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Jempon (Hindi: *jānpān, japān*, also *jhampān, jhāpān*, Bengali: *jhāmpān, jhāpān*), a portable chair; where our passage in Desideri is given as containing the oldest use of the word.

[4] Markham notes rightly that March appears to be a mistake for November. The date is Nov. 13 (Puini, 6), or Nov. 12 (Puini, 362).

[5] Srinagar.

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The other Tibet, which is called Great Tibet, or *Buton*,[1] extends from the north to the east, and is a little farther from Kaschemire. The route thither is pretty well frequented by caravans, which go every year in quest of wool, and as a rule runs through defiles. The first six or (P. 434) seven days, the journey is not very trying; but, as one goes on travelling, it becomes very difficult, through the wind, the snow, and the excessive rigour of the biting frosts, to which must be added having to rest at night on the bare ground, and at times on snow and ice.

Great Tibet begins at the summit of an awful snow-clad mountain, called *Kantel*.[2] One side of the mountain belongs to Kaschemire, and the other to Tibet. We left Kaschemire on the 17th of May, 1715,[3] and on the 30th, the feast of Our Lord's Ascension,[4] we crossed this mountain, that is to say, we entered Tibet. Much snow had fallen on the path, which winds between mountains, as far as *Leh* (otherwise called *Ladak*, the fortress where the king resides), which are the very picture of desolation, horror, and death itself. They are piled one a top of another, and so close as scarcely to leave room for the torrents which course impetuously from their heights, and (P. 435) dash with such deafening noise against the rocks as to stun and appal the stoutest traveller. Above and at their foot the mountains are equally impassable; you are therefore forced to make your way about half-way down the slope, and the path, as a rule, is so narrow as barely to leave room for you to set down your feet; this obliges you to pick your way with extreme care. A false step, and you are precipitated down the abyss with the loss of your life, or at least with broken limbs, as befell some of our fellow-travellers. Were there bushes, you might cling by them; but these mountains are so barren that neither plants nor even a blade of grass grows thereon. Would you wish to cross from one mountain to another, you must pass over the foaming torrents between, and there is no bridge, save some narrow, unsteady planks, or some ropes stretched across and interwoven with green branches. Often you are obliged to take off your shoes in order to get a better foothold. I assure you that I shudder still at the bare remembrance of these dreadful passages. (P. 436) The difficulty of the roads is not the only inconvenience; you must add to it the sharpest cold, furious

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[1] Bhutan.

[2] 'According to Vigne, the summit of Bultul (Zojila pass) is the Mount Kantul, of the old map. It is north-east of Srinagar (Kashmir), on the road to Baltistan (Little Tibet).'—(Note by Markham.)

[3] Desideri protests in the text we quoted in our introduction to this Letter that the date of departure, May 17, 1715, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* is wrong: but we find no other date in several passages of Desideri's other writings. Cp. text of Letter No. 7 and note 19 there.

[4] Cp. note 22 to Letter No. 7.

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winds, abundant snows, the necessity of sleeping on the ground exposed to the inclemency of such a rough climate, and of eating only flour made from *sattu*,[1] which is a kind of barley. The people of the country eat it unprepared; but we generally made a broth of it, and it was no small thing for us to get enough wood to cook it.

One's eyes are terribly tired with the reflection of the sun's rays from the snow, which dazzles and nearly blinds them. I was obliged to bandage mine, and admit only just enough light to see my way. Then, every second day or so, we encountered customs-officers, who, not content with demanding the usual dues, exacted all they pleased and by any right they fancied.

In these mountainous provinces there are no large towns. There is no particular coinage, that of the Mogol being chiefly used; each piece of money is worth five Roman Giuglii. Trading (P. 437) is usually carried on by exchange of goods. The journey from Kaschemire to *Ladak* we made on foot, and it lasted forty days, so that we reached the last-named place only on the 25th of June.[2] The kingdom of the second Tibet begins, as I have already remarked, at Mount *Kantel*, and extends north-eastwards. There is only one *Ghiampo*,[3] or severeign ruler; the present one is called *Nima Nangial*,[4] and he has a tributary king below him. The first races one meets are Mahomettans; the others are Gentiles, less superstitious than in the other idolatrous countries.

Here is what I learnt of the Tibetan religion. They call God *Konciok*, and they appear to have some notion of the adorable Trinity, for at times they call him *Konciokcik* (one God), at other times *Konciok-sum* (trine God). They use a kind of chaplet, over which they repeat these words: *Om, ha, hum.* This they explain by saying that *Om* signifies knowledge or an arm, that is, power; *ha* is the word, and *hum* is the heart or love, and that these three words mean God. They also worship a being (P. 438) called *Urghien*, who, so they say, was born seven hundred years ago. When asked if he be God or man, some reply that he is both God and man, that he had neither father nor mother, but that he was born of a flower. Nevertheless they have statues representing a woman with a flower in her hand, and her they call the mother of *Urghien*. Several other personages do they worship and treat as saints. In their churches you may

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[1] 'A *chenopodium*, something like the *quinua* of Peru. It is cultivated at heights of more than 5,000 feet, chiefly for its grain, but the leaves are also used as a pot-herb. (See "Punjab Plants" by J. L. Stewart, M.D., Lahore, 1869, p. 179.)'—Note by Markham, who read *battu*, and omitted some lines.

[2] Cp. note 26 to Letter 7.

[3] Markham writes Gyampo. We have Gyalpo in Letter No. 7.

[4] Nima Nimghial in Letter No. 7.

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see an altar covered with a cloth and ornaments; in the middle of the altar is a kind of tabernacle, wherein, they say, *Urghien* dwells, though on the other hand they assert he is in Heaven.[1]

The Tibetans have Religious, called *Lamas*. They are clad in a uniform different from that of the laymen; they neither plait their hair nor carry ear-rings, as other men, but wear a tonsure like our Religious, and have to observe perpetual celibacy. Their occupation is to study the books of the law, which are written in a tongue and in characters differing from those ordinarily in use. They recite certain (P. 439) prayers in chorus (*en manière de choeur*); and theirs it is to celebrate rites, to present offerings in the temples, and to light the sacred lamps there. They offer up to God wheat, barley, paste and water, in little vessels of scrupulous cleanliness. When an offering has been made, the remainder of the food is eaten as if it were consecrated. The *lamas* are greatly respected; as a rule, they live together, shut out from all profane intercourse; they have local superiors, and also a general superior, whom the King himself treats with great veneration.[2]

The King and many of his court looked upon us as *lamas* of the faith of Jesus Christ, who had come from Europe. When they saw us reciting our prayers, they were curious to see what books we were reading, and they eagerly inquired the meaning of the various pictures therein contained. After having carefully examined them, some of them said among themselves. '*Nuru*', that is, 'very good'. They added two things: Firstly, that their book is very like ours, which I cannot believe; what appears more certain to me is that, though several of them (P. 440) may know how to read their mysterious books, not one can explain them. Secondly, they often said: 'Oh! if you knew our language, or if we understood yours, what pleasure it would give us to hear you expound your religion!' This proves that these peoples would be rather well disposed to relish the Christian truths.[3]

The Tibetans are gentle and docile in character, but uncultivated and coarse. There are neither arts nor sciences among them, though they are not wanting in intelligence. They have no communications with other nations; no sort of meat is forbidden to them; they do not hold the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and do not practise polygamy; three points in which they differ from idolatrous natives of India.[4]

As you may have learnt from what I have said, the climate is very severe, and winter prevails nearly all the year round. The mountain tops are always covered with snow; the soil yields

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[1] Cp. Letter No. 7 for the whole of this paragraph; Urghien was born about 1,700 years before (Puini, 365; in Letter No. 7).
[2] Same remark.
[3] Same remark.
[4] Same remark.

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only wheat and barley, trees, fruits, and vegetables being rarely seen. The houses are small, narrow, and built of stones piled in rude fashion one above the other. They use nothing (P. 441) but woollen stuffs for their clothes.[1] From the time that we are at *Ladak* we have had no other lodging but the hut of a poor man from Kaschemire who lives on charity.[2]

Two days after our arrival we went to call on the *Lompo*,[3] who is next in rank to the King, and commonly called his right arm. On the 2nd of July we had our first audience of the King himself, who received us seated on his throne. On the 4th and 8th we were again summoned to his presence and he then treated us more familiarly. On the 6th we paid our respects to the Grand *Lama*.[4] He was accompanied by several other *Lamas*, one of whom is a son of the *Lompo*, and another a near relative of the King. They received us most honourably, and presented us with some refreshments, as is the custom of the country.

These honours and tokens of friendship did not, however, prevent our being disquieted by them. The wool trade serves to draw many Mahomettans from Kaschemire to *Ladak*. Some of these, prompted either by jealousy or hatred of the name Christian, told the King and his ministers that we were rich merchants, with pearls, diamonds, rubies, (P. 442) divers precious stones, and other valuable commodities in our possession. An officer of the court came to our lodgings; everything was opened before him, and the report he made thereon excited the King's curiosity. His Majesty ordered to be brought unto him the basket and the leather bag, in which we carried our small effects such as linen, books, sundry writings, some instruments for self-mortification, chaplets, and medals. The King examined everything, and then openly declared that it gave him greater pleasure to inspect goods of this sort than to see pearls and rubies.[5]

Affairs were in this state, and I was thinking of tarrying in a country where I had resolved to suffer whatever it might please Providence to inflict upon me; I was even in the highest degree overjoyed at having a settled state, where I could labour towards the salvation of men's souls; I was already beginning to learn the language, with the hope of seeing my teaching bring forth some day, even among these barren rocks of Tibet,

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[1] Same remark.

[2] A new detail. The use of the present indicative would show that the letter was partly written at Leh, and continued at Lhasa. It is less likely that two letters have been made into one. In the first case, we understand better the similarities with Letter No. 7, and but, if Letter No. 7 had been despatched from Leh, why was not the present letter?

[3] Lampò in Letter No. 7.

[4] Cp. note 42 to Letter No. 7.

[5] In Letter 7, this inspection is said to have taken placè the day after the first visit to the King; therefore, on July 3.

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fruit acceptable in the sight of the Divine Majesty, when we learnt that there was a third Tibet. After several consultations, it was decided, against my wish, that we should go (P. 443) thither and discover it. The journey takes usually from about six to seven months,[1] and the route lies through countries of deserted aspect, and scantily peopled. This third Tibet is more exposed to the incursions of the border Tatars than the other two Tibets.

We left *Ladak*, therefore, on the 17th of August, 1715,[2] (32) and we arrived at *Lassa*, whence I have the honour to address you, on the 18th of March, 1716.[3] I leave you to imagine what I had to suffer during this journey, what with snow, ice, and the excessive cold of these mountains. Shortly after our arrival, certain tribunals of the country occasioned us a good deal of annoyance. Thanks to God, this storm was appeased in the following manner. I was passing by the palace to attend one of the tribunals, when the King, who was seated in a balcony with one of his ministers, happened to be informed who I was.[4] Our case had been made known to this minister, who is a thoroughly just and equitable man, and he took occasion to represent to the prince the wrong that was being done to us.[5] The King immediately summoned me to his presence, and gave orders that we should be no more troubled.

A few days after I called upon (P. 444) the minister referred to, and he good-naturedly rebuked me for not having yet presented myself to the King. I excused myself on the ground that the custom of the country did not allow people to approach those in authority without making them some present, and that I had nothing worthy of so great a Prince's acceptance. My excuse, though genuine, was not listened to. I was obliged to obey and repair to the palace. More than a hundred people of consequence were awaiting audience in the hall. Two officers

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[1] In Letter 7 (Leh, Aug. 5, 1715) Desideri speaks of 3 months (four, if travelling is slow). As he took himself 7 months (Aug. 17, 1715–March 18, 1716) to cover the distance to Lhasa, it would seem that he added at Lhasa this passage about a 6 or 7 months' journey.

[2] 27 Aug., 1715 (Puini, 8. 11); 17 Aug. (Puini, 25. 32; Wessels, 214. 215).

[3] March 18, 1716 (Puini, 8. 50).

[4] It is evident that Frs. Desideri and Freyre were recognised as Europeans wherever they went and declared themselves such at Lhasa. They were recognised as European Padres at Leh, and the passports they received there up to Trescij-Khang must have described them as such (Puini, 33). The Tartar princess in whose company they travelled from Trescij-khang or Cartoa (Gartok) up to Shigatze could not be unaware of their being Europeans. See besides Puini, p. 62, and the explanation of *Gokarki Lamar*, *ibid.*, p. 299.

[5] 'On arriving at Lhasa, he was requested to pay a sum of 120 rupees, due to the Cartoa (Gartok) custom house, but he was left off on entering a protest.' (Wessels, 220 n. 4.)

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took down their names, according to custom, and carried the paper to the King, who immediately gave orders for my admittance together with a great *Lama*. The *Lama's* present was a considerable one, while mine was quite insignificant; nevertheless, that of the *Lama* was deposited at the entrance, according to custom, while the King ordered mine to be brought to him, and, to show how pleased he was with it, he kept it by him. This in this court is considered an exceptional mark of favour. He made me sit down opposite to him and quite close, and for the space of two hours plied me with innumerable questions, without speaking a word to the others present. At last, having spoken in commendation of me, he bade me good-bye. (P. 445) On several occasions after my first visit I strove to take advantage of the King's kindly disposition and to discourse of our holy religion, and of the mission I wished to undertake in his kingdom, but unfortunately I had no opportunity of doing this. This monarch is of Tartar race, and some years ago he conquered this country, which is not very far from China, for it takes only four months to travel hence to Pekin. Not long since, an envoy came thence, and he has since returned to Pekin.

Having given you, Reverend Father, this brief account of my travels, and of what happened since my arrival in the capital of the third Thibet, it only remains for me to entreat the aid of your prayers, as I do insistingly. After so many painful travels, I need them sorely to sustain me in the labour of the ministry to which the divine goodness has called me, all unworthy though I be. In the hope of sharing in the blessings of your holy sacrifices, I have the honour to be, etc.[1]

*Ippolito Desideri.*

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[1] Not a word is said of the time of Fr. Freyre's departure from Lhasa. Probably, this letter was taken to Mogor by Fr. Freyre. Not a word either is heard in this letter and the previous ones of three Christian servants and an interpreter who accompanied the Fathers from Srinagar on May 17, 1715. (Cf. Wessels, 211.) These three Christians and the non-Christian interpreter continued from Trescij-Khang to Lhasa. (Puini, 52.)

'The other Father, my companion, having been accustomed for many years to reside in warm countries, was unable to resist the extreme cold and great subtility of the air in a country so entirely different; hence, after resting some days at Lhasa he resumed his journey in another direction, (p. 51) returning to Hendustan by the shorter and more frequented route of Nepal. And so, I remained alone for some time, the only missionary, the only European, in the entire territory, in the immense extent of the three Thibets.' (Puini, 50-51.)

Freyre's name reappears in the Mogor catalogue of December 1718, and November 1719. On the first date he is placed at Delhi. His name no longer appears in the Mogor catalogues of Dec. 1724, Nov. 1727, etc.

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9. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society of Jesus (Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717).[1]

(P. 370) Our Very Reverend Father in Christ,

At the end of July, last year, by way of Goa and Portugal I wrote lengthily to your Paternity about my journey from Goa up to this third and chief Tibet, my remaining alone in this Tibet, and what had occurred till the end of the (P. 371) said month.

On the 9th of August, 1716, the chief Minister of the King, a Tartar, summoned me in the King's name to the Palace, and this is what happened to me on that occasion concerning the object of the Mission. I was asked for what express purpose I had come to this Kingdom and had remained in it. I answered that I had come solely to teach them and preach to them the Holy Faith. Then I was asked how many years I was going to remain in this Kingdom, I answered that, if they embraced the Holy Faith, I should remain here till my death. I was then told that they wished in everything to be well informed about our Holy Faith; and so, I was ordered to remain in this Kingdom and to continue studying carefully the language. These points settled, I was given many great, urgent, nay importunate proofs of the King's liberality; but, with God's help, I was always firm and unshaken in giving ever one and the same answer, to wit: that I coveted none of their honour, none of their greatnesses, none of their riches, in a word, no personal temporal advantage, but only the glory of God and their eternal salvation. They gave me a hard fight on this point; but the loving Jesus kept my heart very firm. Thus ended the audience, which for the said two points lasted 23 hours.[2]

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[1] Cf. Puini, pp. 370–376. This letter is also in the *Sommario* of the case between the Jesuits and Capuchins for priority in Thibet.

[2] A full account of the interview appears in the Relation (Puini, 62. 63), where the name of the generalissimo, ten-drup-cê-ring is misspelt Fan-drup-ze-ring. We translate the entire passage.

'A few days after our arrival at Lhasà, I was called to the Palace by order of the king. I went and was introduced to a Tartar noble, called Fan-drup-ze-ring, the king's commander-in-chief over all the forces in the kingdom. Having received me with great politeness and obliging manners, he asked me in the king's name where I came from, what was my quality, condition and profession; for what reason or on what business I had come to those parts and to that court; finally, how long I intended staying there. I answered I had come from distant countries, separated from them, not only by countless vast countries; but also by immense expanses of sea; I had come from the West to that extremity of the East, from Europe to Thibet. As regards my condition and quality, I was religious; as regards my profession, I was in religion a Lamà, whose obligation and office it was to guide others in the right path of religion; I was actually employed and bestirring myself in trying, with all my might, to draw those in error from the paths into which they had gone astray, and to bring them to our holy Law, it being the only true and lawful path, out of which there was no way leading to Heaven and eternal salvation. As

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On another occasion, in the same place and in a similar audience,[1] I was asked the difference between our law and theirs. I did not venture to answer such delicate topics by word of mouth *ex professo* and in public, so long as I had not made a very perfect and prolonged study of the language, and so I pledged myself to explain the whole thing little by little in different books, in which one can speak more diffusely and tread more securely. They told me to write and then to show them what

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for the object and business for which I had come to these countries, and had repaired to that Court, it was precisely the thing of which I had told him. I was sure that they were in extreme error, and had but too lamentably strayed from the right path; I was not ignorant that, in their wretched plight, they had no one to show them the snares they were entangled in, no one to point out to them the precipices down which they were falling headlong to their irreparable doom. Hence, from countries so remote, from one end of the world to the other, across vast seas and over long tracts of land, despite long and painful journeys, despite toils, horrors and dangers, had I come, for no other object, with no other intention, but that of being able to dissipate with the light of evangelic truth the thick darkness of the gloomy night of ignorance and error which had until then, and for so long, enveloped them and their countries. In fine, with these and other like expressions, I made him understand that I had come to Thibet for no other purpose than to establish a mission there, teach our holy faith and draw to it and guide in it whoever wished to embrace it. Finally, as regards the length of time I was going to stay there, I answered that, as far as depended on my will and intention, since my object was so hard, so laborious and so universal, (p. 63) unless the king's authority or the orders of my superiors came in the way, I wished for nothing else than to continue the enterprise in hand until my death, and not only to end my life in it, but resolutely to give my life for it.

'With the help of God, my answers made a good impression on the heart of the generalissimo. With loving expressions of gratitude and satisfaction, he cheered me, saying that not only should I not meet with opposition in my undertaking, but the King and the whole court would willingly hear what I could tell them about so grand, just, and important a matter. Then, after other most courteous compliments and loving assurances of his friendship and protection, he gave me leave, and, going to the king, explained to him faithfully and minutely the whole tenor of my answers.'

There was an interview with the generalissimo a few days after March 18, 1716 (Puini, 62. 63); an interview with one of the king's familiars, on April 28 (Puini, 63); on May 1, he presented to the king, 'two cordial stones, called Gasper' Antonio Stones, a pod (*cocco*) of Brasile balsam, and a small vessel of apoplectic balsam.' Each article had an inscription in Thibetan, showing its virtues and the manner of using it. On this occasion he asked and obtained the king's permission for freely exercising his office of Apostolic Missionary (Puini, 63). Instead of *due pietre cordiali, chiamate Pietze di Gaspar' Antonio*, Fr. Wessels (p. 224) has: 'due Pietri di Belzoar di Goa.'

'On the 29th of April and the 1st of May, 1716, I made known in the king's public audience that I had come to make a Mission and to teach the Holy Law of Jesus Christ, and on the 10th of August, 1716, in the Royal Palace I received, not only the mission, but the order, to teach the Holy Law, and to remain here for the purpose.' (Letter No. 15.) Does Desideri not give wrongly here the date of Aug. 9 to the interview of April 29 and May 1?

[1] Was not this the interview of Aug. 9, 1716?

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I had written; for they would examine it with pleasure. Trusting in God's help, I accepted the task very willingly, and with a lively desire of the glory of the most amiable Jesus.

At the beginning of September, I was invited to go for three or four days to a garden, or palace, of the King's. That day was a Thursday; and, as it was well known that it was my custom (for, being then alone, I had no convenience for saying or hearing Mass) to spend the whole of Friday in retirement in my Chapel, I excused myself for the whole of Friday and Saturday. On Sunday morning, I went, accompanied by people from the court who had been sent to conduct me. That day I was examined concerning the progress I had made in the language; I was made to read in public, and explain; after that various points pertaining to the law were discussed; before that, and in the course of it, I was twice given a repast. Finally, when I had seen all the sights of the Palace and of the (P. 372) Garden and place, I returned home in the evening.

In the months of June, July and August, to distract myself from my uninterrupted application to the study of the language, I had kept composing every day for some hours two booklets in Italian.[1] In the first, I refute the widespread error that everyone can be saved in his law, and I show that there is but one road to salvation, all the rest leading to perdition. In the second, I refute the transmigration of the Good (*de Buoni*). On the 8th of September I started by myself to translate into his language the first of my said two booklets, and, to make it still more attractive, I did it in Tibetan verse.

On the first of October there arrived here three Capuchin Fathers sent by Propaganda.[2] Having had beforehand news of their arrival, I went to meet them outside, and conducted them to my house, or rather to my room;[3] there I received them, and there we lived all four of us till about the middle of October. I tried to treat them as well as the quality of these countries and my poverty allowed. However, they got the rent

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[1] These two booklets in Italian are not mentioned by Fr. Wessels as at present in the possession of the Society.

[2] Frs. Domenico of Fano, a physician, who had gone to Lhasa at the end of 1709, or the beginning of 1710; returned to Bengal, 1711; went to Rome, 1713; appointed Prefect of the Mission, 1714; returned with 6 others; back in Bengal, end of Aug. 1715; set out from Nepal for Lhasa, Aug. 4, 1716, with Fr. Orazio della Penna di Billi, who had arrived at Chandernagore on Sept. 1, 1713, and had been sent to Nepal in December 1714; the third man appears to have been Fr. Giovanni Francesco of Fossombrone, a physician, who had arrived in Bengal with Fr. Orazio della Penna.

[3] Though foreigners could only rent houses, Desideri was allowed to buy a large house, well situated, near the great square, on the famous Kora road, on the South side (Puini, 180). Desideri may have learned at a later date, when passing through Patna in 1725, that the Capuchins were allowed by 'the present Great Lamà' to buy a plot of land for their hospice on the N.E. side of Lhasa (Puini, 180).

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of other rooms contiguous to mine and within the same house. There we live with exemplary uniformity in all things, and with mutual and more than fraternal charity. I do not fail to help them in everything I can, especially in teaching them the language; and they surpass me not only in courtesy, but in excesses of courtesy. Hence, I humbly beseech Your Paternity to be so good as to send some Father there in Rome to thank their Father Procurator General, from whom they depend; besides, I have the boldness to beg of Your Paternity to be so kind as to send them some words of thanks through the said Father Procurator General; for they well deserve it.

The said Fathers have with them a decree of Propaganda, passed some 60 years ago, by I do not know what Sovereign Pontiff, in which it is forbidden under Ecclesiastical penalties *etiam patribus Societatis* (also to the Fathers of the Society), to establish themselves where there are already Missionaries of another Religion sent by Propaganda.[1] The Father Prefect of the said Capuchin Fathers has not had the courage to present that Decree to me; nay, on learning in Nepal that the Company had arrived here,[2] he was on the point of not coming, and from the Kingdom of Nepal he informed Rome asking *quid agendum* (what was to be done);[3] and he came with the intent that, if he found me at all punctilious or with any pretensions to priority, he would at once go back with his Companions. Therefore, on behalf of the Company, I show every mark of respect to the Missionaries of the Holy Faith,[4] just as I wish them to do everywhere towards the Company. The said Fathers wishing to celebrate Holy Mass on the feast of St. Francis,[5] were so good as (P. 373) to show me their letters-patent, with much humility.[6] Granting the said Decree, the doubt may arise which can lay claim to having been first in this Mission, the Capuchin Fathers, or the Company, and whether, on the strength of the Said Decree and with no other reasons to the contrary, they are liable to incur the said Ecclesiastical penalties, or I. On the side of the Capuchin Fathers this may militate in their favour that, although they quite abandoned this Tibet in 1712,[7] yet several of them were here for some

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[1] It was a decree of Jan. 15, 1656. Cf. our section 12.

[2] Fr. Freyre must have met the Capuchins in Nepal, on his way back to Agre.

[3] This letter is therefore anterior to Aug. 4, 1716, when Domenico of Fano set out from Nepal for Tibet.

[4] Sent by the Congregation de Propaganda *Fide*.

[5] Oct. 4.

[6] As if asking Desideri's permission. Their reason was that they were in Desideri's house.

[7] In Letter 15, Desideri gives 1711 as the date of the Capuchins' departure from Lhasa. Different writers oscillate between 1711 and 1712, and we have not so far any authoritative proof to decide which date is correct.

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years. On the side of the Company what favours us is that, on the 7th of September 1715, when we entered this Tibet, and on the 18th of March 1716, when we arrived at this Capital, there was not in the whole of this Tibet a single Missionary of Propaganda, and that, on the 1st of October 1716, when the aforesaid Missionaries, that is the said three Capuchin Fathers, arrived here, the Company had already been *in actu* and alone in this Mission for a year and 24 days.[1] On that account, though I have heard there is such a decree, I have been loth to abandon this Mission of my own accord, but have written repeatedly to the Father Provincial of Goa, since I depend on his Instructions, and chiefly on those of Your Most Reverend Paternity, and I am not my own master. Moreover, not only have I been unwilling to abandon this Mission of my own accord, but I have thought that, in conscience, I neither must nor may abandon it on any account, considering that, by such special favour of God, I am actually so well fixed, so well employed, and have so far progressed with the affairs of the Holy Faith and my writings concerning it. I do not speak for my own sake: for I am *aes sonans et cimbalum tinniens* (sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal);[2] I am *Miser et miserabilis* (wretched and miserable);[3] I am but a fire-band saved by the Divine Mercy from the fire of hell; but I speak *ut honorificetur in omnibus et ab omnibus Deus* (that in all things and by all God may be honoured),[4] who is *mirabilis in consiliis suis qui infirma mundi eligit* (wonderful in his counsels, who chooseth the weak things of the world)[5] in order to make the infinite power of his Divine greatness shine out the brighter. The different Capuchin Fathers who were here during several years did not succeed in making it known that they had come for the purpose of preaching and of teaching the Holy Faith, as I know for sure and am ready to swear, if necessary, and as they themselves (at least those here in Tibet) confess.[6] I do not say this to cast a slur on the zeal of the Capuchin Fathers, because it was the fault of those who tried to frighten and impede them, as I also discovered at once.[7] But, glory to Jesus, *Deus est et quis resistet ei* (God is, and who will resist Him?).[8] Considering all the above things, and not knowing what to do, I have thought that, to enlighten the Congregation of Propaganda and to justify and forearm myself and the Company, it would be good to write the enclosed

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[1] He calculates from Sept. 7, 1715.
[2] 1 Cor. 13. 1.
[3] Apoc. 3. 17.
[4] 1 Pet. 4. 11.
[5] 1 Cor. 1. 27.
[6] How could Fr. Desideri have proved this?
[7] Does he mean that the Lhasa officials tried to frighten him away soon after his arrival?
[8] Cp. Job 9. 4.

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(P. 374) letter to the Sovereign Pontiff,[1] who, I hope, will be pleased with it; hence, I beg your Paternity to present it or have it presented to him, excusing me for the quality of the paper, since the Mission and the great distance where I am allows only this and no more.[2]

As for news. In the middle of October, after I had satisfied the dictates of Hospitality towards the Fathers, I took up again and continued the translation of the first of the aforesaid two booklets and finished it in the beginning of November. The whole of November I retouched it, and copied it neatly. The whole of December I had it revised and copied nicely, and for all the rest, running into the necessary expense, I put it in order. On the 6th of January,[3] after saying and applying Holy Mass to that intention, I went to the royal Palace with the three Capuchin Fathers,[4] where, after other necessary expenses, we were introduced with very great solemnity to an Audience from the King in the great and magnificent royal hall. There assisted at it a very large assembly of persons from the Lamma's Court (that is their Priests and Religious, who are at the same time Doctors), and of other people. The King made us sit down opposite him, after he had first received (according to the custom of Asia) the offering of my present and at the same time taken into his hand my book, which I presented; after that, he made us drink the Cià.[5] Then, untying and opening the book[6] with his own hands, he did the honour of asking me, although he already knew that I had myself written and translated it, who had composed and translated it. I answered I had done it myself, without help from anyone. He next asked me who had put it in verse. I replied that it was my own work. After that he asked how much longer I wished to remain in the Kingdom. I answered, till my death; which caused much emotion in the whole gathering. Then he asked who was my Deutà,[7] that is, my God. I answered that I acknowledge and adore only the true God, the Creator of all things. 'How many Gods are there?' he asked. 'Only one God,' I answered, 'one in essence and Three in Persons.' 'How are the three divine

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[1] Desideri says in Letter 15 (Kuti, Sept. 21, 1721 that he knows for certain that his letter of Febr. 1717 to the Pope, and the present letter to the General reached their destination in 1718.

[2] The oblong pages on which Desideri wrote some of his MSS. (cf. Wessels, pp. 274–275) must have been Tibet paper.

[3] 6th January 1717.

[4] Between January 6, 1717, and June 1717 one of the three Capuchin Fathers, apparently Fr. John Francis of Fossombrone, went to settle at Takpo, where he could obtain wine for the needs of his companions at Lhasa.

[5] Tea.

[6] The untying shows that the book was covered with wooden boards, as the style of binding is in Tibet.

[7] *Devatā*: god.

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Persons called ?' he asked; and, after hearing my answer, taking occasion of the name of the Holy Ghost, he started at once of his own accord (for you must know that he is a man of much intelligence and great ability) to make several objections against the absolute immateriality and incorporeity of God, and he listened to my answers to the said arguments, and how God, being of his nature quite incorporeal, took a human body and became true Man for man's sake, for our salvation. After that, he himself read the whole dedication of the Book; it contained a eulogium, also in verse, of the king himself; and, after that he proceeded and read a good portion of the first Chapter. (R. 375) Then, handing the Book to one of his Lamma's and making him read from it, he started making different arguments in defence of the devilish error of transmigration, having asked me before how often I had been born and reborn. He also heard my answers to each of his arguments; after which, he continued to have the Book read; and, while I remained paying attention, noon came, when a signal was given and the Audience was dismissed, the King having heard and spoken to no one else.

A few days later, he called for me several times to question me on the important point whether, the one road of salvation excepted, all the rest led to eternal damnation, and he inquired a great deal whether this was indeed to be understood of all. Some days after, the above-said Tartar Minister sent me word that the King keeps my Book near him, continues to read it, and discusses what he reads. I have placed the matter in God's hands. *Ejus voluntas fiat* (His will be done).[1] At present, things have remained in suspense on account of the festivities of their new year,[2] and shortly he will go personally to war against another King.[3] *Fiat voluntas Dej* (God's will be done).

For the last month, owing to my past labours, I have been somewhat troubled in health, and my Master is in prison for heavy debts.[4] In the beginning of March, or sooner, I shall resume the study of the language and of Tibetan Books, and, this year, I hope with God's help to arrange a Doctrine,[5] a Grammar, and a Dictionary,[6] and to translate in this language the second of my two booklets, that is, the refutation of

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[1] Adapted from: *Fiat volunbtas tua* (Thy will be done), in the Our Father. (Matt. 6. 10.)

[2] The Monlam. Cf. Puini, 290, 306.

[3] No doubt, the war against the King of Kokonor, which brought the Giongars to Lhasa in 1717, and brought about Ginghes-Khang's assassination.

[4] His teacher of Tibetan, evidently. He would have been a Lama.

[5] Catechism.

[6] The Capuchins at Lhasa in 1707–11 appear to have made already a beginning of a grammar and a dictionary. Fr. Orazio della Penna may have helped himself with Fr. Desideri's work for his dictionary of about 35,000 words, which still exists in the Bishop's College Library, Calcutta.

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the devilish error of the transmigration of Souls.[1] May the loving Jesus give me strength for it. I add to what I have said that the Capuchin Fathers brought a fine present and a letter of His Holiness for this King.[2] The present was almost entirely lost with many other good things, and with some sum of money the letter arrived,[3] and I translated it faithfully into this language, and on the 4th of December,[4] Fathers and I, with some expense, we presented it with great solemnity to the King who . . . . . was highly pleased with such great honour,[5] and he is making efforts to recover the present and the stolen goods. This is the news I can give from the end of July to the present date.

From the middle of April until now, that is these last 10 months, I have written 11 letters to the Father Rector of Agra[6] and to the Father Provincial of Goa, and I have not had a single answer till now. I left Portugal 4 years ago,[7] and during all that time I have not had any letter from Europe. Three years and three months ago, I started from Goa,[8] and all that time not a single letter has reached me from the Superiors of Goa;[9] (P. 376) which cannot but give me anxiety, as I am new and entirely unprovided for in these parts, and to promote the service of God I have been obliged to run into much expense; the money is almost at an end, and not a letter comes for me. I do not know how things will go. If, in this point, things continue the same way, as it is impossible to live on alms here,[10] I shall be forced by and by to make my way towards the College of Agra and towards Goa. I am cutting down my expenses as much as I can, and shall continue to do so, lest the

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[1] Four of Fr. Desideri's Tibetan MSS. are still in the possession of the Society of Jesus, but their contents have not been examined yet by a Tibetan scholar. (Cf. Wessels, 274-275.)

[2] The letter, dated January 6, 1714, is among my collection of materials for the history of the Capuchins in Tibet.

[3] *sic*, for the punctuation in Puini.

[4] Dec. 4, 1716.

[5] *Che al maggior segno gradì un sì grand' onore.*

[6] The Rector of Agra in the Catalogue of December 1716, is Fr. Melchior dos Reys, who, we know, was appointed in 1713, and reached Agra at the end of May 1714. The next catalogue of December 1718 shows that Fr. Alvarus de Albaquerque became Rector in March 1718. Fr. Melchior dos Reys appears, therefore, to have been Rector at Agra between the middle of April 1717 and Febr. 15, 1718.

[7] On April 7, 1713.

[8] On Nov. 17 or 21, 1713.

[9] He had received at least two letters from the Provincial of Goa before he left Delhi for Tibet in 1714. Since then, it is less surprising that he had received no letters. Fr. Freyre was probably not back at Agra till the second half of 1716. By way of Patna and Nepal, where were the Capuchins, letters might have reached Desideri already, at least from Agra.

[10] Like the Capuchins, Desideri always refused the money which his Tibetan friends urged him to accept.

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blame be mine; when we shall have nothing left to stint, he will render an account to God for thus abandoning the Mission who is responsible for it. I refuse to believe that the thing will happen; but, if ever it happens, from now I place my justification in Your Paternity's hands.

Let Your Paternity pray much and make the whole Company pray much for wretched me, for the good success of this Mission and the salvation of these poor souls. If all of you were here, you would all of you weep all the time at the sight of the Devil's hard and palpable tyranny. One cannot relate all that in writing; we should require for it a volume and more. I cast myself at your feet and humbly ask your Blessing.

Lhassa, the 15th of February 1717.

Your Most Reverend Paternity's
Very unworthy servant in Christ and subordinate,
Ippolito Desideri.

Every year ships leave the Port of S. Ualo in France for Bengala and these Indies. It is the fastest route for answers.

10. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to Fr. Felice of Montecchio Capuchin, Patna (Takpo, March 12, 1718).[1]

(P. 376) Very Reverend and dear Father,

I am informed from Goa[2] that, in November 1717, Missionaries of the Company must have been sent from there to this Tibet,[3] and it seems to me that there is not time enough for me to write to them at Agra. Accordingly, I make bold to avail myself of Your Very Reverend Paternity's well-known and very special kindness, and to ask you humbly (P. 377) kindly to remit to them the letter herewith, on their arrival at Patna. I have no knowledge whatever of such Missionaries;[4] hence, I cannot guess whether, on their arrival at Patna, they are likely to fulfil the duties they have contracted towards the kindness of Your Most Reverend Paternities,[5] and whether

[1] Cf. Puini, pp. 376-377. Letter taken from the *Sommario* of the case between the Jesuits and Capuchins for priority in Tibet. Fr. Felice of Montecchio was then the Prefect of the Capuchin Mission of Tibet. The letter above shows that he resided at Patna, in Bihar.

[2] It may have been by this letter that Desideri was appointed Superior of the Jesuit Mission of Tibet. Cf. his letter 14 (Lhasa, Dec. 21, 1719).

[3] One of the first letters written by Desideri from Lhasa, after his arrival there on March 18, 1716, would naturally have been to ask for companions, chiefly as Fr. Freyre was not willing to stay. Some were probably sent in November 1717. We do not know their names.

[4] The meaning may be that he did not know them personally, or did not know them yet by name.

[5] *Delle PP. loro M.M. RR.*

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they are aware of the debts which, as Missionaries destined to this Tibet, they happen to have incurred by anticipation, considering the exquisite attentions which I have hitherto received and continually receive from the most courteous and most religious Charity of the Very Reverend Capuchin Missionary Fathers, in particular of Your Very Reverend Paternity, who with your innate kindness know how to compassionate so many importunities of mine and of our Fathers of Indostan.[1] Whatever happens, I beg from now of Your Very Reverend Paternity to be so good as to overlook their little knowledge and complete inexperience, and to double the merit of your most religious Charity by giving them a share in the favour of your most prudent directions, especially as regards the journey. If, on their arrival or before their departure for Nepal, the order should have come from Rome that the Company is to desist from labouring in this Mission of Tibet,[2] then, in case such an order emanates who can give orders to the Company, that is from the Sovereign Pontiff, before whose commands I humbly bow my head, I humbly beg of Your Very Reverend Paternity's prudence to see to it that the said Missionaries should not uselessly push further, but should return at once to Agra or await my return at Patna. I hope Your Very Reverend Paternity will excuse my great boldness and will honour me with your most esteemed orders. Recommending myself to Your Holy Sacrifices, I sign myself, as I am,

Takpò, from the Hospice of the Very Reverend Capuchin Fathers, the 12th of March 1718.[3]

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[1] This indicates that by now Desideri and the Fathers of Agra had often had recourse to the services of Fr. Felice of Montecchio at Patna. Letters from and to Desideri would naturally be addressed to him for transmission.

[2] In answer to the Prefect Fr. Dominico of Fano's letter sent to Propaganda from Nepal before leaving for Tibet on August 4, 1716.

[3] Takpo or Takpo-Khier is the Province where Desideri then was. The Capuchin hospice was at Trong-gnêe. (Wessels, pp. 225, 251, 268, 269.) Fr. Wessels marks Takpo on his map, but not Trong-gnêe. The place is mentioned in Puini, p. 14, (where it is spelt Trong-gnei). It was 8 days from Lhasa. Desideri may have gone there to explore the country, and to escape from the political troubles which the victory of the Giongars in December 1717 had led to. Puini writes that he went there for greater safety. He adds (p. 65): 'At Takpo-Kier, he continued the study of other Buddhist books, and almost completed another work of his in refutation of the errors of the Tibetan religion. The work was divided into three parts: in the first, he refuted the doctrine of transmigration; in the second, "the chief error of the Tongpagn:" (*sTong.pa.nyi*); in the third, he explained how to understand the Christian doctrine; this last was in the form of a dialogue. This work "was very well received by the Lamas and the doctors, who read and examined it, and who came in numbers to read it again and study it together."' At p. XLIII, Puini returns to the description of this MS.: 'In the first (part) he refuted the doctrine of transmigration; in the second, he refuted the Buddhist doctrine which regards the world as non-existent, and teaches liberation from all illusion; in the third, he expounded the principles of Christianity.'

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Your Most Reverend Paternity's
Very humble, very devoted, and very obliged
servant,
Ippolito Desideri,
of the Company of Jesus.

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Fr. Wessels writes: 'His plan was to write in the Tibetan language a refutation of the errors of their doctrine and a defence of the Catholic religion. But he had hardly set to work when it was interrupted by a violent catastrophe. The Tartars invaded the country. Lhasa was taken and sacked, and on December 3 the king and his ministers were murdered. Not thinking himself safe at Sera, Desideri retired to the Province of Takpo-Khier at eight days' journey from the Capital, where he found time and opportunity to finish his book. His retirement lasted till April 1721 with the exception of a few months (p. 225) at Lhasa. In one of his visits to the Capital he gave his book to read to his former teacher of Tibetan, one of the cleverest among the Lamas. It consisted he tells us of three volumes. The first argued against the migration of souls as taught by Buddhism, the second attacked the main error into which the Tongba-gni falls, the denial of an Absolute Being (*Ens a se*), Creator of the world, Itself uncreated. The third volume was constructive and in the form of a dialogue gave an exposition of the Christian doctrine.

'The work caused a great stir and "my house suddenly became the scene of incessant comings and goings by all sorts of people, but chiefly learned men and professors, who came from the monasteries and universities, especially from those of Sera and Bree-bung, the principal ones, to apply for permission to see and read the book"' (pp. 224-225).

'Desideri notes (MS. A. Bock I, ch. XV, p. 91) that he took the book away with him when he left Tibet. I surmise it is the third of the Tibetan MSS. mentioned by Wessels on page 275, but this must be left for Tibetan scholars to settle. It consists of 704 pp. and bears the initial date of June 23, 1718. The second of the above-mentioned MSS. dated Dec. 8, 1717, must have been begun immediately on his arrival at Takpo-Khier. See p. 275.' (*Ibid.*, p. 225, n. 1.)

We know that the first section on the transmigration of souls was written in Italian in June–August 1716, and was completed by Sept. 8, 1716, when Desideri began putting into Tibetan verse another Italian treatise of his on the one way of salvation. (Puini, 372.) We know also that he intended in March 1717 or even earlier to begin a Catechism and the translation of his Italian treatise on the transmigration of souls. (Puini, 375.)

A Tibetan MS. of his (Wessels, 274, MS. 1) has the date July 1, 1717, on the first page, and consists of 54 pp. This MS. already may be the translation of his treatise on transmigration, or his Catechism.

Another Tibetan MS. of his (Wessels, 275, MS. 2) is dated on the first page December 8, 1717, and on the last are the words in Latin: The feast of the Blessed Aloysius Gonzaga saw the end of this treatise. 1718. The last date is, therefore, June 21, 1718. The initial date of this MS. could hardly have been written at Takpo, as Desideri was at Lhasa, in the Sera monastery on Dec. 1, 1717, and apparently several days after, and as the journey from Lhasa to Takpo took 8 days, and often as much as a fortnight, according to the calculations of the Capuchins. I think therefore that the second MS. was begun at Lhasa and was completed at Takpo, where Desideri was by March 12, 1718.

A third Tibetan MS. by Desideri (Wessels, 275, MS. 3) bears the initial date June 24, 1718. This MS. was clearly begun at Takpo, where Desideri was on August, 4, 1718. It is the largest MS., one of 704 oblong pages,

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About September, if God gives me life, I hope to return to Lhasa.[1]

Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to Fr. Felice of Montecchio, Capuchin, Patna (Trong-gnê, Aug. 4, 1718).[2]

(P. 378) Very Reverend and very honoured Father,

On receiving, in the month of July last, the inestimable honour of your Very Reverend Paternity's most excellent and to me most pleasing letter, dated the 23rd of December 1717,[3] I had for the first time the much longed-for consolation of receiving the esteemed orders which you were pleased to impart to me.[4] Although I had for a long time wished with all my heart and was eagerly wishing for the good fortune of complying with your Very Reverend Paternity's orders, yet this time I rejoice extremely that I have not had even a remote chance of performing them.[5] Your Very Reverend Paternity was pleased to request me warmly that I should not fail to recommend earnestly your Very Reverend Religious to the Fathers of Our Company in Pekin; for you add that you have heard that the said Very Reverend Fathers will be conducted to Pekin against their wish.[6] Not only, therefore, have I not executed the

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33, 5×18, 5 cm., and having 35 lines to the page. The first page photographically reproduced in Wessels' book shows that it is in Tibetan verse, from the regularity of the divisions within the lines. We naturally think that this is the work in three sections or volumes which the Lamas of Lhasa came in such numbers to examine during a visit of Desideri to Lhasa, the more so as Fr. Desideri says he brought the MS. back to Europe. Desideri was for some time at Lhasa in 1719, after which he returned to Takpo.

A fourth MS. by Desideri in Tibetan (Wessels, 275, No. 4) consists of 128 narrow strips (33,5×13,5 cm.) with 7 lines to the page. It is undated and appears to be also in verse, from the regularity of the divisions within the lines. Might this be a copy of the treatise on the one way of salvation presented to King Cinghes-Khang on January 6, 1717? If it is, the first page, also photographically reproduced by Fr. Wessels, is likely to contain the poetical dedication to the King, of which he speaks in Puini (p. 274).

Desideri's doings at Takpo hardly appear in his writings, as made known to us by Puini and Wessels. The Capuchin at Takpo on March 12, 1718, was probably Fr. John Francis of Fossombrone, who in June 1717 appears to have been at Takpo (Letter 11).

[1] We do not know whether he returned to Lhasa about September 1718. All we can say is that our letter of Aug. 4, 1718, is still from Takpo; our next one from his pen is from Lhasa, and is dated Dec. 21, 1719.

[2] Cf. Puini, pp. 378–382. Letter from the *Sommario* of the case between the Jesuits and Capuchins for priority in Tibet.

[3] This letter had travelled very slowly, though it was the best season of the year for travelling.

[4] This may have been Fr. Felice's first letter to Desideri, or his first request for a service.

[5] The trouble to which Fr. Felice referred has passed away.

[6] A strange request, which can have been prompted only by the Capuchin Fathers at Lhasa. The trouble arose in the beginning of June 1717, and appears to have been over within three days. The first day the

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orders sent me, but I make bold humbly and most urgently to beseech Your Very Reverend Paternity kindly to write to some correspondent of yours in Pekin and recommend to him my own self, since I have been importuned much more strongly by the Chinese than the Very Reverend Capuchin Fathers about being conducted against my wish to that Metropolis.[1] The more surely to obtain the favour of such a recommendation,[2] Your Very Reverend Paternity will pardon me if, in all sincerity, without even the slightest alteration in the affair, and without any the least admixture of passion, I subjoin here a most faithful account of the affair, and if, in order to declare the truth just as it is, *coram Deo* (before God) I am somewhat too minute and prolix in my account.

In the beginning of May 1717, there arrived at Lhassa three Ambassadors of high rank, a Vakil[3] and other officials sent by the Emperor of China to the late King of this Tibet, King

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Chinese ambassadors insisted on Fr. Desideri's going to Pekin and taking service at the Emperor's court; the next day, the Capuchins and Desideri were importuned the same way; the next day the matter was referred to Cinghes-Khang, who asked the ambassadors to leave the Fathers in peace, since they refused to go. Why should the Capuchins, after that, have troubled Fr. Felice for obtaining from Desideri a letter of introduction to the Jesuits of Pekin, unless they thought that Desideri alone would not be conducted to Pekin? If they thought he too would be taken to Pekin, there was no need of a letter of introduction; he would himself be the best recommendation in their favour; if they thought he would be left at Lhasa, while they were taken to Pekin, did they doubt he would not recommend them to the Jesuits of Pekin? Would he do at Fr. Felice's request what he would not grant to the Prefect, Fr. Domenico, at Lhasa? Desideri answers what he considers wrong information given by the Capuchins of Lhasa, and his suspicions appear to fall, not on the Prefect, but on Fr. Orazio della Penna, who in June 1717 was the only other Capuchin at Lhasa. In fact, one of the two spoke his mind clearly. In what sense? We are not told. Was the suspicion on Fr. Orazio's part that Desideri or the Jesuits of Pekin, or both, had tried to get the Capuchins away from Tibet, so as to remain sole masters of the field? We have no knowledge of letters of Desideri's to China before June 1717. Desideri refutes the suspicions, whichever they were, by saying he was importuned more than the Capuchins. At the time of writing, and since December 1717, when the Giongars took Lhasa, there could have been no question any more for the Chinese ambassadors to take to Pekin, against their wish, the Capuchins and Desideri. Did not the Chinese ambassadors, who had helped in fortifying Lhasa against the Giongars, lose their life in the attack on Lhasa? Fr. Felice's letter of Dec. 23, 1717, followed a letter from the Capuchins at Lhasa, who must have written shortly after the affair. Fr. Desideri takes it as a thrust at himself, rather than as a serious request. Fr. Felice could afford to be malicious, since Desideri depended on his services at Patna to forward letters to and from him.

[1] In spite of the *umilmente, e con ogni efficacia*, I consider Desideri's request for a like service at Pekin only a disguised way of paying off good Fr. Felice.

[2] Desideri continues his malicious tone.

[3] An attorney. One is surprised to hear this word from Lhasa, but perhaps it was the best equivalent for one at Patna.

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Cingheskan, his very intimate correspondent and a relative of his own Family. Owing to the bad water on the journey, some Chinese servants of the Ambassadors, troubled by humours and beginnings of dropsy, had recourse to the Very Reverend Father Prefect of the Capuchin Fathers, (P. 379) Father Domenico of Fano, who with indefatigable and indiscriminate Charity exercises in Lhassa the medical profession. By the grace of God the treatment was successful and procured relief to the sick Chinese. By this means, from the end of May, the Chinese servants knew the European Fathers, but the Ambassadors and chief officials had not yet had the opportunity of a close acquaintance. At that time, the Reverend Father Francesco Orazio della Penna, the Vicar of the Hospice of the Capuchin Fathers at Lhassa, and I were in a Convent of these gentile Tibetan Monks, studying this language and their books.[1] One day, in the beginning of June 1717, the said Reverend Father Vicar and I, tired of our continual study, went out of the Convent one evening for a short stroll. Coming back, we met not far from the said Convent a Chinese Ambassador, acquainted with the language of this Tibet, and a retinue of his people. The Ambassador stared at us, scanned us from head to foot, and asked us whether we were Europeans, of those who are at Pekin. The answer was in the affirmative. The Ambassador asked us again what we were doing at Lhassa and where we lived. Finally, when we had arrived at the Convent and wished to take leave of them, I begged the Ambassador for the favour of taking to Pekin two letters of mine. He told me to write them and bring them to his house, and he would favour me with delivering them at their address. I wrote the two letters, one for the Father Provincial of the Province of China,[2] the other to Father Ludovico Gonzaga.[3] Two days later, when I had gone to remit the first *via* (copy) to the first Ambassador, the second Ambassador, who lived in the same house, stopped me and wanted the letters himself, assuring me that he would forward them. I was called to audience by the first Ambassador, who, after much courtesy, asked me how many Europeans we were at Lhassa. I answered: three. He inquired my name. I said my name was Ippolito Desideri, Jesuit. He wrote the name; after which, he said: And how are the others called? I answered that the first was called Father Domenico, Capuchin; and the second, Father Francesco Orazio, Capuchin. He wrote these two names as well. The Vakil then intervened and asked me whether we would go to China. I said clearly no, to which he

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[1] According to Puini (p. 64), Desideri lived at the Ramo-cche convent from March 25, 1717, till the end of July.

[2] Name unknown to me.

[3] The only Ludovico Gonzaga in A. Franco's list is 'P(ater) Ludovicus Gonzaga,' an Italian, who came out, a priest, *vid* Lisbon in 1706.

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replied that he would request us (to go). I replied that, instead of that, I would ask (him) to recommend us to this King, to whose Kingdom we had been sent and where we were living. The supreme Chief, or Ambassador, promised to do so, and asked me to write afresh the two letters for Pekin and bring them to him, as he too wished (P. 380) to forward them. Back at the Convent, I wrote the second *via* (copy) of both letters.

The next morning, very early, the very Reverend Father Prefect sent to the Convent a note asking us whether we were willing to accompany him on a visit to the two Chief Ambassadors and the Vakil. We accepted, and went all three. On arrival, we were at once conducted to see the Vakil, and the other Officials, and the Chinese servants, who were ill, some more, some less. The Very Reverend Father Prefect felt their pulse, questioned each about his indisposition, and promised to each of them for the next day the medicine. After that, we were admitted to audience by the first Ambassador. After sundry compliments, he asked for our names. First he wrote Father Ippolito Desideri, Jesuit; next, Father Domenico, Capuchin; next, Father Francesco Orazio, Capuchin; each one of us personally helping him to his own name. Then, beginning in the same order, he asked what science or art we know. I answered that I knew no art and no science. 'And what are you doing in Lhassa?' he asked. I answered that I was studying the language and examining the books of the Tibetans. Within the space for my name he wrote according to my answer. The Very Reverend Father Prefect answered he was a Doctor, which was written in the space for his name. The Reverend Father Vicar answered like myself, and his answer was recorded alongside of his name. After that, the Very Reverend Capuchin Fathers added that another Companion of theirs was at Takpò, and that two others were on their way to Lhassa. The first Ambassador again wrote their names: Father Gio. Francesco,[1] Capuchin, Doctor; Father Angelico,[2] Capuchin, Doctor; and Father Buonaventura,[3] Capuchin, applied to the study of the language and of the books. He handed the writing to the Vakil and sent us to the second Ambassador. This one likewise asked us the same questions, wrote in the same strain,

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[1] It would have been natural if the Capuchins had first named their companion at Takpo. Accordingly, I think that Fr. John Francis of Fossombrone was then at Takpo. He had arrived in Bengal with Fr. Orazio della Penna on Sept. 1, 1713.

[2] Fr. Angelico of Brescia came to Bengal at the end of August 1715, together with Fr. Domenico of Fano, then back from Rome.

[3] Fr. Buonaventura of Pedona arrived at Chandernagore with Fr. Angelico of Brescia, at the end of Aug. 1715. Had he been previously in Tibet, we should have heard of him as learning the Tibetan language with Desideri and Fr. Orazio, which is not the case. He may, therefore, safely be regarded as on his way from Nepal to Lhasa in June 1717.

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called for a number of sick servants, dressed, went out with us and the Vakil, and with the latter and the writing repaired to the King's palace. The Father Prefect went home, and the Father Vicar and I returned to the Convent. We laughed, the three of us: for we imagined the Ambassadors were joking.

The next morning, the Vakil, a Tartar favourite of the King, and a Tibetan went to the house, and, on finding the very Reverend Father Prefect, they persisted asking whether he was willing to go to the Court of Pekin, and they made him grand promises, and the Tartar added that the King wished to know the intentions of each Father, and that, if they wished to go, he would give them horses, beasts of burden, clothes, food, and money, and servants up to Pekin, and that there they would be well treated. (P. 381) The Father Prefect answered emphatically no. 'And where are the two others?' they asked. 'They are at the Convent,' he responded, 'And, as for Father Francesco Orazio, Capuchin, he depends on me, and refuses.' They added: 'And Father Ippolito, Jesuit?' 'Question him,' he replied, 'and you will know.' The Very Reverend Father Prefect came immediately to the Convent, and, on entering the place where the two of us were, studying: 'Do you know,' said he, 'that the Chinese are not joking? For me and Father Vicar the matter is already settled; now they insist on getting at least the Jesuit, and they will be here presently for that.' Arrived the Vakil, the Tartar and the Tibetan; they fought me stubbornly to extort my consent; they insisted and held out great promises, and I defended myself with different reasons; at the end I asked what need they had to take me there. The Vakil answered clearly, so as to be heard by all who had ears, what he said the previous morning, when the Very Reverend Father Prefect felt his pulse: 'He had been running up and down for ten years, on behalf of Amullakhang (as they call the Emperor of China), to Moscovy, to Kasckar, to Tartary, to Tibet and other parts, and from the first day he had been ordered by Amullakhang to bring to Pekin, at whatever expense, the Europeans, professing sciences or arts, whom he might meet anywhere.' Finally, the Tartar decided to take us all three to the King's Palace, that the King himself might decide, on hearing our intentions. The King made us most courteous and royal offers for the journey, and reassured us, to know our will; and, hearing that we all persisted in our refusal, he decided thus: 'It was not just', he said, 'to force us against our will, and we could remain quietly in his Kingdom,' which decision extinguished the heated efforts of the Chinese.

I have now given very minutely an account of whatever happened, and I declare myself quite ready to confirm on oath all this, as I have here related, before Your Very Reverend Paternity, before anyone who might have been informed other-

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wise than I have written, before Your Very Reverend Father Procurator General, before His Eminence the Lord Cardinal Sagripanti, and before His Holiness. I now beseech Your Very Reverend Paternity to excuse me if, in all candour, I expose to you confidentially a suspicion of mine. On reading Your Very Reverend Paternity's above-recited orders, I have suspected that, not from any bad intention, no, but because you had not been fully informed by the other side, you wished rather, under otherwise polite expressions, to give me the unmerited mortification of politely and covertly pricking me than (P. 382) of honouring me with Your most welcome and most revered orders. Such a suspicion is not without foundation, because each one of the members of your Mission, the Superior excepted, has too warmly and too openly come out with it. But time, which clears up all things, will, I hope, make known authoritatively and justly, whenever necessary, truth and innocence. Pardon my too great candour and excuse the trouble which I rightly take to defend, if not my own reputation, at least that of my Religion, which, from my experience of 18 years, always and everywhere makes it her rule to profess respect, dependence and veneration for the most Illustrious and most Venerated Religion of the Capuchin Fathers, which it specially singles out among all the other Religions.

In conclusion, if this time I have not had occasion to obey you, I hope at least that Your Very Reverend Paternity's inborn kindness will not fail to employ me with other commands in your most esteemed service. Humbly begging you once more (as I have done in other letters) that, in case Fathers of the Company, sent to this Mission, should pass, you would deign to help them and favour them with your most loving protection and timely directions, and recommending myself too to your devout and holy Prayers, I humbly kiss your sacred hands, and with every respect, call myself

Trong-gnê, from the Hospice of the Very Reverend Capuchin Fathers, the 4th of August 1718.[1]

Your Very Reverend Paternity's
Very devoted, very humble and much obliged Servant,

Ippolito Desideri,

of the Company of Jesus.

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[1] Evidently, no letters had yet reached telling Desideri that the Mission was to be left to the Capuchins; it is strange, however, that Desideri asks Fr. Felice to help the Jesuits, if any come to Tibet, to come through, instead of repeating the warning of March 12, 1718, of sending them back, in case the Tibet Mission is assigned exclusively to the Capuchins.

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12. Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda to the General of the Society of Jesus for recalling his subjects from Tibet (12. 12. 1718).

*Decretum Sacrae Congregationis. Generalis de Propaganda fide die* 12 *decembris* 1718.

Referente Eminentissimo et Reverendissimo Domino, Cardinali Francisco Barberino, Sacra Congregatio, inhaerendo ac confirmando Decreta alias edita sub diebus 15 januarii 1656, 28. Aprilis 1698, prima Martii et 20 Septembris superioris anni 1717, statuit, et mandavit serio, atque districte injungit, ac praecipit Patri Praeposito Generali Societatis Jesus, ut juxta ejusmodi Decreta omnino. dimittat Missiones in Regnis Tibeti, utpote P.P. Capucinis Italis diu jam assignats; atque inde, quacumque dilatione, tergiversatione, ac mora sublata revocet, ac removeat suos Religiosos, qui ad eas excolendas Missiones inconsulta Sacra Congregatione, imo, et contra. ejjus Decreta se contulerunt.

*Decree of the General Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, the 12th of December* 1718.

On the report of the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lord, Cardinal Francis Barberini, the Sacred Congregation, adhering to and confirming the Decrees already published on the 15th of January 1656,[1] the 29th of April 1698,[2] the 1st of March and the 20th of September of last year 1717,[3] decided, and earnestly ordered, and strictly enjoins and ordains that, in keeping with these Decrees, the Father Provost General of the Society of Jesus give up altogether the Missions in the Kingdoms of Tibet, these having been assigned already long before to the Italian Capuchin Fathers; and that without any deferring, tergiversation and delay he recall thence and remove his Religious, who without consulting the Sacred Congregation, nay, even against

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[1] This is the decree referred to by Desideri in letter 9 as having been spoken of by Fr. Domenico of Fano to himself at Lhasa, shortly after the arrival of the Capuchins on Oct. 1, 1716. It was not shown to Desideri. All Desideri remembered on February 15, 1717, was that it was more than 60 years old, and forbade 'even to the Fathers of the Society' to go to Missions where Missionaries of another Religious Order, sent by the Propaganda, were already established.

[2] The date should be 1698, as appears from our next document. This decree could have nothing to do with Tibet in particular; it may have reiterated the decree of January 15, 1656.

[3] These two decrees may have answered Fr. Domenico of Fano's letter written to Propaganda from Nepal, before proceeding to Lhasa on Aug. 4, 1716. It is, however, difficult to understand that a letter from Nepal written, say in May or June 1716, by which time Fr. Freyre may have appeared in Nepal, could have reached Rome by March 1, 1717. By Dec. 21, 1719, the Capuchins may have had knowledge of the two decrees of 1717. Cf. Letter 14.

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its Decrees,[1] went to cultivate those Missions.

Datum Romae die et anno, quibus supra.

Given at Rome, on the day and year as above.[2]

13. Letter of the General of the Society of Jesus recalling Fr. Ippolito Desideri from Tibet (Rome, 16. 1. 1719).

Admodum Reverende Pater in Christo.

Pax Christi.

Very Reverend Father in Christ.

The Peace of Christ.

Jam anno elapso P. Provinciali Goae scripsi, ut V. R. e Missionibus Tibeti revocaret, cum mihi ita a Sacra Congregatione de Propaganda fide fuerit ordinatum ex eo, quod Missiones utriusque Regni Tibeti PP. Capucinis cum exclusione cujuscumque alterius Religionis fuerint concreditae. Re-

Already last year, I wrote to the Father Provincial at Goa, telling him to recall Your Reverence from the Missions of Tibet, as I have been ordered to do so by the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith,[3] because the Missions of the two Kingdoms of Tibet [4] were entrusted to the

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[1] The words: 'Nay, even against its Decrees' were a hard blow for the General and Desideri. Desideri regarded them as an unmerited rebuke, calling for justification. If the decrees of 1656 and 1698 were violated, it was not, it appears to us, until Freyre and Desideri, after passing through the first and second Tibets, crossed into the third on Sept. 7, 1715, knowing the Capuchins had been there and thinking they were yet or might yet be there. For crossing the border, there was the excuse of going to reopen the Tibet Mission of de Andrada, and for Freyre his seeking an easier route back to Mogor. Could the mere fact of travelling through the third Tibet up to Lhasa, chiefly in the absence of the Capuchins, be construed into a violation of the decree? When Desideri and the Capuchins found themselves together at Lhasa on Oct. 1, 1716, and a few days later Desideri heard of the decree of 1656, he wisely interposed an appeal to the Sovereign Pontiff and the Propaganda in February 1717, having between April 1716 and Febr. 1717 written many letters to his Superiors. Had Propaganda itself, created in 1622, remembered sufficiently what the Jesuits had done in Tibet since 1624, when in 1703 and 1704 it assigned Tibet to the Capuchins?

[2] Cf. Launay (II. 378), referring to *Bullarium Capucinorum*, t. VII, p. 254.

[3] Probably, not in answer to the decree of Propaganda of Dec. 12, 1718, but of March 1, 1717, and September 20, 1717.

[4] The two Tibets mentioned here must mean Ladakh (or Great Tibet) and what we now call Tibet *par excellence*, with capital at Lhasa. The General speaks of a letter received from Desideri. This must be his letter from Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717, in which however there is question only of 'this Thibet,' the Tibet of Lhasa. Another letter received by 1718 appears to have been that from Leh, Aug. 5, 1715, which probably was sent off from Lhasa through Fr. Freyre after March 18, 1716. In that letter three Tibets are mentioned: Little Tibet (Baltistan), Great Tibet (Ladakh), and the third Tibet of Lhasa and the Capuchins, also called Great Tibet; in that letter Desideri expresses doubts only for the two Tibets of Ladakh and Lhasa.

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petii et inculcavi haec eadem mea. jusa hoc anno tum dicto P. Provinciali, tum R. V. in meis responsoriis ad suas, Lisbonam jam missis, quatenus inde per viam ordinariam naviu m Goae isthuc dirigerentur.

Quantumvis de prompta hujus meae dispositionis executione dubitari non possit, nihilominus ex novo Illustrissimi D. Secretarii Congregationis de Propaganda fide impulsu, renovo hisce meis, quae per aliam viam ad R. V. diriguntur, eumdem meum ordinem, cum plurimum me urgeat executio jussuum Sacrae Congregationis, praesertim ob Decreta 15 Januarii 1665, at 28 Aprilis 1698, emanata, quibus cavetur, ne ullus in locis, aliis Religionibus pro Missionibus assignatis, novam Missionem absque expressa Sacrae Congregationis licentia fundet. Quando R.V. dedi licentiam se transferendi ad Regna Tibeti, assignatio haec Missionum Tibeti facta a Sacra Congregatione Capucinis nota mihi non erat: imo a me fuit. supposition, quod, cum dicta Missio fuerit a nostris Patribus. fun-

Capuchin Fathers, to the exclusion of any other Religious Order. This year, I have repeated and urged these my same orders to the said Fr. Provincial, and to Your Reverence in my answers to your letter (letters ?) [1] which I sent to Lisbon,[2] to be taken thence by the ordinary route of the Goa ships.[3]

Though there can be no doubt regarding the prompt execution of this my disposition, yet, owing to a new urging on the part of the Most Illustrious Lord Secretary of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith,[4] I renew my same order by this letter, which is sent to Your Reverence by another route, as I am greatly bound to execute the orders of the Sacred Congregation, chiefly because of the Decrees passed on the 15th of January, 1665,[5] and the 28th April 1698,[6] by which it is forbidden to anyone to establish, without the express leave of the Sacred Congregation, a new Mission in places assigned as missions to other Religious Orders. When I allowed Your Reverence to go to the Kingdoms of Tibet, I did not know that the Missions of Tibet had been thus assigned

[1] Desideri, who knew that his letter of Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717, had been received in Rome in 1718, thought the General alluded to it in this letter of his (Cf. Letter 15); but more than one letter may be meant in the Latin: *in meis responsoriis ad suas*, where it is not clear whether *suas* refers to an understood *epistolas* or *literas*.

[2] Not received by Desideri.

[3] So then, the General repeated his orders between Jan. 1 and Jan. 16, 1719, by the Lisbon-Goa route, apparently in answer to the decree of Dec. 12, 1718.

[4] The new urging should then have been later than Dec. 12, 1718.

[5] Jan. 15, 1656, in our previous document.

[6] April 29, 1798 (Read: 1698) in our previous document.

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data, et ab iis usque ad annum 1650, quo ob persecutionem fuerunt ejecti, culta, ab aliis non amplius fuerit reaperta; hinc R. V. novam hanc dispositionem, à novis notitiis à Sacra Congregatione receptis provenientem non miretur, et hisce meis receptis illico de ista Missione discedere disponat, cum merito, quod Eam coram Deo ob iter tam arduum in se susceptum, et per cognitionem. nostrae S. Fidei cum solidis principiis et tanto zelo in memorato Regno promotam acquisivisse confidimus, cui sollicitam obedientiam Suae Divinae Majestati acceptiorem quam si omnia illa Regna ad sedem veram converteret, adjungat, et statim me de executione. hujus meae dispositionis informet, qui me S.S. Sacrificiis et orationibus suis commendo.

to the Capuchins by the Sacred Congregation; [1] nay I supposed that, as the said Mission had been founded by our Fathers and had been cultivated by them till the year 1650, when they were expelled on account of persecution, it had not been reopened any more by others; [2] accordingly, let not Your Reverence be surprised at this new disposition caused by new informations received by the Sacred Congregation, and, on receipt of this my letter, prepare to leave that Mission at once, with the merit which we trust Your Reverence gained before God by undertaking so arduous a journey and by promoting with solid beginnings and so much zeal in the said Kingdom the knowledge of our Holy Faith. Add to it exact obedience to His Divine Majesty, which will be more pleasing than if you were to convert all those Kingdoms to the true Faith,[3] and inform me

[1] He allowed in 1712, as appears from Letter 15. Difficult as it is to explain how the General did not know yet in 1712 that Tibet had been assigned to the Capuchins in 1703 and 1704, that they had been sent to Tibet in 1704, and had entered it in 1707, we have his word for it, and a reason is given. Fr. Tamburini was General from Jan. 3, 1706, only, to Febr. 28, 1730. Desideri in his letter of Kutti, Sept. 21, 1721, tells him how the Capuchins, sent by Propaganda, entered Tibet in 1708 (*sic*) and left it in 1711. On Jan. 16, 1719, the General knew from Desideri's letter of Febr. 15, 1717, that the Capuchins had re-appeared at Lhasa on Oct. 1, 1716. In 1714 he must have learned that the Capuchins had left Tibet in 1711; for Fr. Domenico of Fano appeared that year at Rome, asking for men and money to re-open the Tibet Mission, and bringing a letter of recommendation to the Procurator General of the Jesuits from Fr. Vautrain Baudrè, S.J., of Chandernagore, and from Fr. Ory, S.J., Procurator at Paris, whose letter is dated Jan. 2, 1714. (Cf. L. Besse, S.J., in *Revue historique de l' Inde francaise*, Vol. 2 (1918), p. 181.)

[2] The exact date when the Tsaparang Mission was given up remains to be ascertained. Efforts to re-enter it were made in 1640, and Brother Marques was a prisoner at Tsaparang in 1641 and we do not know when he was released or whether he was released at all. (Wessels, 88.)

[3] The Latin should apparently give: *ad veram fidem*, the more so as *f* and *s* (when not final) looked almost the same in writing and printing. Launay also translates by: *à la vraie Foi* (I. 34).

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at once of the execution of this my disposition. I commend myself to your[1] Holy Sacrifices and prayers.

Romae, 16 januarii 1719.

Servus in Christo
*Michael Angelus Tamburinus.*

Rome, the 16th of January 1719.

Your Servant in Christ,
*Michael Angel Tamburini.*

14. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society of Jesus (Lhasa, 21 Dec., 1719).

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: *Goana Epist*, 1569–1742 (*Goa*. 9).)

†

Molto R. do in X. po P.re N.ro,
P.C. CCCXVII.a.

†

Our Very Reverend Father in Christ.
The Peace of Christ.

Avendo frainteso, che la S. C. di Prop.a ad instanza de' P.ri Cappuccini voglia discacciar la Comp.a da q.te Missioni, considerata la cosa nel Sig.re, *ex vi* dll' avermi il P. Pro.le di Goa già addossato il carico di Sup.re di c.ta Miss.e, mi sono stimato in coscienza gravem.te obbligato ad Appellare alla S.C. di Prop.a ed al Som. Pont.e, e a umilm.te dimandar si a q.to, come a q.lla, che espressam.te,e p.mezzo dlla P.V.M.R.mi facciano giungere ordine di portarmi a Roma p.esporre la verità, li legitimi Jus, e ragioni dlla Comp.a.Accludo qui il foglio dll' Appello, il di cui med.mo teno re invio parim, te a Sua Santità. Così hò giudicato in

Having understood[2] that the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, at the request of the Capuchin Fathers, wished to expel the Company from these Missions, I, having considered the matter in the Lord, on the strength that the Father Provincial has already laid on me the charge of Superior of this Mission, have considered myself seriously obliged to Appeal to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda and the Supreme Pontiff, and humbly to ask both the latter and the former that they send me expressly and through Your Very Reverend Paternity the order of betaking myself to Rome, to expose the truth, the lawful rights, and the reasons

[1] *Tuis* in Latin, instead of *suis*?

[2] *Frantendere* is translated in the dictionaries by to *understand ill*. Probably Desideri means: 'having understood more or less.' The Capuchins had not shown him the decree of Propaganda of Dec. 12, 1718; it does not seem to have reached them till January 1721, but they may have let Desideri understand that they knew it was preparing. Besides, there was a decree of March 1, 1717, and of Sept. 20, 1717.

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coscienza esser' io obbligato a umilm. te reclamare, constandomi con evidenza che la Comp.a è apertissimam.te a torto aggravata con Informazioni non giuste, e in tutta la Comp.a nessuno hà l'evidenza che io hò sopra di ciò.

Se in ciò hò fatto bene, hò scaricato la mia coscienza. Se hò fatto male, non è stato malizia di volontà, ma errore d'Intelletto, e p.ciò condonabile. Ciò non ostante, se la P.S.M.R. giudica, aver' io fatto male, mi sottopongo a tutti quelli gastighi che le piacerà di darmi. In tanto supplico di nuovo la P.S.M.R. dlla grazia tante vol te con altre mie lettere chiestale, che si degni di mandarmi espresso as soluto ordine di portarmi speditam.te a Roma, dove se piacerà a Dio di condurmi, e se averò la sorte di buttarmi a' piedi dlla P.S.M.R., e a voce dichiarar tutto q.llo, che m'occorre, sp.o mi comanderà ella med.ma di liberam.te parlare, e pugnare *pro Justitiâ*; e p.la riputazione dlla Comp.a, le di cui ragioni ignorandosi, e sapendosi il discacciamento, e misero esilio, si può dal Mondo sinistram.te di essa giudicare.

Si degni pregare, e far pregare con tutto fervore il Sig. re p. il buon successo di tali

of the Company. I include here the leaf of the *Appello* (I appeal), the same tenor of which I send likewise to His Holiness. Thus have I judged in conscience that I am obliged to protest humbly, as it is to me clear to evidence that the Company is very plainly burdened wrongly with informations that are not just, and in the whole Company no one has the evidence which I have thereon.

If in this I have acted well, I have discharged my conscience. If I have acted wrongly, it has not been ill will, but error of judgment, and therefore is pardonable. This notwithstanding, if your Very Reverend Paternity judges that I have done wrong, I submit to all the punishments which it will please you to give me. Meanwhile, I again beseech Your Very Reverend Paternity for the favour I have so often asked you in my other letters, that you deign to send me an express and absolute order to come quickly to Rome, where, if it shall please God to bring me, and if I have the good luck of casting myself at the feet of Your Very Reverend Paternity, and to say orally whatever occurs to me, I hope you yourself will order me to speak freely and to fight *pro Justitiâ* (for Justice), and for the reputation of the Company, whose reasons not knowing, and knowing of the expulsion, and wretched exile, the World may judge her ill.

Deign to pray and to cause to pray with all fervour to the Lord for the good success of

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miei Appelli, e p. me, che di tutto cuore mi racc.o alli suoi SS. Sacr.i, e umilm.te dimando la sua Paterna Benediz.e.

D.P.V.M.R.

Lhasà, nel Tibet 21. X' bre 1719.

In caso che la P.S.M.R. giudicasse che coressero gli Appelli umilm.te la supplico ad interporre le sue raccomandazioni, a tutti q.lli Sig.ri Cardinali, e altri, che giudichi, sì in Prop.a, come appresso Sua Santità poter essere favorevoli, e con calore pigliar l'impegno. Zeli, p. q.te povere anime in estremo bisognosiss.e, e Iddio N.ro Sig.re le darà un gran premio nel Paradiso.

Ind.mo e Minimo Servo, e Suddito,

*Ippolito Desiderj.*

(*Endorsement made in Rome.*)

Goana 1719.
Lhasâ Thibetti 21 Decem.

P. Hyppolitus Desiderii.

Post decretum S.Cong. quo obligatus a Thibetto exire, ductus conscientia rogat P.V.m enixissime, ut eum evocet Romam, quia sic agitur de causa Dei, nec per literas quae habet potest plene edocere, et ideo interponit Apellationem ad S.

these my Appeals, and for me, who with all my heart commend myself to Your Holy Sacrifices, and humbly crave your Fatherly Blessing.

Your Very Reverend Paternity's,
Lhasà, in Tibet,
21st December, 1719.

In case Your Very Reverend Paternity should judge that the Appeals[1] should run their course, I humbly beg to you to interpose your commendations with all the Lords Cardinals, and others, who you may judge can be favourable, both in Propaganda and before His Holiness, and can warmly do the needful. Please bestir yourself zealously for these poor souls who are extremely in need, and God Our Lord will give you a great reward in Paradise.

Most unworthy and Least Servant and Subject,

*Ippolito Desideri.*

(*Endorsement made in Rome.*)

Goan things, 1719.
Lhasà of Tibet,
21st December.

Fr. Hyppolitus Desideri.

After the decree of the Sacred Congregation, by which he was obliged to leave Tibet, his conscience prompting, he asks Your Paternity most earnestly to call him to Rome, because God's cause is here at stake, and he cannot by letters

[1] The two appeals to the Pope and to the Propaganda reached Rome, as we see in the endorsement below.

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Sedem, et a Sanct. Sua petit, ut eum jubeat Romam usq; proficisci. Cujus copiam his accludit, quemadmodum quae scribit ad Sacr. Cong.; petit qdsi R.V. ita judicet, promoveri faciat ejus causam coram Sacr. Cong. saltem secreto.

fully say the things he has; and therefore he makes Appeal to the Holy See and asks of His Holiness to order him to go to Rome. A copy hereof he includes in his letter, as also what he writes to the Sacred Congregation. He asks that, if Your Paternity judges proper, you should promote his cause before the Sacred Congregation, at least secretly.

Rs. Jan. 1723.

Answered: January 1723.[1]

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[1] The answer of January 1723 must have called Desideri to Rome; for why did he leave Delhi, *i.e.*, the Mogor Mission, for Patna in 1725, leaving Patna for Pondicherry on Nov. 21, 1725? He may have been commissioned at the same time to bring to Rome the process for the beatification of Blessed John de Britto. Collecting the necessary papers would have filled the time between his arrival at Pondicherry (Jan. 10, 1726) and his departure thence (Jan. 21, 1727).

I cannot say when Desideri returned to Takpo. We find him there on Sept. 28, 1720 (Puini, 355), as we shall see in Section 19. By that time his companion, when he resided at Trong-gne, in the hospice of the Capuchins, must have been Fr. Giuseppe Felice of Morro di Jesi: for, when on April 4, 1721, Desideri left Takpo for Lhasa and Nepal, Fr. Giuseppe Felice was his companion between Lhasa and Kuti (Puini, 82. 87) and the two must have been a considerable time together if both worked at Trong-gne at the translation of the *Lam-rim-ccea*. (Wessels, p. 225.) 'The Relation alludes to the translation of one or two books by Urgyan-pa, the first apostle of Buddhism in Tibet, and chiefly to the translation of a text wherein the doctrines of Lamaism are briefly exposed "with admirable method, exact compendiousness and singular talent." In fact Desideri asserts having made the translation of this "great and very useful book," for the instruction of the Capuchins Father Giuseppe Felice of Morro di Iesi, the latter writing and he dictating. But, in another part of his Volume, which he wrote while at Rome, he regrets missing a text translated from the Tibetan, which would offer useful exercise to the Missionaries; and he adds: "It would be well, to know all the chief errors of the Tibetans, to procure here (at Rome) the translation of the *Lam.rin.chhen.ba*, or at least the same in the Tibetan language: in that case, if it pleased God to give me life, and I were ordered so, I offer myself to make exactly the translation for the utility of that Mission."' (Puini, p. XLIII.) 'This book, entitled *Lam.rin.chhen.ba*, "The precious Doctrine", is attributed to Tsongkhapa, the reformer of Lamaism, and the founder of the orthodox Church, now prevailing. *Lam* meaning "way", has also, like the Chinese word *Tao* (road, way), the meaning of doctrine science.' (Note by Puini, p. XLIII n. 2.)

Desideri may have left his translation of the *Lam.rin.chhen.ba* with the Capuchins at Lhasa. We find that Fr. Orazio della Penna ascribes to himself in 1737 the translation of the *Lam.rim.Cembo*, or the three great ways leading to perfection, and of two other works: the *Chiap-sa-Drovà* and the *Sozor-Tharbe-do*. Copies of these translations may perhaps be found yet in the Library of Propaganda or in the Archives of the Capuchin Order at Rome.

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15. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society of Jesus Rome (Kuti, Tibet, 21 Sept., 1721).

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: *Goana Epist*, 1569–1742 (*Goa*. 9).)

†

Molto R.do in X.po P.re
N.ro Gn.le,
P.C.

Nel Genn.o di q.to 1721. ricevei una Riveritiss.a della P.S.M.R., in data dell Genn.o dell 1719, e dalla S.C. di Prop.a trasmessami p. mezzo de' P.ri Cappuccini. Come figlio di Obbedienza risolvei subito di eseguire li suoi comandi, e di lasciar q.ta Missione. Allora li torbidi dl Regno, e li gran freddi non mi p.misero il pormi subito in cammino, mà a' 4. di Aprile di quest'anno 1721. partij da Takpo, dove mi trovavo. A' 14. di Aprile arrivai a Lhasà, dove il M.R.P. Prefetto de' P.ri Cappuccini di q.ta Missione mi presentò un decreto dlla Sac. Cong. di Prop. a, che (se mal non mi ricordo) finisce con q.te parole =Immò contra *Decreta ejusdẽ Cong.nis*.

†

Our Very Reverend Father
General in Christ,[1]
The Peace of Christ.

In January of this year 1721, I received a Most Reverend letter from Your Very Reverend Paternity, dated in January 1719,[2] and transmitted to me by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda through the Capuchin Fathers. As son of Obedience, I determined at once, to execute your orders and to leave this Mission. The troubled state of the Kingdom[3] and the cold season did not then allow me to set out at once; but, on the 4th of April of this year 1721, I left Takpo where I was.[4] On the 14th of April, I arrived at Lhasà, where the Very Reverend Father Prefect of the Capuchin Fathers of this Mission presented to me a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda,[5] which (unless I re-

[1] This letter appears to be written on thin Tibet paper. It covers one oblong page, the rotograph of which measures, $11\frac{8}{10}$ inches. Desideri must have been badly off for paper at Kuti; for, though he generally used a fine bold handwriting, he managed to compress 82 lines within the space of $9\frac{4}{10}$ inches. The writing, extremely small and close, is however quite legible, except for a space of 14 lines, where the endorsement, written at Rome on the back of the paper, shows through on the recto.

[2] January 16, 1719.

[3] The Chinese had taken possession of Lhasa in Oct., 1720, and killed as many Giongars as they could find. On the journey from Lhasa to Kuti (April 28—May 1721) Desideri and the Capuchin Father were obliged to choose the Gyantse road, and to avoid the road to Shigatze, owing to the disturbances which were still rife on that side. (Puini, 82.)

[4] Fr. Giuseppe Felice of Morro di Jesi appears to have come away also on that occasion, after which Trong-gnɛ̂ in Takpo Khier seems never to have been occupied again.

[5] The decree of Dec. 12, 1718, ends thus: *Imo, et contra ejus Decreta.*

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P.re N.ro M.to R.do, Iddio p.mezzo di S. Ignazio ci comanda, che siamo pronti a ricevere anche con gusto ingiurie, calunnie, e quanto il mondo hà in orrore; è vero; mà è altresi vero che Dio hà eletto la Comp.a p. instromento dlla sua gloria, e della salute dll 'anime; e p.ciò vuole che ella procuri di rendersi tale; Mà come sarà riconosciuta p. tale, se porti in faccia lo smacco di Disobbediente, e p.tinace agl' Ordini di Roma, quando elle non è tale? Io p. me stimo grave, graviss.o obbligo di coscienza il sincerar' il Mondo, che la Comp.a di Gesù non merita tale smacco, p.chè in tutta verità non hà mancato, nè hà fatto in verun modo contro gl' ordini dlla Sac. Cong.• intorno a q.ta Missione. Mia intenzione era stendere, e publicare un Manifesto a tutto il Mondo sopra ciò, ma temendo dlla disapprovazione dlla P.V.M.R., che mi è Padre, me ne sono astenuto. Solam.te nel Genn.o di q. to anno con altre mie hò fatto instanza, e adesso la rinovo alla P.V.M.R. di venir' a Roma p.chè mi giudico obbligato a parlare. Una tal' instanza (non l' abbia a male) mi sono stimato obbligato di farla alla S.C. di Prop.a e al Som. Pontee.

member badly) ends with these words: '*Immò contra Decreta ejusdem Congregationis*' (Nay, against the Decrees of the same Sacred Congregation).

Our Very Reverend Father, God commands us through Saint Ignatius to be ready to receive even with pleasure insults, calumnies and whatever the world abhors. It is true; but it is also true that God has chosen the Company for an instrument of his glory and of the salvation of souls; and, therefore, he wishes that she try to render herself such. But, how will she be recognised as such, if she bear on her face the insult of having been disobedient and obstinate against the orders of Rome, when she is not such? I, for me, consider it grave and very grave obligation of conscience to justify to the World that the Company of Jesus does not deserve such insult, because in all truth she has not failed, nor has she acted in any way, against the orders of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda regarding this Mission. My intention was to spread and publish a Manifesto to the whole World on this matter; but, fearing the disapprobation of Your Very Reverend Paternity, who are father to me, I have abstained therefrom. Only, in the January of this year, in other letters of mine, I made the request, and I now renew it, to Your Very Reverend Paternity of coming to Rome, because I consider myself obliged to speak. Such a request (please, do not take it ill) I have considered myself

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La P.S.M.R. mi scrive, che quando mi diede licenza di venir' a q.ta Missione, non sapeva che quà stessero altri Religiosi. Scrive molto bene p.chè quando in Roma nel 1712 mi diede tal licenza, quando nel 1713. me la confermò il P. Prov.l di Goa, quando con specifica Patente nel 1714. me la confermò il P. Visitatore, quando a' 30 dl maggio dl 1715. entrai nel p.o Thibet, quando a' 26. di Giug.o 1715. arrivai alla capitale dl 2° Thibet, quando a' 7 di 7bre 1715. entrai in q.to 3° Thibet, quando a' 18. di Marzo 1716. arrivai nella Regia di q.to med.o Thibet; quando a 29. di Aprile, e p.o di Maggio dl 1716. manifestai nella publica Udienza dl Rè esser' io venuto quà p. far Missione, e p. insegnare la s.a Legge di Gesù X.po; quando a'10. Ag.o 1716. ebbi nel Palazzo Regio non solo p. missione, mà ordine di insegnarla d.ta S. a Legge, e quì restare p. tal fine; Quando in Luglio, Agosto, e 7bre dl 1716. composi in q.ta lingua un libbro introduttivo (che dipoi con molta solennità, e publicità presentai a q.to Rè) sopra l' unicità dlla vera legge di salute etc., In nessuno di tali tempi, nè pur' un solo Religioso Europeo si trovava, obliged to make to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, and to the Sovereign Pontiff.[1]

Your Very Reverend Paternity writes to me that, when you gave me permission to come to this Mission, you did not know there were other Religious here. You write very well, because, when in Rome you gave me such permission in 1712,[2] when in 1713 the Father Provincial of Goa confirmed it me, when with a special Patent the Father Visitor confirmed it me in 1714, when on the 30th of May, 1715, I entered the first Tibet, when on the 26th of June, 1715, I arrived at the capital of the second Tibet, when on the 7th of September, 1715, I entered this third Tibet, when on the 18th of March, 1716, I arrived at the Royal City of this same Tibet, when on the 29th of April and on the 1st of May, 1716, I make known in the King's public Audience that I had come to make Mission and to teach the Holy Law of Jesus Christ, when on the 10th of August, 1716, in the Royal Palace I received, not only the mission, but the order to teach the said Holy Law, and to remain here for that purpose, when in July, August, and September of 1716 I composed in this language an introductory book (which, later, I presented with much

[1] He made it to both in Febr. 1717, repeated it to the Holy Father from Kuti, Sept. 21, 1721, and wrote to the Pope and the Propaganda from Takpo, in January 1721 (as we see at the end of this letter for the last date).

[2] Before his departure from Rome on Sept. 27, 1712.

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nè in q.to, nè negl'i altri Thibetti.

Sappia dunque, che la Sac. Cong. di Prop.a, ed il Som. Pont.e Clem. XI. aveva mandati li P.ri Cappuccini a q.to Thibet p.Missionarij Ap.lici. Essi arrivarono quà nel 1708. e dipoi nel 1711. ne partirono; il p.chè lo dirò in Roma, se mi daranno licenza di venire, e se Dio mi ci condurrà con vita, e sanità di corpo, e di mente. Dopo una tal partenza, ancorche alcuni stessero in Nepàl Regno contiguo a q.to Thibet, nessun di essi rientrò mai in q.to Regno, se non dopo aver saputo il mio arrivo a Lhasà Regia di q.to Thibet, e allora tutti affaccendatisi, al p.o di 8bre 1716. arrivarono a

solemnity and publicity to this King)[1] on the oneness of the true law of salvation, etc., at none of those times, not even one single European Religious was found, either in this Tibet, or in the other Tibets.

Know, therefore, that the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda and the Sovereign Pontiff Clement XI. had sent the Capuchin Fathers as Apostolic Missionaries to this Tibet. They arrived here in 1708,[2] and after that, in 1711,[3] they left from here. The reason why, I shall tell in Rome,[4] if they give me leave to come, and if God brings me there with life and soundness of body and of mind. After such a departure, although some stayed in Nepal,[5] a Kingdom contiguous to this Tibet, none of them ever re-entered this Kingdom, except after having heard of my arrival at Lhasà,

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[1] On Jan. 6, 1717.

[2] More correctly, on June 12, 1707. Cf. for this date, rarely given, Klaproth's *Breve Notizia del Regno del Thibet dal Fra Francesco della Penna di Billi*, an *Extrait du Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Imprimerie Royale, Janvier 1835, p. 41.

[3] Fr. Orazio della Penna gives at times the date 1711, at times 1712

[4] Was not the reason in Desideri's mind what he wrote to the General on Febr. 15, 1717: 'The different Capuchin Fathers who were here during several years did not succeed in making it known that they had come for the purpose of preaching and teaching the Holy Faith, as I know for sure and am ready to swear, if necessary, and as they themselves (at least those here in Tibet) confess. I do not say this to cast a slur on the zeal of the Capuchin Fathers, because it was the fault of those who tried to frighten and impede them, as I also discovered at once.' The only Capuchin then at Lhasa who had been for a period at Lhasa between 1707 and 1711 was the Prefect, Fr. Domenico of Fano. Did he confess that the Capuchins during that period had not succeeded in making it known they were Christian priests? If he did, I doubt his statement. Or that they had not succeeded in making it known that they came to spread their faith? Again, if he did, I doubt the statement.

[5] Orazio della Penna and two others went from Patna to Nepal in 1714. I do not know any by name who stayed in Nepal between 1707 and 1714.

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Lhasà. Diranno, che avevano interrotta, e non lasciata q.ta Missione. Diro altresì io, che la Comp.a sin da tanti anni aveva interrotta, e non lasciata q.ta Missione; e in fatti *non asserit gratis*, mà *constat a posteriori*, poichè in tal tempo da q.ta Prov.ia furono mandati rimandati, e successivam.te rimandati p.ri p. q.ta Missione; mà chi può contrastar con la morte, e li giudizij, e decreti di Dio? Dico dunque che il punto non istà nell'esser la Comp.a costretta a partir da q.ta Miss. ne, poichè non gli mancano

the Royal City of this Tibet,[1] and then all in a great hurry, on the 1st of October, 1716, they arrived at Lhasà.[2] They will say that they had interrupted, not abandoned, this Mission. I shall say also that the Company had during so many years interrupted, not abandoned, this Mission, and in fact *non asserit gratis* (she does not assert gratuitously), but it is clear *a posteriori*, since during that time there were sent, sent again, and sent again successively, by this Province, Fathers for this Mission;[3] but

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[1] They may have heard of his arrival at Lhasa through Fr. Freyre, who must have passed through Nepal in June or July 1716, on his return to Agra.

[2] Desideri wrote on Febr. 15, 1717: 'On learning in Nepal that the Company had arrived here (at Lhasa), he (the Prefect, Fr. Domenico of Fano) was on the point of not coming, and from the Kingdom of Nepal he informed Rome, asking *quid agendum* (what was to be done); and he came with the intent that, if he found me at all punctilious or with any pretentions to priority, he would at once go back with his Companions.' Though he may have found Desideri more punctilious in the matter than he expected, he was right in not going back.

[3] To the Jesuits who were established at Tsaparang and at Srinagar (Garhwal), or visited Ladakh, Kuch Bihar, the present Bhutan, Shigatze, Gyantse and Nepal, between 1624 and 1654, we might add Frs. John Grueber and Albert d'. Orville, who between 1661 and 1662 were at Lhasa and Khatmandu (Nepal) during their journey from Pekin to Agra; Fr. Henry Roth, S.J., of Agra, who in 1667, on his return from Europe, appears to have been given by the Viceroy of Goa a letter of introduction to the King of Nepal, and Fr. Mark Anthony Santucci, S.J., who between Sept. 1679 and January 1780 was for some months in Nepal. (For the last name see H. Josson, S.J., *Hist. de la Mission du Bengale Occidental*, Vol. 1, p. 91.)

Fr. Henry Roth, S.J., wrote from Rome, in 1664, shortly before the battle of St. Gothard, which was fought on Aug. 1, 1664 (Cf. Stöcklein's *Welt-Bott*, No. 35, p. 113): 'If God grants me life and his blessing, I shall pay a visit to the vast Kingdom of Pettent (Bhutan) or Lassa, in order to settle in the town of Nepal: for I cannot be harassed there by the Mahometans, who throw between our feet one obstacle (?) after the other, and are almost our only hindrance.' (*Gibt Gott mir das Leben und seinen Segen/ will ich einen Versuch thun in das weitsichtige Reich Pettent oder Lassa. und mich in der Stadt Nepal setzen: dann allda ich von denen Mahometanern nicht kan beunruhiget werden / welche anderwärtig uns einen Brügel nach dem anderen zwischen die Füsse werfen / und schier unser eintzige Hindernus seynd.*)

He continues (p. 114): 'In the Kingdom of Pegu there are for want of our people only two Missionaries; in the country of Tibet, however, owing to the very same reason, there is none at all, although the King has invited me by letters the fourth time to convert his Kingdom. Only,

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luoghi, e Regni dove occuparsi; mà dico che a mio parere la Comp.a è gravissimam.te obligata a giustificarsi *corã hominibus*, e a mostrare che non sussiste q.llo sfregio postogli in fronte a forza di male Informazione *Immò contra Decreta ejusdẽ Sac. Cong.nis*—Io p.me col far' instanza al Som. Pont.e, alla Sac. Cong., ed alla P.V.M.R. di venir' ad informare legittimam. te e a parlare di quel che devo, e con replicarle adesso l'instanza, specificandone un poco il motivo stimo di avere scaricato

who can oppose death and the judgments and decrees of God? I say then that the point is not that the Company is constrained to leave this Mission, for places and Kingdoms are not wanting for her to keep herself busy: but I say that in my opinion the Company is very seriously obliged to justify herself *coram hominibus* (before men) and to show that the slur cast to her face by dint of bad informations: '*Immò contra Decreta ejusdem Sacrae Congregationis*' (Nay, against the Decrees of the same Sacred

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I was not able to travel thither, as obedience has bound me to the Christianity in Mogol'. (*In dem Reich Pegu seynd Wegen Mangel unserer Leuten nur zwey Missionarii: in der Landschaft Tibet aber aus eben dieser Ursach gar keiner: obschon der Kõnig zum vierdtemal mich / sein Koñigreich zu bekehren durch Briefe eingeladen hat. Allein es stunde nicht bey mir dahin zu reisen/weil mich der Gehorsam an die Christenheit in Mogol angebunden hat.*) When in 1709 Fr. Koch wrote that a King of Tibet had invited the Fathers to his kingdom, had there perhaps survived a remembrance of the letters addressed to Fr. Roth? Is it likely that the King of Tibet who wrote to Fr. Roth before his journey to Rome (1662–1664) was merely the King of Srinagar (Garhwal) at whose court Roth was between 1656 and 1659? (Wessels, p. 199 n. 2.) Further study may clear up the problem.

Is it possible that Fr. Roth should have received by Aug. 1, 1664, four letters from the King of Nepal inviting him to his country? We can hardly imagine that any of these letters had been received before the arrival of Frs. Grueber and d'Orville from Nepal to Agra, shortly before April 8, 1662. Granting that Grueber brought the first of these letters with him to Agra, when could the next three have been received? Grueber and Roth arrived at Rome on February 20, 1664. They must have set out about the middle of 1662 from Agra. Yet, before Aug. 1, 1664, Roth speaks of settling down in Nepal on his return to India. In the Mission Catalogue of November 1667 he is mentioned as destined to begin the Nepal Mission. He died at Agra, on June 20, 1668, less than 48 years old, and his death appears to have been due to hardships contracted in trying to open a new Mission in Tibet, broadly understood. The letter of the Viceroy, Count de S. Vicente, to the King of Nepal is dated Goa, February 23, 1766. The letter, one of mere friendship, urged on the Viceroy by the King of Portugal, states that the bearers of the letter are Fathers (Jesuits) going to the Kingdom of Nepal in order to live and settle therein. We can hardly doubt that Roth, if not one of the bearers of the letters from Goa, was destined to present it at the Nepal court. How he conducted that Mission is not known so far. Probably he had a companion. Neither do we know whether the king of Nepal was of Khatmandu or of Bhatgaon; but we know that the King of Khatmandu, Pratapa Malla, had taken such a liking to Grueber and d'Orville that he was unwilling to let them go except on condition of their returning. (See our Doc. 30 at the end.)

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la mia coscienza. Se la P.S. M.R. mi darà licenza, ubbidirò, verrò, e se sarà necessario, e così commandi l' Obbedienza così comandi l' Obbedienza tornerò dove mi manderanno, e comanderanno, e dove sia volontà di Dio.

Congregation), is irrelevant. As for me, by making to the Sovereign Pontiff, and to Your Very Reverend Paternity, the request to come lawfully and inform, and to speak of what I ought, and by renewing the request now, specifying somewhat the motive thereof, I deem I have discharged my conscience. If Your Very Reverend Paternity gives me leave, I shall obey, I shall come; and, if necessary and Obedience this commands, I shall return whither they will order me and send me, and where it be God's will.

La P.S.M.R. nella sopra accennata sua lettera da me ricevuta nel Genn.o di q.to anno mi comandava, che le dessi notizia dlla esecuzione. Può liberam.te rappresentar' alla Sac. Cong.di Prop.a, come io con tutta veneraz.ne rispettando li di lei reveritiss.mi comandi, senza tergiversazione, senza dimora, e anche senza repugnanza hò obbedito fedelm.te. Vero è, che io presentem. te non istò fuori affatto dl Thibet, mā nell' ultimo confine di esso, mà q.to è (come potrà informarsi dlla verità) p.chè in q.to spazio di mezzo trà q.ti paesi freddissimi, e gl' altri caldiss.mi in q.ti Mesi, cioè sino a Xbre è non probabile, mā certa, certif.a, inevitabile la morte a volersi inoltrare, onde in tanto non vò presentem.te innanzi,

In your above-mentioned letter received by me in the January of this year, Your Very Reverend Paternity commanded me to give you information as to the execution. You can freely represent to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda how I, with all veneration, respecting their very reverend commands, without tergiversation, without delay,[1] and even without repugnance, have obeyed faithfully. It is true that for the moment I am not quite outside Tibet, but at the last limit thereof; but, as you will be able to certify the truth thereof, that is because in this intervening space between these very cold countries and the others which are very warm, during these months, that is up to December, death is not only probable,

[1] The words of the decree of Propaganda of Dec. 12, 1717, were that '*without any deferring, tergiversation and delay*, he (the General of the Society) recall thence and remove the Religious who without consulting the Sacred Congregation, nay, even against its Decrees, went to cultivate those Missions'.

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in quanto Iddio me lo proibisce; e p.chè una tal proibizione è affatto indispensabile, lo proibisce ancora la med. a Sac. Cong.ne.

Del resto arrivato che sarà il tempo quanto è dal canto mio infallibilm.te partirò, e andarò al n.ro Coll.o di Agra. Dissi quanto è dal canto mio; Perchè se Dio in q.to tempo mi chiama a se, ò se mi giungessero ordini in contrario di chi mi può comandara, solam.te in tal caso non partirò; del resto fuori di q.te due circostanze, infallibilm.te infallibilm.te stia con l'animo ropisato.

La supplico a rappresentar' alla Sac. Cong.ne di Prop.a, e al Som. Pont.e, come hò bisogno di manifestar loro cose molto importanti agl'interessi dlla S.a Fede, e dlla Sac.Cong.ne circa q.ta Missione del Thibet, e che io sgravo la mia coscienza sopra di loro.

La P.S.M.R. diceva parim.te nella sua sopra accennata lettera, che nel 1718. p. la via di Portogallo mi aveva mandato l'istesso orine, e che aveva in detta occasione, e via risposto ad alcune mie. M.to R.do P.re N.ro, io da q.to Thibet hò scritto a lei non molte, ma moltiss.me lettere, e di nessuna di esse hò avuto nè pur una risposta. Mi sonovenute alcun altre lettere varie volte di altri N.ri, come dl P.Gio. Batt.a Conti più volte, dl P.Galuzzi,

but certain, attested, inevitable, for who wants to go further; hence, for the present I do not go forward, inasmuch as God forbids it me, and, as such prohibition admits of no dispensation, the same Sacred Congregation of Propaganda too forbids it me.

However, when the time will come, I shall, as much as depends on me, start without fail, and shall go to our College of Agra. I said: as much as depends on me: because, if God at this time calls me to himself, or if orders reach me to the contrary from who can command me, in that case only shall I not start; these two circumstances excepted, I shall start without fail, without fail, hence, let Your Very Reverend Paternity be easy in mind.

I request you to represent to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda how I require making known to them things very important for the interests of the Holy Faith and of the Sacred Congregation concerning this Mission of Tibet, and that I discharge my conscience on them.

Your Very Reverend Paternity also said in your abovementioned letter that in 1718, by way of Portugal, you had sent me the same order, and that on the same occasion and by the same route you had answered to some of my letters. Our Very Reverend Father, from this Tibet I have written to you, not many, but very many letters, and to not one of these have I received even one answer. There have come to me some other letters several

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dl P.Corsoni, di M.ro Silvestri, &c. mà dlla P.S.M.R. solam.te mi è venuta la soprad.a, e nel 7bre dl 1718. mi giunse la di lei risposta a quella scritta da Goa. P.re. M.to R.do, secondo l'umano è cosa che desanima molto li Missionarij, e li potrebbe far raffreddare nel servizio dlla Comp.a. Sò che non è difetto dlla P.V.M.R., e pociò dico che comandi molto calcatam.te a' Sup.ri di q.ta Prov. ia, acciocchè con tutta premura ponghino diligenza, affinchè le lettere de' Sup.ri maggiori non si p.dino tutte, tutte affatto, mà almeno alcuna arrivi nelle mani, de' poveri Missionarij, affinchè restino q.ti maggiorm.te animati. Dell' altre risposte, che aspettavo, non ne stavo con tanta avidità, mà la risposta di q.lla, che le ìnviai nel Febb.o del 1717. con una inclusa p.presentarsi a' Piedi dl Som. Pont.e, ne sono stato p. molto tempo con somma aspettazione, mà nè pur q.ta mi è giunta, e forse sarà q.lla, che la P.S.(?) M.R. dice avermi scritta nel 1718. di risposta. Io dico, pazienza. Mà la P.S.M.R. p.il motivo sopradetto, che è molto considerabile, non deve in verun modo soffrire; mì con ogni calore ed efficacia deve porre il dovuti remedij.

times from others of Ours, as from Fr. Giovanni Battista Conti, several times, from Fr. Galuzzi, from Fr. Corsoni, from Master Silvestri, etc.;[1] but from Your Very Reverend Paternity there came only the abovesaid one, and in the September of 1718 there arrived your answer to the letter written from Goa.[2] Very Reverend Father, humanly speaking this is the thing which much discourages Missionaries, and which might make them grow cold in the service of the Company. I know it is no fault of Your Very Reverend Paternity, and I judge that you should order very strictly the Superiors of this Province, with all haste to use diligence, so that the letters of the higher Superiors be not lost all of them, all of them quite, but that at least one of them should reach the hands of the poor Missionaries, that they may be the more encouraged. Of the other answers I was expecting I was not so eager; but, as for the answer to the letter I sent you in the February of 1717, with one enclosed to be laid at the Feet of the Sovereign Pontiff, I have been waiting for it with keenest expectation for a long time past; but not even that has reached me, and perhaps it is the one of which Your Very Reverend Paternity says you wrote an answer in 1718.[3]

[1] To Fr. John Baptist Conti and Fr. Corsoni Desideri commended himself in his letter to Fr. Piccolimini (Agra, Aug. 21, 1714).

[2] There were 2 letters from Goa, one of Nov. 12, 1713, the other of Nov. 15, 1713.

[3] Very likely, indeed: for it was received in Rome in 1718, as Desideri, says lower; and as we have the proof for the letter to the General, which

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I say: Patience. But Your Very Reverend Paternity, for the reason abovesaid, which is a very considerable one, must not bear with it in any way, but must with all warmth and efficacy apply the necessary remedies.

P.re N.ro, la confesso ingenuam.te quello che hò nel cuore. Io(?) come (?) duna (?) mia lettera mandai nel 1717. al Som. Pot.e, una acclusa, alla P.V.M.R. l' a ltra acclusa, al S.re Card.(e?) Tolomei, (2) *words? not read*) acclusa al Sing.re Co: (*ending not read*) Fedri(?) Mi si asserisco P.certo, che a.te durono in Roma recapitate nel 1718. dezzo dl Rev.do allora p. Proc.re, in oggi Cn.l de' P.ri Cappuccini non(?) esser venuta nè pur' una sillaba di rispost dl Som. Pont.e ò a suo nome, ed il sape (*sic*) p. evidenza come egli, senza esser(e) prevenuto in verun modo e averne motivo anticedente, nel 1714. scrisse una sua lettera a un Rè infedele, mi hà sommam. te, in estremo grand.te(?) scandalizato, L'istessa impressione

Our Father, I shall confess to you candidly what I have in my heart. When in 1717 I sent a letter of mine to the Sovereign Pontiff (I sent) one enclosed to Your Very Reverend Paternity,[1] another enclosed to the Lord Cardinal Tolomei, (another?) enclosed to the Lord (Count?) Fedri(?).[2] I declare for certain that these were delivered in Rome in 1718 through the Reverend then Father Procurator General, now General, of the Capuchin Fathers. That not a syllable of answer should have come from the Sovereign Pontiff, or in his name, and that I should know to evidence how he, without being forestalled in any way, and having had no antecedent motive for it, in 1714 wrote a letter of his to an infidel King,[3] has very much,

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is in our present collection, we have the proof for the letter to the Pope, since published a letter of Febr. 13, 1717, in his *Bibliotheca* a MS. copy of a letter to the Pope, dated Febr. 13, 1717, was seen by Puini in the Library of the Propaganda.

[1] The letter to the Pope was enclosed in the letter to the General, and so must the others have been.

[2] The writing is illegible chiefly at this place, for the reason given in our note 1.

[3] We know of no other letter to an infidel King written in 1714 than one by Pope Clement XI to the King of Tibet, Cinghes-Khang, as Desideri regularly spells the name. Why does Desideri here consider himself scandalised at such a letter? Because the king had given the Capuchins no occasion for gratitude in 1707–1711? We know too little of that period to be able to judge of the reason. The letter of the Pope speaks, however, in very glowing terms of the kindness of the king to the Capuchins during that period, and that on the authority of Fr. Domenico of Fano who had come to Rome from Lhasa. In his letter of Febr. 15, 1717, to the General, Desideri did not say he had been scandalised. He

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potrebbe fare agl' altri Missionarij da Comp.a, se scrivendo al p.o Sup.re dlla Comp.a e a chi tiene il luogo di S. Ignazio, non vedessero mai giungere nè pur' una risposta. Torno a ripetere, che *constat a posteriori*, che il defetto non è dlla P.V. M.R., e che p.cio con tutta eff icacia e calore cerchi di chi sia la colpa, e assolutam.te vi ponga rimedio.

extremely, scandalised me. The other Missionaries of the Company might have the same impression, if, when writing to the first Superior of the Company, to him who holds the place of Saint Ignatius, they never saw arriving even one answer. I repeat again that it is clear *a posteriori* that the fault is not with Your Very Reverend Paternity, and therefore with all efficacy and warmth seek out who is at fault, and apply to it effectually the remedy.

In altre mie mi sono doluto con la P.V.M.R. che dal 1718. in cui da Agra m' era giunto uno scariss.o sussidio, sino a q.to 1721. ero stato totalm.te abbandonato, e stavo in estreme miserie, e ultime necessità. In fatti q.to viaggio l' hò fatto (inclusivè conttutte le fermate, e dimore necessarie, &c.) e mi convien farlo con denaro parte imprestatomi da q.ti P.ri Capuccini, e parte ricevuto p.limosina; e ciò sarà sino ad io arrivar' a Patnà nel Mogol, dove (conforme ebbi

In other letters of mine I complained to Your Very Reverend Paternity that since 1718, when from Agra there reached me a very paltry subsidy, up to this year 1721, I was completely abandoned and lived in extreme misery and utmost need. In fact, this journey I have undertaken it (including the necessary halts and delays, etc.) and I must make it with money partly borrowed from these Capuchin Fathers, and partly received in alms;[1] and that

himself translated the Pope's letter into Tibetan, and was present on Dec. 4, 1716, when the letter was presented to the King. We publish the Latin text and give a translation of it among our Materials for the history of the Capuchins in Tibet. Even if the King had given no antecedent motive for kindness on the part of the Pope, for an exchange of letters and presents it was gracious on his part to command the Fathers to his kindness. Such was the practice of the Popes in the Middle Ages, as we have abundant proofs in the case of the Emperors of Ethiopia, the Moghul Empire, and China, when they sent thither the Dominicans and Franciscans.

I do not think that the passages can be understood to refer to a letter for an infidel king sent by the Procurator General of the Capuchins. We have no clue to such a letter. If we had, we should think of some other infidel king, who had given no antecedent motive for such a letter, and should then think of Nepal, or perhaps the King of Sikkim, etc.

[1] Desideri had made so many friends in Tibet that, when, at last he was obliged to accept alms, for his return, not a little would have been pressed on his acceptance, had not many of his best friends lost most of their goods during the Giongar troubles of 1717–21. Before that, he had refused help on more than one occasion. Cf. Puini, 315.

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lettera dal direttore Olandese l'altra sera) sono giunti p.mio sussidio quegl' aiuti che da tanto tempo in quà con tante lacrime hò dimandato. Perciò siccome p. il passato hò notificato necesità, a cui sono stato ridotto, così adesso manifesto l'aiuto preparatomi.

Mi souviene adesso un' altro punto. Nel Marzo dl 1718. notificai alla P.V.M.R., e di nuovo notifico, como p.esser' io stato solo in q.ta Missione senza verun' altro dlla Comp.a ancorchè abbia avuto con molte replicate lettere l' avviso di far la Professione, p. non aver' alcuno competente, in mano di cui poterla fare, non potrò farlo se non arrivato in Agra, (se Dio mi darà vita, e sanità) nel fut.o Mese di Marzo dl 1722, ancorchè p.me il tempo di farla fosse nel principio dl 1718. Non istò a ripetere li motivi apportati alla P.V.M.R. nel Marzo dl 1718. circa il supplicarla a degnarsi di farla correre, come se fosse stata fatta al suo tempo debito; mà tralasciati quì tali motivi, le rinuovo la med.ma supplica, confidando, che l' esser' io stato con tante miserie in q.ti luoghi p.servizio dlla Comp.a non mi si abbia a convertire in pregiudizio di giudicare male di me, da chi ne' tempi futuii negl' Archivij leggerà, e troverà aver' io fatta la Professione quattro anni, e più dopo il debito tempo.

will be so until I arrive at Patnà in the Mogol, where (according to a letter I had the other evening from the Dutch Director) there have arrived for my subsidy those helps which for such a long time heretofore I have asked with so many tears. Accordingly, as I have made known the straits to which in the past I was reduced, so I now make known the help prepared me.

I now think of another point. In the March of 1718 I notified to Your Very Reverend Paternity, and I notify again, how, having been alone in this Mission, without any other of the Company (though I had had in many repeated letters the instruction of making the Profession), yet, having no one competent in whose hands I could make it, I shall not be able to make it until I arrive at Agra (if God grants me life and health) in the next month of March 1722;[1] however, the time for me to make it was in the beginning of 1718. I shall not repeat the reasons adduced to Your Very Reverend Paternity in the March of 1718, regarding my request to you that you may deign to make it count as if it had been made at the time when it was due; but, omitting here these motives, I renew to you the same request, trusting that my having been in these places amid such miseries for the service of the Company, will not in my case be turned to the prejudice that I shall be thought ill of by who

[1] He was back at Agra on April 20, 1722.

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In fine posto umilm.te a' suoi piedi la supplico umilm.te di farsi, che abbia la consolazione di qualchè sua risposta che in fatti mi giunga nelle mie mani, e a darmi qualchè riscontro, se le lettere da me mandate nel Genn.o scorso al Som.Pont.e, alla Sac. Cong.ne di Prop.a, e alla P.V.M.R. p. mezzo de'. P.ri C app.ni p. la via di Francia, siano giunte, ò nò.

La supplico in oltre a pregar' incessantem.te e far molto da' N.ri pregare p.me, acciocchè se p. li miei demeriti mi sono reso indegno di servire (come bramavo sino alla morte) la Comp.a in q.ta Miss. ne, almeno p.mezzo dlle loro efficaci intercessioni obtenga da Dio grazia di poterla in qualchè altro modo servire, e non esser' a essa inutile sino alla mia morte. In fine la supplico umilm.te a graziarmi dlla sua Paterna benedizione.

D.P.V.M.R.

Kutti, ultimo confine dl Thibet, e p.o termino dlla giurisdizione di Nepal, 21. 7bre 1721.

Ind.mo in X.po Servo, e Minimo Suddito,

*Ippolito Desiderj.*

will in future times read in the Archives and will find that I made the Profession four years and more after the time when I should have.

At the end, placed humbly at your feet, I humbly beseech you to make me have the consolation of some answer of yours which shall duly come into my hands, and to give me some indication whether the letters sent by me last January to the Sovereign Pontiff, to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, and to Your Very Reverend Paternity, through the Capuchin Fathers by way of France, have arrived or not.

Moreover, I beg of you to pray unceasingly, and to make Ours pray much, for me, so that, if owing to my demerits I have made myself unworthy of serving the Company in this Mission (as I longed to do till death), I may at least through their efficacious intercessions obtain from God the grace of serving her in some other manner, until my death, and not be useless to her. Finally I humbly beg you to favour me with Your Fatherly Blessing.

Your Very Reverend Paternity's

Kutti, the last limit of Tibet,[1] and the first limit of the jurisdiction of Nepal, the 21st of September 1721.

Most unworthy Servant in Christ, and Least Subject.

*Ippolito Desideri.*

[1] Kuti goes also by the name of Nilam. (Wessels, 192.)

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(*Endorsement made in Rome*):

Goana 1721.
Kutti ultimo termino Thibetti 21. 7 bris.
P. Hyppolitus Desideri.

Dat rationem, cur tandiu in Thibetto demoratus sit post decretum exeundi, quia expectavit occasionem opportunam. Queritur, quod non acceperit responsum à Sum. Pontif. a Sacr. Cong. et a P.V. litteris datis 1718. Reiterat preces ad eundũ (?) Romam, quia ad id tenatur in conscientia. Petit ut moneantur Sup. res. Prov.ae ne retineant multo tempore literas Superioris Maioris ad subditos. Cum non habuerit Socium Societatis, in cujus manibus Professionem emitteret, quae emissa fuerat 1718; illam emittet Agrae 1722; petit ut restituatur ad suam antiquitatem.

Rs. Jan. 1723.

(*Endorsement made in Rome*):

Goan things, 1721.
Kutti, the last limit of Tibet, 21st September.
Fr. Hyppolitus Desideri.

He gives as his reason for having remained so long in Tibet, after the decree of going away, that he awaited a favourable opportunity. He complains of not having received an answer from the Sovereign Pontiff, from the Sacred Congregation, and from Your Paternity to the letter of 1718. He reiterates the request of going to Rome, because he is bound thereto in conscience. He asks that the Superiors of the Province be told not to keep back for a long time letters of a higher Superior to his subjects. As he had no companion of the Society in whose hands to make the Profession, which was to have been made in 1718, he will make it at Agra in 1722; he asks that it be brought back to the former date.

Answered: January 1723.

16. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to His Holiness the Pope (Kuti, Tibet, Sept. 21, 1721).[1] (*p.* 382).

Most Blessed Father,

Obeying the orders received, I left the Tibet Mission and am on my way to the Mohol.[2] I make bold humbly to prostrate myself at Your Holiness's most Venerated Feet, and to represent to Your Holiness that I feel the need of manifesting by word of mouth and personally to Your Holiness some matters concerning the Holy Catholic Faith and its propagation, which I am greatly

[1] Cf. Puini, pp. 282–383. He says at p. 360 n. 1 that this letter is found in MS. in the Library of the Propaganda. Sommervogel, Vol. IX, No. 9, says this letter appeared in *La Revista Europea*, July 1876, p. 293.

[2] Mogol.

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obliged (p. 383) in conscience to make known. Meanwhile, I exonerate my conscience before Your Most Venerated Feet, humbly beseeching Your Holiness to deign call me to Rome, under an express permission and command, and to see, in that case, that the Father General of the Company of Jesus order me, with all solicitude and speed, to come thither. With all my heart I pray to the Most High to deign grant to Your Holiness a long, prosperous and peaceful reign, for the exaltation and propagation of the Holy Faith.

And, hoping for a favourable answer to this prayer, I add to it another, that of being admitted to kiss most humbly and reverently Your Sacred Feet and imploring Your Paternal, Apostolic Blessing and Indulgence.

Kutti, the 21st of September, 1721.

(Your) Very Humble, very Reverent and very Devoted Subject, Servant and Son.

*Ippolito Desideri,*

of the Company of Jesus.

17. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society in Rome (Kuti, Tibet, 5 Oct., 1721).

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: *Goana Epist., 1569–1742* (*Goa. 9*).)

†

M.to R.do in X.po P.re N.ro,
P.C.

Con altre mie hò notificato alla P.V.M.R., aver'io obbedito agl' ordini dlla med.a P.V.M.R., e dlla Sac. Cong. di Prop.a con lasciar q.ta Miss e dl Thibet. P.ma di porre l' ultimo passo (tanto, e non più mi rimane) fuori dl Thibet, ho giudicato d'appellarmi al Som. Pont.e, specialm.te p. la non meritata taccia data alla Comp.a con q.lle parole dl decreto dl 1718. *Imò contra*

†

Our Very Reverend Father in Christ,
The Peace of Christ.

In other letters of mine I have notified to Your Very Reverend Paternity that I have obeyed the orders of the same Your Very Reverend Paternity and of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, by leaving this Mission of Tibet. Before making the last step (so much, and not more remains to me) outside Tibet, I have judged proper to appeal [1] to the Sovereign Pontiff, especially be-

[1] By a new appeal to the Pope, enclosed with this letter, as appears below.

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*Decr.a ejusdẽ Sac. Cong.nis.* Così mi sono stimato gravissimam.te obbligato in coscienza a difendere la mia carissima Madre la Comp.a di Gesù. Li motivi non li replico, p.chè li potrà la V.P.M.R. intendere dalla copia (che quì accludo) dll' appello mandato a sua Santità med.ma. Se hò fatto male, non è malizia di volontà, ma errore d' Intelletto.

Dall' altre mie lettere, e da q.ta combinerà la P.V.M.R., essermi io fermato già quasi cinque Mesi in quest'ultimo termine di q.to Thibet, e si maraviglerà di tal dimora. Nò, P.re N.ro M.to R.do. Iddio vuol la pronta Obbedienza, mà senza ammarsi[1] spontaneam.te. In q.ti Mesi passati, e tuttavia un'altro poco, l'inoltrarsi avanti è un certo morire. In atti così è merto quel P. Cappuccino, che a' 27. di Maggio giunse qui in mia compagnia, e che, restando io quì, proseguì p. Nepàl. Adesso col sopravenir' il freddo anche in quei Paesi bassi cessa moralm.te il p. icolo, onde io coll' aiuto di Dio, e con la fiducia in esso partirò p. Nepàl, e da Nepàl andarò (se a Dio piacerà) al Coll.o d'Agra, dove sp.o tro-

cause of the undeserved slur cast on the Company by these words of the decree of 1718: *Iñò contra Decreta ejusdem Sacrae Congregationis* (Nay, against the Decrees of the same Sacred Congregation). Thus have I judged myself very seriously obliged in conscience to defend my very dear Mother the Company of Jesus. The motives I do not repeat, because Your Reverend Paternity will be able to understand them from the copy (which I here include)[1] of the *Appello* (I appeal) sent to His Holiness himself. If I have done ill, it is not ill will, but error of judgment.

By combining other letters of mine with this one, Your Very Reverend Paternity will see that I have stayed already about five months at this last limit of this Tibet, and you will marvel at the delay. No, Our Very Reverend Father. God wants prompt Obedience, but not that we kill ourselves. To go forward during these past months, and for a little while longer, is certain death. In fact, that Capuchin Father who on the 17th of May arrived with me here, and who, while I stayed here, continued to Nepal, died in that way. At present, when the cold comes down also on these low countries, the danger morally ceases; hence with the help of God and with trust in him, I shall leave for Nepal, and from Nepal shall go (if it please God) to

[1] *Sic*, for *ammazzarsi*.

[1] The letter of Kuti, dated Sept. 21, 1721, with the present one.

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verò gl'ordini dl P. Prov. le di Goa.

Con q.ta occasione rinuovo all P.V.M.R. l' instanza, e supplica fatta in alter moltisa.e mie lettere, cioè, che si degni di mandarmi espresso ordine di portarmi in p.sona a Roma, avendo necessità di parlar' a voce alla P.V.M.R., alla S.C. di Prop.a, e al Som. Pont.e.

P.re N. ro il mio intento non è di voler'a forza la Comp.a nel Thibet. Q.to non è affare mio; mà il mio intento è di porre in chiaro l'Innocenza dlla Comp.a, li suoi Jus, privilegij, e ragioni, e nell' istesso tempo proveder'al bene di q.te. anime, che Dio m'aveva dato, ò col tornar quà la Comp.a, ò se non vogliono così, almeno con manifestar' alla S.C. di Prop.a, e al Som. Pon. e molte cose necessariss.e le q.li non posso tutte notificare p. Lettere, Memoriali, e Scritture, mà solo a voce. Se la P.V.M. R. mi concederà la grazia di portarmi col suo comando a Roma, *bene quidẽ*; se nò; p.

the College of Agra, where I hope to find the orders of the Provincial of Goa.[1]

On this occasion I renew to Your Reverend Paternity the request and petition made in very many other letters of mine, to wit, that you deign to send me the express order of going to Rome, in person, as I have need to speak orally to Your Very Reverend Paternity, to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, and to the Sovereign Pontiff.

Our Father, my intention is not to want by all means the Company in Tibet. That is not business of mine; but my intention is to make clear the innocence of the Company, its right, privileges and reasons, and at the same time to provide for the welfare of these souls which God had given me, either by the return of the Company hither, or, if they do not want it so, by at least manifesting to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda and to the Sovereign Pontiff many things most necessary which cannot all be made known by Letters, Memorials and Writings, but orally only. If Your

[1] In his *Relazione*, Desideri writes: 'The Capuchin Father who had come from Lhasa and had been my companion up to here, continued his journey, as he had been appointed to the hospice of Kattmandù in Nepal; but, after arriving at the said city, he passed to a better life two months later. I, on the contrary, judged it advisable to remain at Kutti till the winter, because the transition from the climate of Thibet to that of Nepal, and from Nepal to the Mogol, is very harmful; the more so as at that time there was great mortality at Kattmandù, owing to Influenza, as Father Felice of Morro just mentioned experienced. I left therefore Kutti on the 14th December in company with Father Felice of Montecchio, who had arrived there meanwhile.' (Puini, 87.)

Desideri must have met Fr. Felice of Montecchio again at Patna in 1725, and it was the lot of both to meet again at Rome in 1728 and plead against each other their reasons for having been first in the field. The Tibetan field, however barren of results, was in the eyes of both too good to be given up without a square fight.

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parte mia averò sgravato la mia coscienza.

Supplico la P.V.M.R., che le risposte dlle lettere di quest' anno, che la P.V.M.R., si degnerà mandarmi, le consegni, e faccia inviare con tutta raccomandazione, poichè l'altre risposte (toltane la p.a alle-lettere di Goa) non mi sono giunte, e la P.V.M.R. dice averle mandate p. Goa.

In fine umilm.te prostrato a suoi piedi la supplico dlla paterna Bened.nee S.S. Sacr.ij.

D.P.V.M.R.

Kuttì, ultimo termine dlla mia partenza dal Thibet, 5. 8bre 1721.

Ind.mo in X.po servo, e Suddito,

*Ippolito Desiderj.*

(*Endorsement made in Rome*):

Goana, 1721.
Kutti, Thibetti 5. Octobris.
P. Hyppolitus Desideri.

Executus est promptissime ordinationem a S.Cong. et a P.V. emanatam exeundi à Thibet; post obtentam coñoratus est tandiu ibi, quia expectabat occasionem minus noxiam, et in qua ejus vita certum periculum non subiret, ut successit comiti Capuccino, qui mortuus

Very Reverend Paternity grants me the favour of going by your order to Rome, *bene quidem* (well indeed); if not, I for my part shall have discharged my conscience.

I beseech Your Very Reverend Paternity that, for the answers to the letters of this year which Your Very Reverend Paternity will deign to send me, you consign them and have them sent with every recommendation, because the other answers (excepting the first, answering the letters from Goa) have not reached me, and Your Reverend Paternity says you sent them by Goa.

At the end, humbly prostrate at your feet, I crave your Fatherly Blessing and Holy Sacrifices.

Your Very Reverend Paternity's,

Kutti, last limit for my departure from Tibet, the 5th October, 1721.

Most Unworthy Servant in Christ, and Subject,

*Ippolito Desideri.*

(*Endorsement made in Rome*):

Goan things, 1721.
Kutti of Tibet, 5th October.
Fr. Hyppolitus Desideri.

He complied most promptly with the ordination sent by the Sacred Congregation and by Your Paternity of leaving Tibet; after he had received it, he remained so long there because he awaited an opportunity less harmful, one in which his life should not be

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est. Reiterat deprecationes ad obtinendam facultatem adeundi Roman, quas interponit tactus scrupulo, et ductus conscientia; et sperat eam exoraturum ad S. Fidei, et veritatis manifestationem.

exposed to evident danger, as happened to his Capuchin companion, who died. He renews his request to obtain the permission of going to Rome, bringing it forward, because induced by a scruple of conscience; and he hopes to obtain it for the sake of manifesting the (interests of the) Holy Faith and the truth.

Rs. Jan. 1723.

Answered: January 1723.

18. The Mission of Tibet is assigned to the Capuchins (1732).

(From a note in the possession of the Society of Jesus; no date.)

Missio Tibetana privative Capuccinis tradita.

(*In another writing*): Nell' Anno 1732. la Sacra Cong. ne di Propaganda, senza toccare verunaltra cosa, di quelle re quali si agitano nelle scritture del p. Felice da Montecchio, e del P. Desideri, decretò che la Missione del Tibet appartenesse privative a PP. Capuccini: come era stato decretato da Papa Clemente XI.

The Mission of Tibet given over exclusively (?) to the Capuchins.

In the year 1732, the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, without touching any other thing of those which are discussed in the writings of Fr. Felice of Montecchio and of Fr. Desideri, decreed that the Mission of Tibet should belong exclusively (?) to the Capuchin Fathers, as had been decreed by Pope Clement XI.

19. Desideri on the political events in Tibet (1707-1721). (P. 338).

I.

This great kingdom of Great Tibet fell into the hands and power of the Tartars in the following manner.

The Tibetan king, who reigned at the end of last century (P. 339) and in the beginning of the present one, being continually at war with the king of the kingdom of *Ciang* (*Tsang.*) had appointed, as his generalissimo and the defender of his kingdom, a Tartar prince, the brother of the petty king of Kokonor and a relative of the Emperor of China. Through his valour, this prince put an end to the wars continually waging between the King of *Uu* (*dBus*) and the King of *Ciang* (*gTsang*).

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He conquered the latter kingdom, took the great fortress of Jêgacé, destroyed (? *col disfare*) the king and all his people and family, and subjected the whole country above-mentioned to the king of *Uu*, or of Lhasà. The said Tartar prince having won the applause and esteem of many by this victory, and by his valour and prudence, the ungrateful Tibetan king, carried away by envy and political suspicions, requited badly the services of the defender of his kingdom; for, instead of rewarding him liberally, he caused poison to be secretly given to him and to one of his ministers, called *Targum-treê-scij*. The treachery being remarked in time, they succeeded, thanks to medicines, in escaping the danger. The ungrateful king did not desist, however; he tried again to poison them, though once more in vain. After that, the Tartar prince placed himself at the head of his troops and declared war against the Tibetan king. In a short time, he took possession of Lhasà and forced the king to retire to a strong fortress, at no great distance from the said city. Having tried in vain to force the place, the Tartars had recourse to trickery. They made the said king believe that the Great Lama himself, appealing to his revered authority, called him out of that place and invited him to accept the terms of peace which the Tartars would propose. The credulous king left the fortress, with the result that the Tartar prince and the minister suddenly fell upon him and killed him. Having thus taken possession of the whole kingdom, the Tartar prince became king under the name of *Cinghes-khang*, and his minister became viceroy. The whole kingdom agreed to the change, which was confirmed by the authority of the Emperor of China, who then and subsequently sent ambassadors to acknowledge Cinghes-khang as absolute master of the whole of Tibet and establish him the more firmly and for ever on the throne.

The nobility of his extraction, his kinship with the Emperor of China and his personal valour rendered *Cinghes-khang* greatly feared and respected by all his subjects; the foreigners likewise, of whom there are plenty in the Third Tibet, greatly esteemed him for his qualities and moral virtues. He showed himself extremely fond, too, of foreigners, and the further the countries they came from, the greater was his goodwill for them. Sharp, lofty in his views and quick-witted, when he had heard me propose to him sundry points of religion directly opposed to his beliefs, he was continually discussing with me, (P. 340) and very ably too; and he assured me that, if I could convince him of the falsity of the doctrines he followed, he would become a Christian with the whole of his Court and of his people. He governed the country with rare prudence and was most upright and just in his decisions. Endowed with these and many other natural gifts and virtuous qualities, he maintained himself on the throne till December 1717, when his end was the more

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lamentable as the course of his reign had been the more successful. The causes of his woeful end were as I shall now explain.

At the time when Cinghes-khang became master of the kingdom, the Grand Lamà of Tibet was a most dissolute young man, unbridled, and stained with every vice. Moreover, he started doing things contrary to the inviolable customs of the Lamàs and of the Religious; such as taking the greatest care of his hair, drinking spirits to excess, and indulging in gambling; finally, he let himself be carried away by his lust to such a degree that not a beautiful person of either sex escaped the onslaughts of his ungovernable passions. To bring him back to the right path, the advice of the wise king Cinghes-khang proved unavailing; unavailing too his severe reprimands; nor did he succeed better when he threatened to put a violent stop to conduct which contaminated the whole of his Kingdom.

So, when matters had first been arranged with the Emperor of China through repeated mutual embassies, king Cinghes-khang, under cover of specious pretexts, obliged the Grand Lamà to leave Lhasà, and to go towards China in the suite of the Tartars and of his own most faithful servants. On the journey, the Grand Lamà was shown the king's orders, which condemned him to death: Now, before the execution of the sentence, from which there was no escape, he said to some of his friends that, after his death, they should tell his dear Tibetans not to mourn for him, but to wait for his return; he would come back to them, and would accordingly be reborn on the frontiers of China; they should look for him in that direction, and in due time they would find him back. Thus said, he was executed according to the King's order: and the king appointed in his stead a Religious of Tibet somewhat advanced in age, whom he raised to the throne and dignity of Grand Lamà. When the news became known, great was the grief of the Tibetans, and great the indignation which the Religious conceived against the Tartar king. They would have liked to avenge the Grand Lamà's death by deposing and killing the king; but, finding themselves powerless for that, they tried secretly to compass their design in another manner. How, I shall say presently. The Tibetans, (P. 341) and especially the Religious, refused to acknowledge the Grand Lamà, yet, before the peremptory orders of the king and the dreaded authority of the Emperor of China, all submitted externally and acclaimed the new Grand Lamà with outward shows of reverence and obedience. Nevertheless, their reverence was so utterly feigned that almost all, at that very time, plotted secretly to free themselves of the Grand Lamà and of the king himself.

Accordingly, the Tibetans, and in especial the Religious, who were more deeply implicated in the conspiracy than the rest, turned to the king of independent Upper Tartary; asking him to help them in effecting their designs. The said king was a

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friend and relative of king Cinghes-khang. He accepted, however, to betray him. Under pretence of new demonstrations of friendship towards the king of Tibet, he sent him ambassadors, asking him to accept the hand of his daughter for his eldest son and thus draw closer the ties of kinship already existing between them; would he, therefore, condescend to send his son to his Court in Upper Tartary? King Cinghes-khang accepted the proposal and sent his eldest son with many of his servants and a large number of soldiers on horseback. After some time the king of Upper Tartary asked of king Cinghes-khang a considerable amount of gold and silver and large numbers of horses and soldiers, alleging disagreements with China and the fear of disturbances in the kingdom of Iarkand, which, a few years before, he had barbarously subjugated. King Cinghes-khang, who by nature was unable to suspect evil, especially in a friend and relative, quickly sent whatever the king of Upper Tartary had requested.

Meanwhile, throughout Tibet the news was that a child, a few years old, and born near Sining, on the frontiers between Lower Tartary and China, had spoken and had said (which happens frequently in Tibet, as I have had occasion to show) that he was the Grand Lamà who had been put to death by king Cinghes-khang, but had been reborn, conformably to the promise he had made to his dear Tibetans; the throne of Lhasà belonged to himself; he was most eager to see again his devoted disciples; his only wish was to try again to procure and further their welfare, and to save them from the vast ocean of toils, as they call the cycle of transmigrations in which they erroneously believe. (P. 342).

It is difficult to imagine what a commotion this piece of news produced on the minds of the Tibetans, especially of the Religious, and though eager they were to see placed again on his throne their Grand Lamà, whose return they had so anxiously expected and longed for. They thought that the king, who belonged to their own sect, would at once make diligent inquiries into the new reincarnation; but they were disappointed. The king of Tibet sent to the place where the said child was some Lamàs and doctors to examine very minutely (such being the custom in Tibet, as I explained more in particular above) whether the said child was the Grand Lamà who had died and been reborn; now, these Lamàs and doctors, having gone and made the necessary examination, returned to Tibet and reported to the king that they had not been able to discover sufficient signs to make them recognize in the said child the person of the former Grand Lamà. Accordingly, the king not only did not allow the said child to come to Tibet, but to obviate disorder he contrived that the Emperor of China should have the said child taken and put into a fortress, where he was surrounded by trusty guards. For many years the Tibetans

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made every effort to obtain from the king of China their Grand Lamà; all their attempts proved, however, useless. In the end, impatient of further delays, and becoming bold and resolute, they determined to execute and accomplish without more ado the conspiracy which, long before, with the help of the king of independent Upper Tartary, they had set on foot against king Chinghes-khang and the Grand Lamà, whom they would not accept as lawfully elect.

The chief instigators of the disorders, which were the outcome of what we have related, were different Lamàs and almost all the Religious of the three chief convents and great Universities of Tibet: to wit, the great convent of Breebung, the great convent of Serà at Lhasà, and the great convent of Jegacè, the capital of the province of Ciang. They bribed many grandees of Tibet and some of the King's ministers, and made them promise that, when the time for assisting the enemies would be at hand, they would lend their help for the success of the enterprise. All this and many other things having been secretly arranged in Tibet, they sent a large picked body of Religious, the youngest and most robust, to independent Upper Tartary, where, with the help of that king, who gave them some troops of Tartar soldiers, they enrolled themselves under the command and conduct of Gè-ring-ton-drup, and (P. 343) three other generals. Two of these were monks, who had studied and been solemnly promoted to a doctor's degree at the said great convents and Chief Universities of Breebung and Serà, at the capital of Lhasà.

Gè-ring-ton-drup had also studied at the famous convent and large University of Jegacè, where he had been a Religious. He was a very near relative of the king of independent Upper Tartary; a man of keen intellect, bold, intrepid and warlike, he was accustomed to fatigue, no toils intimidated him; his horse and his arms were everything for him; in fact, we might compare him to a miniature Alexander the Great, whose qualities were revived in his person; and he was destined to show to the world that those who have been schooled in the liberal arts and trained in the career of sciences turn out the bravest and most victorious sons of Mars.

When the said army had enlisted under the banners of such a general and was ready to march upon Tibet, another army was levied at the same time to be sent against China, to prevent the Emperor from succouring Chinghes-khang, his friend and kinsman, and to try moreover to take possession of the child who was said to be the incarnation of the Grand Lamà. If this design succeeded, there would be no further need of a campaign; for, if they got hold of the child and could conduct him triumphantly across Tibet, the whole country would acclaim and welcome him as their longed-for and legitimate Sovereign, and all would turn their backs on king Cinghes-khang. In this

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way, the conquest of Tibet would cost less blood to the Tartars and the Tibetans, and the results would prove more lasting.

When these two armies issued from independent Upper Tartary, the false rumour was spread that king Cinghes-khang's eldest son was returning to Tibet with his bride and a large escort. King Cinghes-khang was in the habit of leaving the city of Lhasà at the beginning of June and of going with his Tartars to a pleasure-seat in the north, called Dam, where he would indulge in the pleasures of the chase till about the end of October. In the year 1717, when he received the false news of his son's arrival, he left Lhasà in the middle of June and went to Dam, not for the usual hunt, but to meet the sooner his eldest son, whom he longed to see again. While he was nursing these sweet hopes, lo! suddenly from his hereditary estates in Lower Tartary, there arrived breathless, after a precipitous flight, and accompanied by only a handful of followers, (P. 344) his second son, who, with tears in his eyes, revealed to his father the treachery so perfidiously planned against him by the king of independent Upper Tartary, whose army was to arrive within a few hours at that very place, as indeed happened. Without a minute's delay, the king picked together for battle his Tartars and some Tibetan servants whom he had with him, and bravely prepared with his son to resist the enemy, who in a short while came to attack the king and his small force.

This first battle would speedily have sealed the doom of king Cinghes-khang and put an end to his dynasty, if his second son had not discovered the secret pact between some of his father's servants and the enemy for killing him and triumphing without striking another blow. The said prince, having therefore punished the traitors without delay, conducted the battle in quite another direction and after a quite different manner; so that king Cinghes-khang with the small force under him was victorious in several engagements and gained a very advantageous position, which barred the enemy's march upon Lhasà and made it impossible for them to communicate with the rebels of Tibet. In this manner, the king foiled all the attempts of his open and secret enemies for the space of three months, *i.e.* from the beginning of August till about the end of October. During this time, the king called up from all the provinces, even the remotest, all the troops of the kingdom and collected them in the city of Lhasà. Moreover, through the industry and skill of some ambassadors of the Emperor of China who had come to Lhasà during the previous months, marvellous work was done for fortifying the whole of the great circuit of the said city of Lhasà, up to the Potalà inclusively, with new walls and gates, with manifold forts and ravelins, ditches and palisades and other suitable means of defence, all of which would have made the place impregnable for the host of enemies without, had not

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treachery been lurking within that *very* enclosure, within those very fortifications.

As the above-said place of Dam is unprotected towards the north, and greatly exposed to intolerably cold winds during the cold season, which about the end of October had already begun to make its rigour felt, the king and his son and all their people abandoned their position at Dam and retired to the capital city of Lhasà, which, as I have said, had been well fortified and strongly supplied with troops. The enemies did not move or advance; and, notwithstanding the unbearable cold tormenting them at Dam, they remained there still (P. 345) another full month, without making any hostile demonstration. Their intention was to await the arrival of the other army which they had left on the frontiers of China. They hoped that with them would come the said child, the supposed incarnation of the Grand Lamà of Tibet. They were, however, disappointed. The said army was of a sudden completely defeated by the Chinese, and the pretended Lamà of Tibet was left in closer confinement than before and guarded more jealously.

Hearing this news, and foiled in his hope of obtaining indispensable help from the army whose arrival he had awaited, the generalissimo *Gè-ring-ton-drup* was reduced to straits whichever way he turned. To advance to the siege of an excellently fortified city, and fight with only six thousand soldiers a whole kingdom, was too foolhardy to think of; to turn back and return the same way as he had come was tantamount to exposing his life and the lives of his soldiers to the fury and just vengeance of the Chinese. What did he do? He kept the discomfiture of the army he had awaited an impenetrable secret, and he succeeded so well in dissimulating it that he made his soldiers and the Tibetans believe most firmly that the army which had gone against China had not only been victorious, but that it was bringing to Tibet the new Grand Lamà; therefore, they should offer no resistance, but open the gates to one who was going to re-establish on the throne of Lhasà its lawful and much longed-for Lord. Having thus prepared the way, the said general advanced with his troops against the capital of Tibet.

On the 21st of November, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, they appeared in the neighbourhood of Lhasà, advanced even to where they were hardly safe from the artillery (the guns not being very big), and immediately split up in four divisions: the first, under Gè-ring-ton-drup, remained on the north side, near the great convent of Serà; the second went to take up its position on the west side, not far from the other chief convent of Breebung; the third went to station itself on the east side, so as to be in communication with the other convent of Kânden; finally, the fourth division placed itself on the south side, on the bank of the Great river, which flows in the neighbourhood of Lhasà. No sooner did these divisions appear than the religious

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and the Lamàs went out in a body from the abovesaid convents, welcomed the Tartars with joyful shouts and acclamations, and brought them food, weapons and ammunition; and, what is more, a large number of the young men of all the convents took up arms and, dressed as soldiers, joined (P. 346) the new-comers, thus swelling considerably the too small numbers of the army.

During the night of the 30th of November, after midnight, the enemies fiercely assaulted the walls of Lhasà from every direction. As agreed upon, they were supplied in some places with ladders, and the north and east gates were opened to them. The enemy entered the unhappy city, and after a short, though bloody, resistance, they were masters of the place by day-break. Amid delirious rejoicings, the victorious army carried Gè-ring-ton-drup in triumph to the royal palace, *Trussi-khang*, as it is called, but found it despoiled of all its contents: for the king and his family, together with the Viceroy, the generalissimo, and a few other ministers of his court had evacuated it and retired to the great palace of Potalà, the Grand Lamà's residence, which, situated on a spacious, though not very high, eminence of hard rock, forms a very strong fortress.

Hardly had Gè-ring-ton-drup entered the royal palace when, with his permission, all his soldiers, and, more greedy than the rest, the religious of the above-said convents who had joined his army as soldiers, scattered and, with naked swords in their hands, ran to all the houses, to pillage and sack, without sparing anyone, not even those who had secretly intrigued with them. Their greed not being satisfied with what they found in the houses, they went in search of what had been kept and placed in the convents and in the temples. Not even then was their cupidity appeased; they returned several times to all the houses, and, sparing neither age, sex nor rank, they struck some with the point of their swords, beat others all over the body with inhuman cruelty, suspended others, with their hands tied behind their back, from the beams of the soffit (*del soffitto*) and scourged them repeatedly, or again tormented others in other barbarous ways, and all that to make them confess where they had secreted their riches. Two full days and two full nights they continued thus, until they had stolen, unearthed and collected all the most precious things or anything of value which they could find, both in the city of Lhasà and in its vicinity. It was pitiful to see persons, formerly rich and very well-off, and the welthiest merchants, reduced to a lamentable condition, almost quite naked, and with no other consolation than that all shared the same wretched plight. Among those who suffered most from the stealing of property and ill-treatments were the very reverend Capuchin Fathers, (P. 347), who were robbed of everything they had, as much as about 500 Roman scudi. All that was left to them was some little money which they had buried in the place where they kept their fire-wood. One of

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these Fathers was stripped stark naked and cruelly scourged, so much so that for a long time afterwards he suffered most painfully from his wounds. As for me, I had lived for some months at the University of Serà, in order to study more conveniently their chief books and get accustomed to their manner of discussing. At the time when the hostile Tartars came to besiege Lhasà, I was at the said University, and I was advised to return to the said city, as to a place offering less danger and greater safety. I judged it, however, more prudent not to budge from where I was, and so I suffered no personal violence, nor was I robbed of the little money I had on me, or of my bed, or of the things of my chapel. On the other hand, whatever I had at Lhasà, in the Hospice of the Capuchin Fathers, was stolen, only some money excepted, which I had hidden in the above-said place.

On the third day, which was the 3rd of December 1717, the barbarians turned all their efforts and all their fury and greed against the said great palace of Potalà, the magnificent residence of the Grand Lama. With engines and ladders and other contrivances, they scaled the outer ring of walls on the south side; then, having occupied the rock and seeing that all other efforts to penetrate into the palace and the fortress would be useless, they had recourse to fire; and, having forced the chief big gate by means of it, they entered, not to cease the tragedy, but to commence others of a new and more horrible nature. Meanwhile, king Cinghes-khang, the Viceroy and the generalissimo had slipped out by a secret door on the north side, and, mounting good horses kept ready for the purpose, had taken to flight. When the enemies remarked they were gone, they gave chase at once. At a certain place, the fugitives were stopped in their flight by a ditch strengthened by a double palisade; here they were overtaken, and, though they defended themselves bravely, king Cinghes-khang was killed in the affray. When Gè-ring-ton-drup was informed of the fact, he went at once to where the king had been killed and where his corpse still lay; he made a great show of grief, spoke with the highest praise of his virtues and gave him an honourable funeral.

To the second son, the Viceroy Targum-tree-scij and the dead king's generalissimo, whose name was Ten-drup-çê-ring, were reserved greater and longer misfortunes and a further display of great deeds. (P. 348) The three of them, after avenging the king's death by slaying a goodly number of enemies, bravely forced their way through them, and, as not one could equal the speed of their horses, they continued their flight, and disappeared from the sight of their pursuivants. When they had run a long time, they went at dead of night and at the risk of their lives to take refuge in the house of a great Governor of one of the chief provinces of Tibet. This province, which

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is in the north-east of Tibet, is called *Tâzê*, whence the said Governor was called Debà-Tâzê.

During their flight, the hostile Tartars, driven by their insatiable greed of plunder, had penetrated forcibly into the great palace of the Potalà. Here they found the Grand Lamà who had been appointed by king Cinghes-khang. Of his own accord, he yielded to them his throne, and asked as a favour to be allowed to spend the rest of his life, like a simple private Religious, in his old convent.

They also found in the Potalà the Grand Lamà of Jegacè, who is esteemed as the second oracle of Tibet, his authority being enhanced by his enormous wealth and his very advanced age. These qualifications had gained him the greatest esteem and reverence, not only from king Cinghes-khang and the whole of Tibet, but also from the Emperor of China and the victorious general Gè-ring-ton-drup, whose superior and director he had been formerly, when the said general lived and studied for several years as a Religious at the great convent and University of Jegacè. So then, the said Lamà of Jegacè, trusting to the authority which his rank and his age gave him, reproved bitterly his bold enemies for their perfidy and treachery, the murder of the king, the death of so many innocent people and the sack of the town; and he added that, as life would be too heavy a burden to him thenceforth, he had no other wish than to share the fate of so many wretched people whom they had slain. These words saved from a murderous sword the widowed queen and her youngest son, a child three or four years old, whom she had near her; but they were despoiled of everything they had and kept prisoners in Gè-ring-ton-drup's power.

When the Tartars had emptied the great palace of Potalà of all its former inmates, they stripped it of all its contents. No one would believe me if I were to detail the extraordinary amount of booty which was taken at this sack; for no one would be able to credit, still less to value, the immensity of the wealth and the rareness of the treasures which were found in the said palace, especially in the thrones, in the apartments of the Grand Lamà and in the temple of the idols, which stands (P. 349) in the chief part of the said palace. Only one who has seen such treasures and examined them again and again can form a sufficiently adequate idea of them.

The second son of king Cinghes-khang, the Viceroy and the generalissimo of all the troops of Tibet had, during their flight, taken refuge in the house of the Debà-Tâzê with the intention of prosecuting their journey towards China; but, whereas they thought they would find at his house a brief respite from their fatigues, they found in it the beginning of new and harder trials. The said Debà-Tâzê belonged to the most conspicuous family of Tibet; he was closely connected with the native kings of the country, a long line of whom had

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governed it before they were dispossessed by king Cinghes-khang for reasons recounted above. Moreover, he was but too eager, old as he was, to recover for himself the royal crown which once had belonged to his family. Besides, he was a hard-hearted and more than feline character, as is shown by the execrable thing he had done many years before. He had an only son, a young man of high intellect, affable manners and endowed with such good parts that king Cinghes-khang, who loved him with a father's affection, kept him at his court, loaded him with favours and raised him for his care talents to the most important charges. All this, however, was not to his father's liking, though he ought, it seems, to have rejoiced at it, rather; jealousy and the hatred he felt towards the sovereign suggested to him the fell design of poisoning his own son. So then, prompted partly by his hatred for the deceased king Cinghes-khang, partly by his inhuman nature and unbridled ambition, he sent ambassadors to Gè-ring-ton-drup at Lhasà to let him know that the fugitive sovereign[1] and his son[2] were in his power, helpless. Gè-ring-ton-drup despatched from Lhasà a big body of armed Tartars, who, on arriving at the place indicated, loaded with fetters victims already under arrest and brought them to the conqueror's feet. His orders were to keep the prince and the Viceroy apart in separate prisons; after which, he had the conquered general Ton-drup-çe-ring[3] placed before him, and, finding him insensible to threats, he tried to mollify him by kindness and promises; but all his artifices were unavailing, so strong was the man's courage, so firm his loyalty to his sovereign.

When the Viceroy *Targum-tree-scij* had been confined to a rigorous imprisonment, the barbarous usurpers of Tibet, knowing that all the King's and the Grand Lamà's treasures, much of which they had been unable to discover, had always been in his keeping, tried (P. 350) for a long time with inhuman cruelty to make him confess where these treasures were kept hidden. I was dying to help somewhat the said Viceroy, who from the first days of my arrival at Lhasà had been my affectionate friend and had shown himself quite openly ready to further the success of my mission but, much as I tried, I could give him no other help than procuring him a bed of mine, and supply a faithful servant of his with some money, so that he might every day give him *Cia*[4] to drink. The Tartars, baulked by the firmness of that very loyal Viceroy, and seeing that they could obtain nothing from him, resolved to send to the king of Upper Tartary the said Viceroy with the queen, the young prince, and king Cinghes-khang's second son, in order that, on their arrival there, they might meet with a cruel death.

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1. *Sic*, for Viceroy.
2. *Read*: and the sovereign's son.
3. *Sic*.
4. Tea.

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The victorious Tartars, suspecting opposition to the execution of their iniquitous enterprise, conducted with them as secretly as possible, and under strong surveillance, the said four persons. They had already entered the desert which, from the north-west, by the upper road of China, leads to Upper Tartary, when the news of their movements reached the ears of Ten-drup-çe-ring, who had finally been set free. Without losing a moment, he set out all alone and succeeded in overtaking the prisoners. He attacked resolutely the guards conducting them, and at the first blow managed to save from their hands the Viceroy, who fled and recovered his liberty. Meanwhile, he received the sad tidings that Gè-ring-ton-drup, hearing of his sudden departure from Lhasà, had avenged himself by barbarously killing his wife. The news of this cruel deed only added to his anger and his boldness. Rushing again among the enemies, who still held the king's widow and her two sons, he tried to set them free; but, overpowered by numbers, he fell himself into the hands of the Tartar soldiers, and was massacred.

When the Viceroy Targum-tree-scij had, as we said above, recovered his liberty by flight, he started making plans of revenge. Leaving the desert which on the east side, and across China, leads to Upper Tartary, he took the north road, and coming down, alone and incognito, to the province of Çang, he crossed the other provinces until he arrived at the other, great desert which, stretching from the west as far as Cartoa,[1] leads from there to Yarkand, whence it goes directly to independent Upper Tartary. Having crossed the whole of this desert and arrived at Cartoa, he started collecting at once (P. 351) and encouraging some scattered military outposts which king Cinghes-khang had formerly sent there to defend those furthermost parts of Tibet against the invasions which his treacherous enemies might have attempted on that side. Having brought together a small body of troops, he inspired his soldiers with eagerness to avenge in the blood of their enemies their king and his family, and proceeded to block the Cartoa pass, so that the barbarian usurpers might not receive any help from their own country or have any intercourse with it.

His plan did not prove unsuccessful. As the Chinese had occupied the eastern route, and he did not yet know the snares which were being laid for him in the north, the king of independent Upper Tartary,[2] or of the Giongars (as the Tartars of that Tartary are called in that language) sent repeatedly his envoys by way of Cartoa in order to obtain from that side reinforcements and thus strengthen his army in Tibet, which was now getting weaker and weaker. But not one of

[1] Gartok.

[2] He means Cé-ring-ton-drup.

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those who were sent from Lhasà to the country of the Giongars or were sent from there to Tibet, managed to escape with his life when arriving at Cartoa, the place where the Viceroy Targum-tree-scij and his small band lay in ambush. Seeing that, after much waiting, none of the envoys whom he had sent to Upper Tartary returned and that none of the auxiliary troops promised appeared from there, Gè-ring-ton-drup, the general of the Giongars, did not know whether this was the result of obstacles met on the way, or because the king of the Giongars was unable to help and continue the enterprise. He then took it into his head to send to him all the booty, and to re-awaken in him by the sight of such wealth his desire to assist him with a strong force and complete the conquest of Tibet. Accordingly, he sent by the western route, that of the great desert, which emerges at Gnari and Cartoa, a large well-armed body of his Giongars, and entrusted to them the whole of his treasures, whatever he had amassed not only from the sack of Lhasà, but from a great part of Tibet.

After a long journey of four months, the said Giongar force was now approaching the frontiers of their country and anticipating the pleasure of a triumphal entry, when, on arriving at Cartoa, Targum-tree-scij sent to meet them some of the Tibetans whom he had collected and won over to his cause. They went out, unarmed; and, far from assuming a menacing attitude, they manifested joy, and behaved like friends who, on hearing of the arrival of the Giongars, wished to make them forget the discomforts of a toilsome journey. In this way they induced the Giongars (P. 352) to rest there a few days, in field-tents, which they had prepared for them. They stopped, therefore; and they were quite willing, all of them, to stimulate the newly begun rejoicings by potations of *Ciang* and *Aracca*, copious quantities of which had been prepared for them. It is the custom, both among the Tartars and the Tibetans, not to stop drinking such like liquids, even when importuned by them, until all the pots placed before them have been emptied. The Giongars had already drunk very deep, when the Tibetans, acting on Targum-tree-scij's instructions, made the chief officers of that large force understand that it was not the custom for people indulging in drink to keep their arms about their person: for, when people get drunk, they are apt to start quarrelling, to come to blows, and, having their arms about them, they may turn a joyful convivial meeting into a scene of fighting and bloodshed. The Giongars, already under the spell of excessive libations, their minds obnubilated, did not reflect on the danger of such a proposal; and, when their arms had been taken and safely stowed away, they resumed with renewed zest the task of emptying the cups, with the result that many dropped down, overcome by sleep, while the rest were unfit for any rational action. Then the Viceroy Targum-tree-scij (*sic*)

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ordered his small force to kill everyone of the Giongars with their own weapons, and not to let even one escape and carry home the sad tidings. This was done; the immense treasures, which these barbarian robbers had brought so far, were taken, and the Viceroy kept them intact at Cartoa itself so that, when the Chinese came, as he hoped, to take possession of Tibet, he might carry them back to Lhasà and surrender them to the Chinese, by way of thanking them for having avenged the death of king Cinghes-khang and of his family. By this one blow, Targum-tree-scij all alone reduced the Giongars to such straits that not only did they despair of obtaining from their country any succour of fresh forces, but with their reduced numbers they were unable to maintain their hold on Tibet and were forced to see the entire country pass into the hands of the Chinese, as we shall now explain.

The Emperor of China was doubly irritated against the Giongars: not only had they, without any declaration of war, sent an army to occupy his states on the side of Sining, but they had treacherously deprived of his kingdom and of his life king Cinghes-khang, his friend and kinsman. Anxious to remedy all this without bloodshed, he sent with due precautions (P. 353) his ambassadors to the generalissimo of the Giongars, the usurper of Tibet, Gè-ring-ton-drup, to persuade him to desist from his enterprise and represent to him the dangers which obstinacy would expose him to. Gè-ring-ton-drup, emboldened by his victories, replied to the ambassador of the Chinese sovereign that by the sword he had taken possession of Tibet and by the sword meant to maintain his power over it.

To repress the pride of the Giongars, and avenge the death of king Cinghes-khang and the wrongs done to himself, the Emperor of China sent to Tibet in 1719, from his states of Sining and other provinces in their neighbourhood, a large army composed exclusively of Chinese, partly pagans and partly Maomettans, none of the Tartars, who compose the mainstay of his army, being sent along with them. There are two routes from China to Lhasà: the shorter one, which generally takes three months, goes west from Sining, crosses a long and troublesome desert, and emerges north of Lhasà; the other required more than three months; it strikes southwards from Sining and goes to the province of Tazentu, in the kingdom of Kham, which forms part of the kingdom of Tibet; then, turning to the west, it runs through other parts of Kham and other provinces of Tibet till it reaches Lhasà; this second road, although much longer, is very convenient, for it passes all the time through inhabited places. However, the officers and commandants of the above-said army, who were mostly Maomettans, fearing to meet with serious obstacles along this second road, took the former one and came marching across the said desert. Owing to their numbers, the length of the journey,

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and their slow progress, the army, on arriving at Dam, a place not far from and north of Lhasà, but thinly populated, suffered seriously from want of food. At first, they could revictual themselves at once; but not so afterwards. As soon as they reached the said place, they occupied an advantageous position and constructed a stone entrenchment to defend themselves from attacks on the part of the enemy. On hearing of the arrival of the Chinese army, the Giongars marched at once against Dam, whither they called up all the forces of Tibet. After many engagements, always indecisive, the Chinese were compelled to fall back on their entrenchments; but, as soon as they had retired to them, they were surrounded on all sides by the forces of the Giongars and Tibetans; (P. 354) every pass was blocked against them, so that they could not receive or procure even the smallest succour in the way of provisions. They were reduced to such want that, after eating their own animals, they started eating the flesh of the comrades who were continually dying of hunger. In their extremity, they asked some Lamàs to intercede for them and obtain from the Giongars the permission of leaving their entrenchments and returning home, without any further warlike action on their part. The Giongars consented, on condition that the Chinese would come out quite unarmed. The Chinese accepted the condition; but, the moment they left their enclosure, the perfidious Giongars attacked them, unable as they were to offer any resistence, and killed them to a man.

The Emperor of China now levied from many provinces and from his own court of Pekin a countless army, composed no longer of Chinese only, but also in great part of his Tartars. Moreover, several petty kings of Lower Tartary, his vassals and feudatories, also joined the said army with all the forces of their States. Only one who has had experience of the immence wealth of the Emperor of China and has witnessed it at least partly, can form an idea of the great provisions of all sorts, arms, munitions, implements, engines and animals with which he abundantly supplied that numberless host. To say nothing of the rest, I say only that all the officers and every one of the soldiers were given liberally and beforehand full five years' pay.

I do not know whether Your Reverence[1] will believe me, but I protest that I do not exaggerate in the least, and that I tell only what I have seen with my own eyes. No sooner had the Chinese come to Tibet the second time, than the whole of that kingdom, vast as it is, was in a very short time so abundantly supplied with silver that the metal became most common among the people, insomuch that it was necessary to forbid its being accepted for buying and selling. The said silver (as

[1] The General of the Society of Jesus ?

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is the custom in China) was not minted money, but pure, unalloyed silver and in pieces of three sorts, big, middling and small. At much risk and expense, the Tibetans sent this silver from Lhasà to Nepal, a journey of three months to and fro, to have it exchanged against the minted money, of the three petty chiefs ruling over the entire kingdom of Nepal. These, without taking any interest or discount, exchanged their usual money against an equal weight of the said silver, and (P. 355) each one of them, especially the petty king of Kadmandù, made a profit of several millions by the exchange.

The wise Emperor's chief aim in sending that army was not to repress violently the boldness of the Giongars, but to alienate from them and conciliate to himself the minds of the Tibetans. To effect his design, he could not find a better means or one more efficacious with those people than policy, even though he did not relish choosing this means. As I have said above, some had already spread throughout Tibet the news that their venerated Grand Lamà, whom king Cinghes-khang had caused to be put to death, had been reborn at a place not very far from Sining, in the dominions of China. For a long time these credulous and superstitious people were longing for the return of their Grand Lamà, who hitherto had been well guarded in a safe fortress by the guards of the Emperor of China. Entreaties, artifices, violence, conspiracies on the part of the Tibetans, all had been useless towards recovering and replacing on the throne their reborn Lamà. What then did the Emperor of China? He drew forth from that fortress the supposed reincarnation of the Lamà, and sent him to Tibet with the second army. At the same time he addressed edicts to all the Lamàs and Religious, to all the Governors of Tibet and their subjects, announcing to them the arrival of the longed-for body; if they had the heart to take up arms and fight him, they could join the ranks of the deceitful Giongars; but, if in the young man he sent them they acknowledged and revered their Grand Lamà, they should, at the approach of the troops now on their way to restore him to his throne, obey the orders which the ministers and officers of the Emperor of China would give them.

This second Chinese army did not, like the first, come by way of the said eastern desert; it took the other road of which I have spoken above. It came in good order and slowly; and everywhere people bowed and submitted to the orders of the Emperor of China. In virtue of these orders, suddenly and almost at the same time the whole of Tibet flew to arms; and, from the boys of twelve years upward, there was not a man, old or infirm though he was, who was not obliged to serve as a soldier. During those months I was in the province of Takpo-kier, at a place called Trong-gnee, and for greater safety's sake I had retired to the palace of the governor of the said province,

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who was a religious: he too was obliged to start for the army, leaving a substitute. In the evening of the 28th of September, (P. 356) 1720, a little after sundown, I received from a general of the militia of those provinces the order to present myself the next day at his camp, with arms, a horse, a pack-mule and two persons in my service, armed likewise, and on foot; in case I transgressed his orders, the penalty was death. My quality and authority of Lamà was of no avail; for all the different Lamàs of Tibet received similar orders and were threatened with the like penalty. Your Reverence can well imagine how I was taken aback by so peremptory an order. Seeing my consternation, the good Vice-Governor, an old man of great authority, and somewhat related to the said general, consoled me and let me hope that, thanks to his interposition, he would be able to save me from my troublesome predicament. In fact, he set out, and, arriving the next morning at the said general's tent, he pleaded so well in my favour that they sent me with all speed counter-orders, excuses and compliments.

Though, on that occasion, all the Tibetans were armed, all were not called upon to join the Chinese army; only some were called up, but the others were told off to different places to block all the passes in every direction, not only at the extremities of the kingdom, but at the frontiers of each separate province. Thus every outlet was cut off against the Giongars and every means of escape taken from them.

Instead of losing heart, the Giongars, roused and maddened more than ever by their innate boldness, ran to meet the army of their enemies, and, while these thought themselves secure, in the silence and darkness of the night, they fell upon them unexpectedly and butchered many thousands of poor Chinese. The blood of their enemies roused the Giongars to still greater frenzy; the next night, they returned to the attack with such resolution and dash that they doubled the slaughter. The third night, they attacked again, and this time they turned their efforts to the side where was the Grand Lamà. All around him stood the chief captains and such vast number of Tartars that by themselves they consitituted a formidable host. Eager to penetrate up to the Grand Lamà, the Giongars, made such a nimble and violent onrush and started again such a massacre among their enemies that, their weapons blunted and rendered useless by the long and continued striking and killing, they judged that the fight wearied them more than it harmed and dismayed the Chinese. (P. 357)

Such is precisely the object of the Chinese when they form their enormous armies, composed for the greater part of persons who by their age and weakness seem to be a hindrance rather than a help. China being exceedingly populous and prolific, it matters little to her if in a few battles she loses many thousands of men; nay, she manages to derive considerable profit from the

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loss itself. In a word, their object in letting the enemy revel in such a slaughter is that in the end they may be utterly tired out and be already in great part defeated by sheer weakness. Then they bring out the most considerable and most stalwart portion of their army, attack their worn-out enemies and have no difficulty in gaining the hoped-for victory.

It is exactly what happened this time, too. On the fourth day, the Chinese did not wait for the Giongars to attack them; they forestalled them. When it grew dark, lights and fires were lit in all the tents and pavilions of the Chinese camp, to let the enemy know that they were watching, and to make them distinguish the said pavilions, whose occupants, besides, had been almost entirely wiped out. Meanwhile, the Tibetans of China and of Lower Tartary, under cover of the darkness, divided into three big divisions. The first remained where it was, to guard and defend the Grand Lamà; the second took up its position in front of the camp, facing the enemy; but this time the Chinese were sent to the rear of the camp and distributed among the tents and pavilions; the third division, issued from the camp in great silence, and after a long detour, stationed itself at the back of the enemies. Then, at a given signal, they suddenly assailed the Giongars, who now plainly saw the difference between those whom they had fought the previous nights and those whom they were fated to contend against this time. The fight raged most fiercely. In the end, reduced to a handful, the Giongars, the arrogant usurpers of Tibet, and their general-in-chief, Gè-ring-ton-drup, were shamefully routed, and the paltry remnant of their forces made for the western desert. Gè-ring-ton-drup did not venture, however, to push on towards Cartoa, where he knew that the redoubted Targum-tree scij yet was; he struck northwards, a prey to despair, utter spite and no less shame, and tried to cross the impassable barrier of mountains which on that side are the abode of everlasting horror. The rumour is that, among those wastes, than which none more horrible are to be found on earth, he whose inhuman cruelty had filled such vast kingdom with terror and carnage ended his career. (P. 358)

After awful catastrophes which had lasted nearly twenty years, the victory of October 1720 secured to the Emperor of China the absolute dominion over the whole of this third Tibet or Bhutan. It is at present governed by him, and it is thought that it will remain subject, for many centuries and without opposition, to his mighty power.

I shall not speak of the great festivities celebrated everywhere, and especially at Lhasà, in honour of the Chinese who had re-instated on the throne of the Potalà the much longed-for Lamà. I shall not enlarge on the great moderation shown by their victorious army. For brevity's sake, I omit these and many other things which would well be worth recording.

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I shall say only what helps to show that the intention which the most wise Emperor of China, pursued in that enterprise of the conquest of Tibet was merely to vindicate the death of king Cinghes-khang and of his cruelly betrayed family.

I said above that the city of Lhasà was taken by the Giongars, not by force of arms, but by the secret machinations of some, partly seculars and partly Lamàs, traitors to king Cinghes-khang, who opened the gates of the city and helped with ladders the said Giongars. I said also that the Debâ Tâzê, with horrible treachery, had surrendered to the power of the Giongars his fugitive guests namely the king's second son, the Viceroy Targum-tree-scij, and general Ton-drup-çe-ring. After the final victory of the Chinese, the traitors were cast into different prisons, and by decree of the Emperor were condemned to die a shameful death in public. Many influential persons, the Grand Lamà included, made every endeavour to obtain the pardon of the culprits; but to no purpose. They were dragged out of their prisons and led, bare-footed, bare-headed and manacled, to the place of execution. In front and behind marched long lines of Chinese and of Tartars from China, and in the centre came, filthy, and covered with shame, the execrated traitors. In this way were they conducted first round the magnificent idol-temple, called in that language Lha-brang, or the Palace of the Lhas; next, throughout the public streets of the city; finally, to the place reserved for the execution of the death-sentence. The Lamàs were beheaded by the executioner; the Debâ-Tâzê and the rest were shamefully tortured and pierced with arrows, until they expired miserably (ff. 63v–80v).

## II.

(P. 359). It is good to know that, although the barbarous and ambitious king of independent Upper Tartary had no other intention than to extend his dominions and treacherously to take possession of the kingdom of Tibet and the immense treasures which he knew it contained, yet he did not conceive or plan the enterprise, but was pushed to it, dragged into it, by the urgent solicitations of others.

For a long time the religious, called Ubàs (*Uba*), those of the yellow cap, had nursed in their heart hatred against the religious dedicated to the worship of Urghien; but, fierce and uncontrollable as was their long-standing rancour, the flame of it smouldered silently. It burst forth when king Cinghes-khang, justly condemning to death the Grand Lamà, the special chief of the Ubàs and their great protector, freed Tibet of the pestilential contagion with which the said Grand Lamà's unbridled lust and pernicious dissoluteness infected the Kingdom. Then the Ubàs, seeing on the one hand that they were without a chief and had no hope of soon getting one, on the other that

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their antagonists were not only unscathed but under a chief, and increased daily in power, wealth and repute, could no longer repress within their hearts the flame of jealousy and hatred. It blazed forth so violently that nothing now would extinguish it. At first, they tried to give vent to their wrath in private meetings; in conversations with private persons, at the court of Tibet itself, nay at the court of China too; then, bands after bands of them went to Upper Tartary, and there with shouts and cries they lamented their lot and asked for help and succour from those people. Turning to the King, they spoke to him thus: 'Since religion groans under violence and oppression, it is just, Sire, that you should protect and vindicate it. What war so just as that which aims at repressing the tyranny of a sacrilegious king and at protecting holiness, the most revered and venerable, yet impiously ill-used? What enterprise more glorious than that can prince like you wish for? The victory is sure; and the advantages to accrue from it are immense.' 'And,' added they, 'if our words do not move you, the Grand Lamà himself, now a prisoner in an impregnable strong hold, joins his prayers to ours, and your reward will be the best that can be coveted, the gratitude of him who sees prostrate at his feet, not only entire peoples, but princes and kings. As long as a reward so unexampled, so worthy of envy lies within your reach, of what use is it (P. 360) to remind your magnanimous self of the rich spoils, the immense hoards of gold and silver which the conquest of Tibet will secure to you? A few of your troops suffice; we ourselves, religious though we are, shall take up arms, everyone of us, to fight for the cause which we came from so far to plead before you.'

The Tartar king let himself be persuaded by such honeyed words and such rosy prospects. Now, the moment the Ubàs felt themselves patronised by that sovereign and supported by his troops, they grew bold and chose as their commander one Gè-ring-ton-drup, who had fromerly been a Religious among the Ubàs; as their second commander they chose another, who yet retained the name and habit of a Religious. Under such chiefs they advanced impetuously against Tibet, killing, massacring, destroying and robbing. In the houses, they broke into a thousand pieces the statues of Urghien, threw into the flames the books dedicated to him and forbade his cult under pain of confiscation. After the houses they attacked the temples, destroying all those where Urghien was worshipped and plundering their contents. In those temples they quartered their troops and stabled their horses; others they demolished or burned down. The same fate overtook the convents and places of pilgrimage consecrated to Urghien, large numbers of their inmates, monks and nuns, being tortured and slain. All over Tibet, finally, there were massacres of every sort, from which neither age nor sex nor condition offered any protection. (*ff.* 187*r*–192*r*).

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## III.

(P. 313). The religious in Tibet are of the two kinds: those of the first class are the religious of the yellow cap, whose chief is the Grand Lamà of the Potalà. The others, of the second class, are the religious of the red cap, who, though acknowledging for supreme chief of their sect and religion the Grand Lamà of the Potalà, have nevertheless for the immediate and special chief of their class that Grand Lamà of whom I said above that he has his residence on that great mountain in the province of Takpo.

The religious of the yellow cap are devoted exclusively to Sciakkia Thubbà, inasmuch as they recognize him as the founder of their class. Though the religious of the red cap venerate Sciakkia Thubbà as their universal lawgiver, they are specially addicted to Urghien as to the founder of their class, and they make profession to be specially devoted to his cult, veneration and imitation, having some special rites, which they have not in common with other religious. These religious of the red cap are less numerous than the others, but universally in Tibet they are more esteemed and revered, because they observe greater retirement, and also because, at least exteriorly, they are more edifying. Incredible and inexplicable is the implacable jealousy and hatred which the religious of the first class have for those of the second. (*f.* 117*v*).

The enmity between the two sects is not confined to an internal rancour; it also bursts forth at times into violent (P. 314) persecutions, which bring not only ruin and almost extermination on the rival religious, but ruin and extermination on the whole wretched kingdom of Tibet, as I myself witnessed.

One should know that during the time I was in Tibet, the cruel usurper of that country, Gè-ring-ton-drup, was a religious of the yellow cap, who had made his studies in the great convent and university of Giegazze. Two other Captains, chief commandants of his army, were also religious of the yellow cap, and a great part of the soldiers composing it were also of that kind. Hardly had this army appeared in the neighbourhood of Lhasa, when presently all the religious of Serà, Breebung, and of other convents of that sect ran in arms. No sooner had they made themselves masters of Lhasa and of Tibet, than it was shown that their intention was not to replace the Grand Lamà on the throne of the Potalà, but to give vent to the rage they felt against their rivals, that is, of the red cap. Before, while they marched on Lhasa, they gave to understand that they brought with them from China the pretended and longed-for Grand Lamà, to place him in the post befitting him; that was false; for, not only did they not think of reconducting the Grand Lamà from China to Tibet, but, when the Chinese themselves came to bring him back, they were strongly opposed, preventing him from setting

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foot again on the soil of Tibet. From the first day when they took possession of Tibet to their last defeat, that is, from the first of December 1717 up to about the end of the month of October 1720, they hardly did anything else than with pitiless butcherings give vent to their fury against the religious of the other rival sect, and against whatever might have any connection with them. They sacked and destroyed convents; the richest and most esteemed Lamàs were either killed miserably, or forced to save their lives by flight; fugitive and despoiled of everything, they sought refuge in dark, impenetrable caverns. Not without compassion, and not without tears, did I succour in his flight the Lama of *Lungar*,[1] wretched fugitive, who with difficulty had escaped from the hands of the barbarous persecutors. He was (P. 315) a very fat man, very affable and courteous, of excellent nature, lord of a great fief, abounding in wealth, powerful by his kinship with great and very conspicuous families, and universally much loved and respected. He had a very great friendship with me; and on the occasion that I was during the space of two years in the province of Takpò, he invited me frequently to spend two or three days in his company; and, as he was very liberal, he had many and many times offered me ample gifts, chiefly of gold in quantity, which I always refused to accept.

In their mad fury they broke the statues of Urghien, burnt his images and books, as many as with minute search they could find. They forbade under pain of death to retain and keep any of his statues, books and images, and strictly forbade to all the Tibetans to recite any prayer to the said Urghien and to invoke him in any manner. It is true, however, that afterwards the Chinese replaced everything as it was in the time of king Cinghes-khang, and before the arrival in Tibet of its fatal usurpers, the barbarian Giongars. (*fols.* 117*v*–118*r*).[2]

20. Desideri's dates in Puini and in our letters. (P.= Puini; W.=Wessels.)

1684. Dec. 21. Birth of D. at Pistoia (W. 207).
1700. April 27. Enters Society of Jesus (W. 207).

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[1] 'The palace and convent of Lungar, the head of which is one of those Lamàs who are allowed to take a wife in order to obtain an heir, is situated on a strong cliff, which on three sides is entirely surrounded by water, and on the other side is joined by a fine and magnificent ascent to the land, and finally ends on the public road. On this side, on the said ascent is the sumptuous entrance to the palace and the convent. On another side, there is (*P. 315*) a secret door, hidden and known to a very few only, which by a rapid descent goes to join the foot of the cliff and the bank of the water.' (Note by Desideri.) Puini, 314-315.—Lungar is also mentioned in passing in Puini, 299.

[2] Puini, 313–315.

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1707. | | Arrival of the Capuchins at Lhasa (1707), as in Wessels (p. 223), quoting Georgi, and protesting against 1708. The exact date is June 12, 1707, not June 19. |
| 1711. | | Departure of the Capuchins from Lhasa (Letter 15). |
| 1712. | Aug. 28. | Ordained Priest (W. 207). |
| | Sept. 27. | Leaves Rome for Lisbon, via Florence, Pistoia, Livorno (P. 5). |
| | Oct. 22. | Embarks at Livorno (P. 5). |
| | Oct. 31. | Arrives at Genoa (P. 5). |
| | Nov. 23. | Embarks at Genoa (P. 5). |
| 1713. | Middle of March. | Arrives at Lisbon (P. 5). |
| | April 7. | Embarks at Lisbon (P. 5); April 6 (W. 207). |
| | July 25. | Arrives at Mozambique (P. 5). |
| | Aug. 17. | Leaves Mozambique (P. 5). |
| | Aug. 27. | Arrives at Goa (P. 5). |
| | Nov. 12. | Letter to the General. (Letter No. 1.) |
| | Nov. 15. | Do. (Letter No. 2.) |
| | Nov. 17. | Embarks at Goa (P. 5); Nov. 21 (P. 361). |
| | Dec. 7. | Disembarks at Bassein (P. 6). |
| | Dec. 21. | Arrives from Bassein on foot at Daman; falls ill the same day (P. 6). |
| | Dec. 30. | Letter to the General, Surat (!). Letter No. 4. |
| 1714. | Jan. 1. | Leaves Daman (P. 6). |
| | Jan. 4. | Arrives at Surat (P. 6. 361). |
| | March 25. | Leaves Surat for Delhi (P. 6); 26 March (P. 361). |
| | May 11. | Arrives at Delhi (P. 6. 361), 10 days later goes to Agra, a 7 days' journey. |
| | Aug. 15(?) | Receives at Agra from the Visitor, Fr. Joseph da Sylva, letters-patent for Tibet (Letter 5). |
| | Aug. 17. | Receives from Fr. Man. Freyre, a letter from Delhi (Letter 5). |
| | Aug. 21. | Writes Letter 5 from Agra to Fr. Piccolomini. |
| | End of Aug. | Leaves for Delhi (P. 6). |
| | Sept. 23. | Leaves Delhi for Lahore (P. 6. 361); Sept. 24 (W. 211. 273). |
| | Oct. 9. | Arr. at Lahore (P. 6); Oct. 10 (P. 361). |
| | Oct. 19 | Leaves Lahore (P. 6. 361). |
| | Oct. 28. | Leaves the town of Little Gujrât (P. 6). |
| | Nov. 13. | Arr. at Srinagar, Kashmir (P. 6); Nov. 12 (P. 362); Nov. 13 (W. 273). |
| | About Christmas. | Falls ill (P. 362). The Procurator General of the Capuchins or the Pope writes a letter to an infidel King in 1714 (Letter 15). |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1715. | February. | Almost dying (P. 362). |
| | May 17. | Leaves Srinagar (P. 6. 26. 362; W. 273). |
| | May 29. | Fall of snow (P. 363); up to the evening they were within Kashmir territory (P. 26). |
| | May 30. | Enters Baltistan, after crossing Mt. Kantel (P. 6. 25. 363); in the morning begins the ascent of Mt. Kantel; in the evening is at the foot on the other side, in Baltistan (P. 28). Cf. Letter 15. |
| | May 31. | Fall of snow (P. 363). |
| | June 26. | Arrives at Leh (P. 6. 11. 25. 29); June 25 (P. 364); June 26 (Letter 15; W. 273). |
| | June 28. | Interview with the Lampo or Prime Minister (Letter 8). |
| | June 29. | Invited to visit the King (P. 367). |
| | July 2. | 1st Interview with the King (Letter 8). |
| | July 4. | 2nd Interview with the King (P. 367, and Letter 8). |
| | July 5. | 4th meal 'sent' by the King (P. 367). |
| | July 6. | Interview with the Chief Lama (P. 367, and Letter 8). |
| | July 8. | 3rd Interview with the King (P. 367, and Letter 8). |
| | July 9. | 2nd Interview with the Lampo (P. 367). |
| | Aug. 5. | Letter to the General from Leh, *i.e.* Letter 7 (P. 370). |
| | Aug. 27. | Leaves Leh (P. 11); Aug. 17 (P. 25. 32; W. 273). |
| | Sept. 7. | Proceeds towards the populations of this Kingdom (Ladakh) (P. 11). |
| | Sept. 17. | Arrival at Trescij-khang (Tashigong) (P. 25), till the evening of Sept. 7, when they arrived at Trescij-khang, travelled in Ladakh territory (P. 32. 33. 373); entered third Tibet on Sept. 7 (Letter 15). |
| | Oct. 9. | Leaves Trescij-khang, last town of Ladakh (P. 11. 43); meets Tartar Princess (W. 216). |
| | Oct. 11. | Meets Tartar Princess and travels in her company (P. 12); 9 Oct. (P. 12 n. 1). Arrives at Cartoa (P. 43); arrival at Gartok, Oct. 11 (W. 216). |
| | After the middle of October. | Leaves Cartoa, *i.e.* Gartok (P. 44). |
| | Nov. 9. | Arrives at the highest mountain of the Ngnari Giongar (Mt. Kailash) (P. 44). |
| | Nov. 10 (about). | Arrives at the highest mountain of Ngari (P. 12). |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Dec. 1. | At a level place, freer from snow, called Toscia (P. 44). |
| 1716. | Jan. 4. | Arrives at the first populations of the third Tibet (P. 12). Arrives at Serchia (P. 47). |
| | Jan. 28. | Leaves Serchia (P. 12. 47), goes via Serchia and Gjegazze (P. 47). |
| | March 18. | Arrives at Lhasa (P. 13. 50. 373; Letter 15; W. 273). |
| | Some days later. | Interview with Ten-drup-çê-ring, the King's generalissimo (P. 62. 63). |
| | April 10. | Writes to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi; Letter No. 8. |
| | April 28. | Interview with one of the King's familiars (P. 63). |
| | April 29. | Interview with the King (Letter 15). |
| | May 1. | Do. (*ibid.*); is authorized to buy a house (W. 224). |
| | July (end of). | Writes to the General via Goa and Portugal of his journey up to Lhasa (P. 370) and to the unknown correspondent to whom he wrote the letter of Lhasa, Febr. 13, 1717, published by Zaccuria (cf. our No. 26). |
| | Aug. 9. | Interview with the Generalissimo (P. 371); Aug. 10 (Letter 15). The interview lasted 23 hours (P. 371). |
| | June–Aug. | Writes in Italian two little books of religion (P. 372; Letter 15). |
| | Sept. 8. | Begins translating into Tibetan verse his booklet on the one way of salvation (P. 372). |
| | Oct. 1. | Arrival of three Capuchins at Lhasa; Desideri gives them hospitality in his room (P. 372); his lodgings were near the great square, almost on the famous Khora road, on the south side (P. 180). |
| | Oct. 4. | The Capuchins say Mass in Desideri's room; feast of St. Francis of Assisi (P. 372-373). |
| | Oct. (about middle of) | The Capuchins take rooms near Desideri's, in the same house (P. 372). |
| | Nov. (end). | Finishes the Tibetan translation of his first booklet (P. 374). |
| | Dec. | Revises the translation of his first booklet and has it copied neatly (P. 64. 374). |
| | Dec. 4. | Goes to the King's Palace with the 3 Capuchins, and presents the Pope's letter which he had translated into Tibetan (P. 375). |

Studied in 1716 the Prophecies of Urghien (Lungten: Lung.bstan.pa) and the Life of

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Urghien (P. 247). The 1st prophecy, that the Tartars of Lower Tartary would take Tibet was fulfilled before Desideri's arrival, in that Cinghes-Khang had taken it; the 2nd, that those of the other Tartary would invade Tibet, came true in 1717; the 3rd, that these latter would despoil Tibet and send its treasures to their country, was fulfilled in 1717 and 1718; the 4th, that they would kill Lamas and destroy temples and convents, was verified in 1718–21; the 5th, that Cinghes-Khang, pointed out by name, would be killed and his family destroyed, came true in 1717 and 1719; the 6th, that the Chinese would take Tibet, happened in 1719 and 1721 (P. 248).

1717. Jan. 6. Goes to audience at the Royal Palace with the 3 Capuchins, and presents his book (P. 374).

Febr. 13. Writes a letter to the Pope (cf. our section 28); also the letter to an unknown correspondent which Zaccuria published (cf. our section No. 27).

Febr. 15. Writes to the General from Lhasa (P. 276); says that he has been somewhat unwell for nearly a month; in March, he hopes to resume his Tibetan studies and to work at a Catechism, a Grammar and a Dictionary, and to translate his second booklet (P. 276). Has written 11 letters to the Provincial of Goa and the Rector of Agra since April 1716 (P. 376); sends a letter to the Pope.

Febr. Writes a letter to the Pope, to the General, Cardinal Tolomei, and Count (?) Fedri (?). Cf. Letter 15.

March 25–end of July. Lives at the Monastery of Ramo-cce (W. 224; P. 64).

May (beginning). Three chief Chinese ambassadors arrived at Lhasa, with a Vakil and other officials. Their servants applied for medicines to Fr. Domenico of Fano, a physician, at Lhasa. They were treated till the end of May, and knew the Fathers for Europeans (P. 379).

June (beginning). Desideri and Fr. Orazio della Penna who were studying Tibetan in a convent meet one of the Chinese ambassadors, to whom they say they are Europeans (P. 379).

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Two days later, Desideri visits the first and the second Ambassadors. The next day Desideri and the two Capuchins, Domenico and Orazio, go to the two Ambassadors; their names and professions and abilities are written down; the same is done for a Capuchin at Takpo, and two others on their way to Lhasa; the three were: Fr. John Francis (of Fossombrone), physician (Takpo ?), Fr. Angelico (of Brescia), physician, Fr. Bonaventure (of Pedona), student of the Tibetan books. The Chinese wanted the Fathers to go to Pekin; all refused, and king Cinghes-Khang decided to leave them in peace.

July 1. Date on Desideri's Tibetan MS. of pp. 54 (W. 274).

Aug. Moves to the University of Sera (W. 224; P. 64).

Nov. 21. The Tartars of High Tartary camp before Lhasa (P. 345).

Nov. 30. After midnight, they assail Lhasa (P. 346). Desideri was then living at the University of Sera (P. 347).

Dec. 3. They attack the Potala. King Cinghes-Khang is killed while in flight (P. 347).

Dec. 8. Date on the first page of his Tibetan MS. of 117 large oblong pages (W. 275).

Dec. Stay at Trong-gneê, in the Province of Takpo-Khier (W. 273).

1718. March 12. Writes from Takpo to Fr. Felice of Montecchio (P. 377): has news that Jesuits will be sent to Tibet in Nov. 1717.

March. Writes to the General (from Takpo ?) that, being the only Jesuit in Tibet, he cannot make his Profession (Letter 15).

June 21. Date on last page of his Tibetan MS. of 117 large oblong pages (W. 275).

June 24. Opening date on his Tibetan MS. of 704 oblong pages (W. 275).

Aug. 4. Writes from Takpo to Fr. Felice of Montecchio, Patna, in answer to his letter of Dec. 23, 1717, what happened at Lhasa to himself and the Capuchins in June 1717.

Sept. Receives the General's answer to his letters from Goa (Letter 15).

Received a small subsidy from Agra in 1718 (Letter 15).

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1719. | | The town of Jegaçe (Shigatze), much damaged by the Giongars, is rebuilt, renewed and enlarged (P. 50). |
| | | The Emperor of China sends an army from Sining in 1719, which is destroyed at Dam (P. 353-354). |
| | Dec. 21. | Has seen order of Propaganda (Dec. 12, 1718 ?) at Lhasa; writes from Lhasa to the General, and sends an appeal to the Pope, and the Propaganda. |
| 1720. | | Another Chinese army is sent to Lhasa via Takpo-khier, where Desideri then was at Trong-gnee (P. 355). |
| | Sept. 28. | Desideri is told to join the army; but is begged off by the Lama Governor (P. 355-356). |
| | Oct. | The Giongars destroyed, Lhasa and Tibet pass into the power of the Chinese (P. 358). |
| | | From Dec. 1, 1717, till about the end of Oct. 1720, the monks of the yellow cap, helped by the Giongars, persecute fiercely the monks of the red cap, followers of Urghien, killing them and destroying their temples and convents (P. 314). |
| 1721. | Jan. | Receives at Takpo the General's order (Jan. 16, 1719) recalling him from Tibet (Letter 15). |
| | April 4. | Leaves Takpo (Letter 15). |
| | April 14. | Arrives at Lhasa (Letter 15); Apr. 16 (P. 8; W. 269. 273). |
| | April 21. | Sees at the Capuchin Hospice of Lhasa the Decree of Propaganda telling him to leave Tibet (P. 82). |
| | April 28. | Leaves Lhasa for Kuti with Fr. Giuseppe Felice of Morro di Jesi, Capuchin; travels by Ghiangh-ze, and did not meet Fr. Felice of Montecchio (Patna, 1708–21) who was going to Lhasa by the Giegazzê route (P. 82; W. 273). |
| | May 30. | Arrives at Kuti (P. 86; W. 273); Fr. Felice da Morro goes to Nepal, and dies of the influenza raging at Khatmandu (P. 87). |
| | June 29. | Date on last page of Desideri's Tibet MS. of 54 pp. (W. 274). |
| | Sept. 21. | Writes a letter to the General from Kuti (Letter 15). |
| | | Writes a letter to the Pope from Kuti (Letter 16). |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Oct. 5. | Writes a letter to the General from Kuti (Letter 17). |
| | Dec. 14. | Leaves for Nepal with Fr. Felice of Montecchio, back from Lhasa (P. 9. 27); Dec. 27 (W. 273). Travels by Nesti (P. 87). |
| | Dec. 27. | Arrives at night at the Capuchin Hospice of Khatmandu (P. 9. 88). |
| 1722. | Jan. 14. | Leaves Khatmandu for Bhatgaon (P. 9. 16). |
| | Jan. 20. | Leaves Bhatgaon (P. 16). |
| | Febr. 6. | Arrives at Patna (P. 9. 15). |
| | March 19. | Writes a letter to Fr. Felix of Montecchio, ex-Prefect, then at Patna, whom in another paper he summons to answer his grievances at the Pope's tribunal. |
| | March 23. | Leaves Patna (P. 9). |
| | March 31. | Arrives at Benares (P. 9). |
| | April 20. | Arrives at Agra (P. 9); April 22 (W. 273). |
| | Sept. | Arrives at Delhi (P. 9); stays there till 1725 (W. 271). |
| 1725. | Nov. 21. | Leaves Patna (P. 9). |
| | Dec. 20. | Arrives at Chandernagore (P. 9). |
| 1726. | Jan. 10. | Arrives at Pondicherry (P. 9). |
| | Dec. (middle of). | Leaves Mylapore for Pondicherry (P. 10). |
| | Dec. 23. | Arrives at Pondicherry. |
| 1727. | Jan. 21. | Embarks at Pondicherry for Europe (P. 10). |
| | Febr. (end of). | Arrives Mauritius (P. 10). |
| | March (beginning of). | Arrives at St. Denis, in the Island of Bourbon (P. 10). |
| | April 12. | Passes the Cape of Good Hope (P. 10). |
| | April (end of). | Passes before St. Helena (P. 10). |
| | May. | Ascension Island. |
| | June 11. | Arrives at Fort St. Pierre, Martinique (P. 10). |
| | June 22. | Re-embarks (P. 10). |
| | Aug. 11. | Arrives at Port Louis in Brittany (P. 10). |
| | Sept. 12. | Paris (P. 10). |
| | Oct. (middle of) | Embarks at Marseilles for Genoa (P. 10). |
| | Nov. 4. | Pistoia (P. 10). |
| | Dec. 11. | Florence (P. 10). |
| | Dec. 23. | Rome; Jan. 23, 1728 (W. 271. 273). |
| 1728. | June 22. | Finishes his *Notizie Istoriche* (W. 279; title-page dated 1733). |
| 1733. | April 14. | Death at Rome (W. 271). |

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## 21. An Article on Fr. Desideri by Prof. Carlo Puini (1895).

*Di alcuni lettere inedite ò ignorate del P. Ippolito Desideri d. C.d.G., Missionario nel Tibet.*

Innanzi che l' operosità di geografi e viaggiatori insigni di questi ultimi tempi si fosse rivolta verso quell'immenso altipiano chiuso del Kuen-lun e l' Imalaia, le conoscenze che si avevano del Tibet erano assai scarse, e dovuti a pochissimi. 'Le plus clair de nos renseignements sur l' intérieur de la région tibétaine, scrivera Vivien de Saint-Martin nel 1873, c'est aux missionaries que nous le devons, au P. della Penna notamment et surtout à Messieurs Huc et Gabet.' Ma, è noto, un viaggio molto più importante era stato fatto colà centotrent' anni prima dei due missionari francesi, da un nostro missionario pistoiese, il P. Ippolito Desideri; il quale inoltre fecevi un soggiorno di oltre dieci anni. I viaggiatori che si sono portati verso quella regione, non fecero, per molto tempo, che girare intorno al Tibet per ogni lato, varcandone appena quà e là i confini. Samuele Turner, tra gl' inglesi, fu quello che più vi s' interno nel 1783, ma dovette fermarsi al sud dello Thsang-po: e il Dr. Hoocker e il Campbell si spinsero appena oltre il Tikhim.

*Of some unpublished or unknown letters of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, of the Company of Jesus, a Missionary in Tibet.*

Before the activity of the geographers and great travellers of modern times was turned towards the immense closed table-land of the Kuen-lun and the Himalayas, the knowledge we had of Tibet was very small, and was due to a very few. 'Le plus clair de nos renseignements sur l' intérieur de la région tibétaine,' wrote Vivien de Saint-Martin in 1873, 'c'est aux missionaries que nous le devons, au P. della Penna notamment et surtout à Messieurs Huc et Gabet'. But, as is known, 130 years earlier than the two French Missionaries, a much more important journey had been made there by a Missionary of ours, Fr. Ippolito Desideri, of Pistoia, who moreover stayed there more than ten years.[1] For a long time the travellers who went towards Tibet did nothing more than turn around it from every side, and hardly crossed its frontiers here and there. Among Englishmen, Samuel Turner is the one who stayed there longest, in 1783; but he had to remain south of the Thsangpo. As for Dr. Hoocker[2] and Campbell, they scarcely pushed beyond Tikhim.[3]

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[1] Puini writes under the impression formerly shared by so many that Desideri stayed in Tibet till his return to Europe. He was in Tibet from 1716 to the end of 1721.

[2] Read: Hooker.

[3] Read: Sikkim.

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Il Desideri è quegli, tra gli antiche e odierni viaggiatori che ha percorso più gran plarte del Tibet, e che si è più lungamente trattenuto in mezzo a quelle genti.[1] Egli era perciò da aspettarsi da lui meglio che dagli altri, maggiori e distesi ragguagli del paese; egli era da aspettarsi dagli studiosi della geografia, della linguistica, della storia e delle religioni, specie del Buddhismo, un validissimo aiuto. Ma non fu cosi. Mentre le lettere, le relazioni, le notizie inviate a Roma dal P. Orazio della Penna (o Pennabilli, o Penna di Billi, della provincia di Macerata), nominato di sopra, e di Christiano Belligatti, altro cappuccino suo compagno di missione, furono almeno messe a profitto dal P Antonio Giorgi, per compilare quel suo grosso ed indigesto volume, a cui dette il titolo di *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (Roma, 1762); degli scritti del Des ideri, niuno s'avvantaggiò. Vero è che il Collegio di Propaganda non ebbe quasi nulla di lui; o almeno nen ha quasi nulla a' dì d' oggi. Di cose edite non si conosce del nostro pistoiese che una lettera, nelle *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (t. XV, pag. 183; ediz. Aimé-Martin, T. III, pag. 519), un' altra nella *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis* della

Desideri is the one who traversed a greater part of Tibet than any ancient and modern traveller; he also sojourned longer than any other among its people.[1] From him therefore, more than from the rest, were to be expected greater and (more) detailed accounts of the country; from him had the students of geography, linguistics, history and religions, in particular Buddhism, to expect valuable help. But it was not so. The letters, relations, and informations sent to Rome by the abovementioned Fr. Orazio della Penna (or Pennabilli, or Penna di Billi, of the Province of Macerata), and of Christiano[2] Belligatti, other Capuchin, his companion in the Mission, were at least utilised by Fr. Antonio Georgi for compiling that large, undigested volume of his to which he gave the title of *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (Rome, 1762); but no one took advantage of the writings of Desideri. It is true that the College of Propaganda had almost nothing of his; at any rate, it has almost nothing nowadays. Of published things by our Pistoia countryman there is known only a letter in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (t. XV, p. 183; edn. Aimé-Martin, T. III, p.

[1] Il P. Antonio Andrade, portoghese, nel 1624 percorse in parte la strada del Desideri, ma non s'interno tant' oltre nel Tibet, quanto quest' ultimo.

[1] In 1624, Fr. Antonio Andrade, a Portuguese, did part of the journey of Desideri, but he did not penetrate into Tibet as far as the latter.

[1] Fr. Orazio della Penna was at Lhasa in 1716–32, and 1741–47. No other Missionary is known to have been so long at Lhasa or in Tibet.
[2] Read: Cassiano Beligatti.

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यह पुस्तक विक्रय न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED



Zaccaria, e una breve notizia nel *Journal Asiatique*.[1] D' inedito, la Congregazione di Propaganda Fide non possiede che una relazione da lui fatta il 13 Febbraio 1717 e diretta al S. Padre; la quale si trova tra le 'Carte riferite delle Indie orientali e Cina', sotto quella data; e una breve lettera del Settembre 1721, diretta pure al S. Padre, dal quale impetra l' ordine di essere chiamato a Roma, per potere riferire a voce intorno a cose di gravissima importanza, riguardanti la fede. Intanto la Relazione particolareggiata del viaggio del Desideri, fatta da lui, un grosso volume in 4°. di 650 pagine, giaceva da assai tempo nella biblioteca di un colto pistoiese, raccoglitore assiduo

519);[1] another in the *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis* of Zaccaria,[2] and a brief notice in the *Journal Asiatique*.[3] Of what is unpublished, the Congregation of Propaganda Fide possesses only a relation by him, dated the 13th of February, 1717, and addressed to the Holy Father; this is found among the '*Carte riferite delle Indie orientali e Cina*', under that date; and a short letter of September, 1721, also addressed to the Holy Father, whom he begs[4] for the order of being called to Rome, in order to report on matters of very great importance concerning the faith.[5] Meanwhile, the detailed Relation of Desideri's journey, written by him, a large in 4to volume of 650

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[1] *Notes sur le Tibet par le P. Hippolyte Desideri*, recuellies par N. Delisle. *Nouv. Journ. As.*, VIII, 1831, pp. 117–121. Vedi anche Astley, *Coll. of Travels*, Vol. IV. Più tardi furono pubblicati alcuni consigli del Desideri ai missionari del Tibet, e qualche notizia bibliografica, nella *Rassegna Europea*, Giugno-Luglio 1876.

[1] *Notes sur le Tibet par le P. Hippolyte Desideri*, recuellies par N. Delisle. *Nouv. Journ. As.*, VIII, 1831, pp. 117–121. See also Astley, *Coll. of Travels*, Vol. IV. Later were published some points of advice for the Tibet Missionaries, and a bibliographical notice in the *Rassegna Europea*, June-July, 1876.—Puini (*Il Tibet*, p. XLII) gives for the last reference: *Rivista Europea*, June-July, 1876.—*H.H.*

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[1] Puini (*Il Tibet . . . secondo la relazione del Viaggio del P. Ippolito Desideri . . .* 1715–1721, Roma, 1904, p. XLII) writes that the text is also in the *Sommario*. As this text must be in Italian, it ought to be followed in future in preference to translations, which have generally had to be followed. We have ourselves no access to the *Sommario* for the English translation of this letter.

[2] Puini, *op. cit.*, p. XLII, refers to p. 185 of the *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis*.

[3] Puini, *op. cit.*, p. XLII, refers to a short writing published by Klaproth in *Journal Asiatique*, 2e serie, t. VII, 1831.

[4] Desideri refers to this writing in his letter to the General, dated Lhasa, 15th February, 1717. (Cf. Puini, *op. cit.*, 373-374.) Why did Puini not publish it in his *Il Tibet*? The letter in Zaccaria's *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis*, being also of the 13th February, 1717, appears to be the one addressed to the Pope on the same date.

[5] This letter is in Puini, *op. cit.*, p. 382-383. It is dated Kutti, Sept. 21, 1721.

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFRENCE BOOK

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d'ogni memoria che illustra la sua terra: e dopo la morte di lui, passò, insieme con l' intera collezione di manoscritti e stampe, nella Biblioteca Magliabecchiana di Firenze, dove oggi si trova.[1] Questa Relazione a spese della *Società geografica italiana*, e per cura dell' illustre geografo Prof. Marinelli, vedrà finalmente la luce.

Ogni notizia, ancorchè di minima importanza, intorno alla materia di cui alcuno si occupa, giunge pel solito sempre gradita. Periciò il mio dotto Collega non isdegnerà i seguenti appunti, dove si indicano, oltre le cose inedite del Desideri citate di sopra (una Relazione e una Lettera nel Collegio di Propaganda) altre tre Lettere del tutto ignorate dagli studiosi; o almeno di cui nessuno ha tenuto di conto; sebbene valessero certo quel poco che si cognosceva del nostro missionario. Queste lettere si trovano in un *Sommario* per una causa della S. Ruota romana. I *Sommari* contenevano i documenti, che erano nominati e citati nel processo: si stampavano a pochissimo numero di esemplari, diciotto o venti tutto al più, tanto da servire a' magistrati, giudici e avvocati, che avevano

pages, had lain a long time in the library of a learned Pistoiese, a diligent collector of every document throwing light on his country; after his death, it passed with his entire collection of manuscripts and printed works into the Biblioteca Magliabecchiana of Florence, where it is to-day. This Relation will finally see the light at the expense of the *Società geografica italiana*, through the care of Professor Marinelli, the great geographer.

Every bit of information, even of the smallest value, is always welcome when it touches matters with which we are busy. Accordingly, my learned Colleague will not disdain the following notes pointing out, in addition to the unpublished things by Desideri which we mentioned above (a Relation and a Letter in the College of Propaganda), three other Letters quite unknown to scholars; at any rate, no one took notice of them, though surely they were worth as much as the little that was known of our Missionary. These letters are found in a *Sommario* for a case laid before the Roman Rota. The *Sommari* contained the documents which were referred to and cited in the process; they were printed at a very small number of copies, eighteen or twenty at the most, having to serve

[1] Di questo MS. fu data ampia notizia in un articolo intitolato: *Di una Relazione inedita d' un viaggio al Tibet del P. Ippolito Desideri da Pistoia, scritta da lui.*

[1] An ampler review of this MS. was given in an article entitled: *Di una Relazione inedita d' un viaggio al Tibet del P. Ippolito Desideri da Pistoia, scritta da lui.*

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che fare con la causa. Terminata la causa, la più parte di questi *Sommari* passava negli studi degli avvocati, andava tra la cartaccia, così che pochissimi se ne conservano. I *Sommari* sono perciò quello che v' ha di più raro tra le cose stampate. Questo *Sommario* che contiene le Lettere del P. Desideri, apparteneva ad una causa di controversia, da decidersi forse dal Collegio di Propaganda, tra PP. Capuccini e PP. della Compagnia di Gesù, quanto al primato della fondazione della Mission tibetana. La lettera del P. Desideri, menzionata dinanzi, che si trova nell' archivio di Propaganda, fu probabilmente indirizzata al Pontefice in occasione ne di quella controversia; per sollecitare la licenza di venire in persona a dire le proprie ragioni, e difendere l' Ordine a cui apparteneva. Ecco la data e il soggetto delle Lettere contenute nel *Sommario*.

I. 'Leh nel secondo de' 3 Thibetti, 5 agosto 1715.'—Descrive il suo viaggio da Gora (Novembre 1713) alla capitale del Ladak, e il suo soggiorno nella medesima; ed è diretta al Padre Generale d.C.d.G.

II. 'Lhassa, 15 Febbraio 1717.'—Pure diretta al Padre Generale dell' Ordine. Parla dei suoi studi di lingua tibetana, e della composizione, in quella stessa lingua, di alcuni libretti

only for the magistrates, judges, and barristers who had to deal with the case. When the case was ended, the greater number of these *Sommari* passed into the offices of these barristers, and got among their waste paper, so that very few are kept. The *Sommario*, containing the Letters of Desideri belonged to a case of dispute, to be decided perhaps by the College of Propaganda, between the Capuchin Fathers and the Fathers of the Company of Jesus, regarding priority in the founding of the Tibet Mission. Desideri's letter, mentioned above, which is found in the archive of Propaganda, was probably addressed to the Sovereign Pontiff in order to solicit his permission to come and state personally his reasons and to defend the Order to which he belonged. Here then is the date and the subject of the Letters contained in the *Sommario*.

I. 'Leh, in the second of the three Tibets, 5th August, 1715.'—It describes his journey from Gora (November 1713)[1] to the Capital of Ladak, and his stay in the same; and it is addressed to the Father General of the Company of Jesus.[2]

II. 'Lhassa, 15th February, 1717.'—Also addressed to the Father General of the Order. He speaks of his studies of the Tibetan language, and of the composition in the

[1] This is in Puini, *op. cit.*, pp. 361–370.
[2] Read: Goa.

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di controversia religiosa, dove si propone di combattere il buddismo.

III. 'Scritta da Takpò nel Tibet li 4 Agosto 1718, a F. Felice da Montecchio cappucino in Pattuà nel Bohar.'—Quest' ultima è di pochissima importanza, trattandosi di gare e puntigli tra ordini religiosi.

*Prof. Carlo Puini.*

same language of some booklets of religious controversy, in which he intends combating Buddhism.[1]

III. '(Letter) written from Takpò in Tibet, the 4th August, 1718, to Friar Felice da Montecchio, Capuchin, at Pattuà in the Bohar.'[2]—This last is of very small importance, as it deals with disputes and punctilios between Religious Orders.[3]

*Prof. Carlo Puini.*

22. Desideri's *Notizie istoriche* and other Italian writings noticed by Fr. Wessels.

Fr. Wessels writes of the *Notizie istoriche* (*P.* 275):—

'MS. of 430 pp., 27 × 30 cm., in a very clear handwriting, not Desideri's.[4] It has title-page and preface, and is divided into three books, each subdivided into chapters; it seems ready for the press.

'In the preface Desideri states that at first he had no intention of publishing anything, but now does he so at the instance of others. The last page of the MS. is dated June 22, 1728, the title-page 1733; did he hesitate all these years till his sudden death in 1733 prevented the publication?

'The MS. is cited as: Desideri MS.

'Its contents are as follows:

Notizie Istoriche del Thibet
e Memorie de' Viaggi e Missione ivi fatti
dal P. Ippolito Desideri
de la Compagnia di Giesù.
Dal medesimo scritte, e dedicate
1712–1733.'

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 370–376.

[2] Read: Patna in Bihar.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 378–382. It is one of the most interesting letters now extant.—Puini, *op. cit.*, p. XLII, refers to still another letter by Desideri in the *Sommario*. It is dated Takpò, 12th March, 1718, and is addressed to Fr. Felice of Montecchio. Puini published it, *op. cit.*, pp. 376-377.

[4] I am inclined to think that the opening-page of Bk. II, appearing in Fr. Wessels' plate facing p. 276, is in Desideri's own writing. I say this after having handled a number of rotographs of Desideri's letters dated from 1713 to 1721. The writing in Fr. Wessels' plate is more slanting than in my rotographs; but Desideri's writing could undergo changes by 1728, and the changes I remark are too trivial to affect my opinion.

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(Historical accounts of Tibet and Memoirs of the Journeys and the Mission there made by Fr. Ippolito Desideri, of the Company of Jesus. Written and dedicated by the same. 1712–1733.)

We proceed by translating the subjects of the chapters.

Pp. 3–6. TO THE READER.

BOOK THE FIRST.

*Memoirs of the Journey from Rome up to Lhasa, Capital City of the third Tibet, and mission undertaken there.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Ch. I, pp. 1–4. | Departure from Rome and journey up to Lisbon. |
| Ch. II, pp. 4–10. | Voyage from Lisbon up to height of the Cape of Good Hope. |
| Ch III, pp. 10–16. | Continuation of the voyage by sea up to Mossambiche and then up to Goa. (P. 276.) |
| Ch. IV, pp. 16–28. | Departure from Goa and Journey up to the city of Delly, Capital of the Empire of the Mogol. Brief accounts of that court. |
| Ch. V, pp. 28–35. | Of the Churches and Christianity which the Company of Jesus has at Delly and of some notable Christians living there. |
| Ch. VI, pp. 35–42. | Stay in the city of Agra, and accounts of the Mission which the Company of Jesus has there. |
| Ch. VII, pp. 42–47. | Departure from Delly; arrival at Cascimir and stay in that city. Some accounts of that place. |
| Ch. VIII, pp. 47–54. | Departure from Cascimir and journey up to Lhasa, Capital of the second Tibet. |
| Ch IX, pp. 54–57. | Stay at Lhasa, Capital City of the second and Great Tibet. Departure and arrival at Trêescy-Khang. |
| Ch. X, pp. 57–69. | Journey of the Great Desert of Ngnari Giongar and help received from the company of a Tartar Princess. |
| Ch. XI, pp. 69–75. | Entering the first populations of the third and Greatest Tibet. Continuation of the journey and arrival at the Capital. Visit to the King and to the Prime Ministers. Beginning of Mission in that Kingdom. |
| Ch. XII, pp. 75–80. | Protection from the King. Help given to the same and to the Prime Minister in a certain danger. Gratitude shown by the same. Refusing their gifts and offerings. |

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Ch. XIII, pp. 80–85. First Book composed by the Author in that language and solemnly presented to the King at a public Audience.
Ch. XIV, pp. 85–88. Study of the Books and of the errors of those People.
Ch. XV, pp. 88–92. Other books composed by the Author in that language.
Ch. XVI, pp. 92–101. Account of the Mission which the Company of Jesus has had in Tibet, from its foundation up to the time of the Author. (P. 277.)

## Book the Second.

*Accounts of the Nature, Customs and Civil Government of Tibet.*

Ch. I, pp. 1–6. Limits and situation of Great Tibet.
Ch. II, pp. 6–12. Climate and fertility of the country of Tibet.
Ch. III, pp. 12–17. Of the Musk animal and of other animals which are in Tibet.
Ch. IV, pp. 17–20. Of the Rivers of Tibet and of their Boats and Bridges.
Ch. V, pp. 20–26. Of the Western Part of Tibet and of some of its Provinces and Cities.
Ch. VI, pp. 26–32. Of the City of Lhasa, Capital of Tibet, and its environs.
Ch. VII, pp. 32–35. Of the neighbourhood of Lhasa and the intermediate Provinces of this Tibet.
Ch. VIII, pp. 35–38. Of the Provinces of the Western[1] part of Tibet.
Ch. IX, pp. 38–42. Of the Dominion of Tibet which passed into the hands of the Tartars.
Ch. X, pp. 42–47. Revolutions in Tibet before its Dominion passed from the Tartars to the Chinese.
Ch. XI, pp. 47–53. Unhappy end of King Cinghes-Khang and of his Family.
Ch. XII, pp. 53–60. Of the Dominion of Tibet when it had passed from the Tartars to the Chinese.
Ch. XIII, pp. 60–68. Of the civil Government of Tibet.
Ch. XIV, pp. 68–77. Of the dress and food used in Tibet.
Ch. XV, pp. 77–83. Of the Letters and Alphabet of the Tibetans, and the ability of that People for Studies and Arts.
Ch. XVI, pp. 83–90. Of the bodily dispositions, occupations, gymnic games (*ginochi*), agriculture and inclination of the Tibetans.

[1] *Sic*? or Eastern?

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Ch. XVII, pp. 90–96. Of the marriages of the Tibetans.
Ch. XVIII, pp. 96–103. Customs of the Tibetans regarding the dead.

## Book the Third.

*Departure from the Mission of the Kingdoms of Tibet; passing over to other Missions and return to Europe.*

Ch. I, pp. 1–8. Departure from Lhasa. Stay made at Kutti. Departure from the last limits of Tibet and arrival in the Kingdom of Nepal.
Ch. II, pp. 8–18. Some accounts of the Kingdom of Nepal. (P. 278.)
Ch. III, pp. 18–27. Journey from Nepal up to the Ganges and up to the City of Patna.
Ch. IV, pp. 27–36. Some accounts of the City of Patna.
Ch. V, pp. 36–43. Departure from Patna, and journey up to the City of Agra. Accounts of the Cities of Benares and of Allahabad and of the Ganges. Stay made at Agra.
Ch. VI, pp. 43–57. Mission made at Delly, Capital City of the Mogol.
Ch. VII, pp. 57–66. Exposes the causes of the disturbances which arose in the Mogol between the Emperor and his Vazir Nezam-em-muluk.
Ch. VIII, pp. 66–77. In which is continued the description of the disturbances of the Mogol between the Emperor and the Grandees of the Court.
Ch. IX, pp. 77–85. Departure from Delly. Return to Patna. Going to Bengala. Voyage to Pondiscery.
Ch. X, pp. 85–91. Accounts of the City of Pondiscery. Going to the Mission of the Carnat.
Ch. XI, pp. 91–102. Accounts of the Mission which the Company of Jesus fruitfully exercises in the Kingdom of Carnat.
Ch. XII, pp. 102–106. Departure from the Mission of Carnat. Accounts of the City of Meliapur, and of the memories which are preserved there of the Apostle St. Thomas. Accounts of the City of Madrassa.
Ch. XIII, pp. 116–123.[1] Departure from the Indies. Voyage to Europe. Mortal illness at sea. Grace received by the intercession of the Ven. Fr. John de Brito.

[1] Does the pagination pass from p. 106 to p. 116 without intervening matter, or does Ch. XII go up to p. 116?

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| | |
|---|---|
| Ch. XIV, pp. 123–132. | Continuation of the voyage after the Cape of Good Hope. Islands of St. Helena and of the Ascension. Passing the Line and arrival at the Island of Martinique in America. Arrival at Port Louis. |
| Ch. XV, pp. 132–137. | Journey from Port Louis to Paris, and from Paris to Marseilles. |
| Ch. XVI, pp. 137–146. | Journey from Marseilles to Genoa. Going through Tuscany and arrival at Rome. |
| Ch. XVII, pp. 146–157. | Opinion of the Author regarding the doctrine required in Missionaries of the Indies; and first how great it ought to be. (P. 279.) |
| Ch. XVIII, pp. 157–165. | What doctrine and of what particular kind ought to be the doctrine which is indispensably necessary in the Missionaries who are destined to the conversion of the Infidels in the Indies. |
| Ch. XIX, pp. 165–175. | In what manner the above-exposed and necessary doctrine can be promoted in the Missionaries who are destined for the Indies. |
| Ch. XX, pp. 175–210. | In which is shown the grave obligation indispensably incumbent on every Christian, of helping and promoting the Missions to be made among the Infidels; and in what manner such obligation can be discharged by each one in his own state. |

22nd June, 1728.

Fr. Wessels continues:—

'Another MS., 27 × 195 cm., to be cited as MS. B. seems to be a first draft on account of its many erasions, corrections and additions. It contains much of what is found in MS. A., but it has, besides, a great number of chapters dealing with the religion of the Tibetans. These chapters are, naturally, beyond the scope of the present work.

'The sequence of Books and Chapters in MS. B. is somewhat puzzling: Book I covers 138 pp. and its division into 16 Chapters corresponds to that of Book I in MS. A.

'Book II from p. 1–124 parallels chapters 1–13 of MS. A. Book II. They are immediately followed by some chapters that form part of Book III, which treats of the religion of Tibet; the headings are:' (Here we proceed by translating from the Italian.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Ch. I, pp. 135–140. | Of the Grand Lamma, Chief of the Religion. |
| Ch. II, pp. 140–156. | Reasons persuading (me in the belief) that the above-mentioned incarnation of the |

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new Grand Lamma is work immediately (proceeding) from the Devil.

Ch. III, pp. 156–169. Answer to the arguments of who thinks that the deceit related is the artifice of men, and not of the Devil.

Ch. XIX, pp. 175–185.[1] In which are continued the accounts referring to the Grand Lamma and other inferior Lammas of Tibet.

Ch. XX, pp. 185–203. Of Religious men and women of Tibet; of their convents, dress, institute and customs.

Ch. XXI, pp. 203–214. Different kinds of Religions who are in Tibet.

'Leaving one page blank there now follows from p. 216–260 the rough copy of chapters 14–18 of Book II, MS. A. After another blank page these are followed by 16 chapters, not assigned to any Book; the headings are subjoined.' (P. 280.)

Ch. XXVII, pp. 262–275. In which we begin to treat of the errors and of the Religion of the Tibetans. And first we explain the system of the Metempsychosis or Pythagoric transmigration, as it is maintained and believed by the same.

Ch. XXVIII, pp. 276–288. Opinion of the Tibetans regarding the animals, and certain living Beings by them called Itaa which they believe, and affirm to be destined to Hell (*che coso* (sic. in W.) *credino affermino in ordine all' Inferno*).

Ch. XXIX, pp. 288–310. Continues the accounts of other things which the Tibetans maintain and believe concerning the explanation of their system of Metempsychosis.

Ch. XXX, pp. 310–317. Exposes and explains another most enormous and primary error of the Sect of the Tibetans, which consists in denying the existence of an *Ens a se* and non-caused, and of any primary cause of all things.

Ch. XXXI, pp. 317–324. Whether the Tibetans, denying the existence of the true God, admit some fabulous Divinity, or are absolutely without knowledge of God.

Ch. XXXII, pp. 324–337. Of three classes of objects of worship and of invocation which the Tibetans admit. The quality thereof is explained and it is shown that in them they recognize no Divinity.

[1] A gap from p. 169 to p. 175 ?

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| | |
|---|---|
| Ch. XXXIII, pp. 337–347. | Of what the Religion of the Tibetans contains in order to morality, or in order to virtue and vices, and in order to regulating manners. |
| Ch. XXXIV, pp. 347–357. | Of the Legislator of the Tibetans and of some fables they relate of the same. |
| Ch. XXXV, pp. 357–371. | Of two other chief Idols of the Tibetans, one called Cen-ree-sy, and the other called Urghien. |
| Ch. XXXVI, pp. 371–381. | Of other fables about the above-said Urghien, which the Tibetans believe and spread. |
| Ch. XXXVII, pp. 381–388. | Tibet anciently without law. King Si-Kiong-teuzzen seeks a Religion. For the purpose he sends Ambassadors to divers parts and picked young men to Hendustan. (P. 281.) |
| Ch. XXXVIII, pp. 388–402. | By whom the false Religion was introduced into Tibet. First temple built in that Kingdom; books translated into that language; Convents of Religions instituted there and other industries used there to disseminate the errors. |
| Ch. XXXIX, pp. 402–413. | Of other inferior objects of veneration invoked and revered by the Tibetans. |
| Ch. XL, pp. 413–422. | Of some places held in veneration by the Tibetans and of what they observe towards them. Of their rosary and their fasts. |
| Ch. XLI, pp. 422–433. | Solving some doubts and questions which might occur regarding the matters hitherto treated. |
| Ch. XLII, pp. 433–443. | Of some Relations and authors who have treated of Tibet, and judgment regarding them.[1] |

23. The Desideri MS. used by Puini.

Puini's preface treats exclusively of the MS. by Desideri which he used for his work *Il Tibet*, Roma, 1904. We translate his preface.

(P. VII.) The manuscript containing the Relation of Fr. Ippolito Desideri's journey in Tibet, formerly in the possession of Cav. Rossi-Cassigoli of Pistoia, a diligent collector of the memoirs of his native city was found back by me in 1875, on indications I received from Prof. Gherardo Nerucci.[2] Even

[1] Much, perhaps most, of the matter in the extra chapters of MS. B. is included in the MS. used by Puini, as will be seen on comparison.

[2] Markham, *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet*, etc., London, 1876, p. lix;—*Bulletino italiano degli studi orientali*, year 1876, Nos. 2-3;—F. Von Richthofen, *China*, Vol. I, p. 673.—*C.P.*

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then I had the idea of publishing it, with the explanations and notes which it required; but the owner of the MS. did not consent; rather, on the advice of a friend, he preferred to give up, against adequate compensation, the ownership of the copy to the London Hakluyt Society, which, on hearing that it had been found back, had intended to make of it an English translation with the necessary comments.[1]

When the Pistoia gentleman died, the Rossi-Cassigoli collection was acquired by the National Library of Florence, and Desideri's MS. thus became public property. Then, my former intention returned, and I started studying again that part of the Relation which concerns chiefly Buddhism and the Lamaic Church. Meanwhile, the Italian Geographical Society in one of its meetings held in the year 1896 deliberated about entrusting the care of publishing the important journey of the Pistoia Jesuit to the ever-regretted (P. VIII) Prof. Giovanni Marinelli, who soon had an exact copy of the MS. made, and with his inborn courtesy allowed me to use it at my convenience for my special studies on Tibet and Desideri.[2] The premature death of the eminent Geographer prevented the execution of the plan of the Geographical Society. In the course of 1901, in another of its meetings, it decided the publication of my old piece of work, which for years was almost completed. It now sees the light with the modifications and additions which greater experience has suggested to me.

The MS. from which are taken the materials of this book is a small size folio volume of about 630 pages.[3] It bears the title:

> Breve e Succincto ragguaglio del viaggio alle Indie orientali del Padre Ippolito Desideri della Compagnia di Gesù.

This title cannot refer however to more than the first quire (*quaderno*); in all the rest there is question of Persia, Kashmir, India, the Mission of the Jesuits; and a goodly half of the volume concerns Tibet.

After this brief and succinct account, in the form of an itinerary, which I have just mentioned, and which occupies the first ten pages or so, Desideri describes the Empire of the Mogol, and speaks at length of Donna Giuliana Dias da Costa,

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[1] A. de Gubernatis, *Scritti di Marco della Tomba*, Firenze, 1878, p. xix.—*C.P.*

[2] Published in several fascicles in the *Rivista italiana di Sociologia*, in the *Rivista geografica italiana*, and in *Studi di Filologia Indo-Iranica* of Professor Bullè.—*C.P.*

[3] When I examined it to make a description of it for the *Bulletino Italiano degli studi orientali* (July, 1876), the pages were not numbered and the volume was loose; now the volume is bound and numbered by leaves, which are about 320.—*C.P.*

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who lived at that court, where she had won great esteem, chiefly for her skill in medicine and surgery. Next, he uses several pages to speak of the Mission (P. IX) in that country, and of Fr. Rodolfo Acquaviva, who was very learned in Persian, in which he wrote several religious treatises. Continuing next his journey, he describes Kashmir, and chiefly the capital 'called Earthly Paradise by all the peoples of the Mogol'; thence, crossing the Himalayas by the Zoji-la pass, he enters the Tibetan country about the end of May 1715, beginning the journey which is of special interest to us and forms the argument of this volume. After a six years' stay in Tibet, he crosses again the Himalayas, returns by way of Nepal to the dominions of the Great Mogol, describes again its countries, and speaks at length of his apostolate up to his return to Europe, which took place in 1726.[1] The MS. finishes with some advice and considerations on the Mission in India, and in Tibet, which fill more than 50 pages.

The entire contents of the MS. run on consecutively without division into chapters, or any other division,[2] and not unfrequently the same subject or what may be regarded as belonging to the same subject, is treated in several separate parts of the volume, which makes the reading of it tedious and not sufficiently profitable. Accordingly, for what regards the matter contained in that part (P. X) of the Relation which refers to Tibet, and which is the greater part, I have tried to arrange it methodically, subdividing it, according to the subjects, in Parts, Chapters and Paragraphs, so as to render the book as useful as possible for students of Tibetan things, giving them the means of profiting easily by the abundant information which Desideri supplies us with on the geography, the customs and the religion of Tibet.

It seems that Desideri wrote his Relation at the request of an ecclesiastic, to whom he shows much deference. Throughout his voluminous manuscript he never names him; and, when

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[1] The narrative, conducted in the order I have said, ends at fol. 263v, with these words: 'Meanwhile, be Your Reverence pleased that, stopping the course of my narrative, I humbly beg you to deign accept my humble service, wherein, not with ornaments of choice and elegant diction, but with the simple and rough plainness of a candid narrative, I have not aimed at anything else than executing your esteemed orders, and attesting my obedience, which as most humble and most devoted servant I have always professed for you, etc.' From these words it is seen that Desideri was led to write at the express request of some Father Superior of his. From fol. 264 there are, in great part, discourses concerning the Mission and the Missionaries.—*C.P.*

[2] Only towards the end of the MS., the part containing the narrative of the return is divided, I cannot understand for what reasons, into three chapters, numbered 13, 14, and 15.—*C.P.*

Book II of MS. A. noticed by Fr. Wessels begins the return journey at Ch. 13, and continues the voyage up to Port Louis (Brittany) and Marseilles through chapters 14 and 15.—*H.H.*

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he turns to him directly, as required at times by the form he gives to the narrative, he calls him simply Your Reverence. When he had already traversed India and Tibet, and shortly before he made ready to leave the East, Desideri met this priest in the kingdom of the Carnatic (*di Carnat*), where he was in apostolic mission; and *à propos* of this meeting he writes: 'The few accounts which I could give you only in passing (*alla sfugita*) about my journey to Great Tibet, of the customs and sects of these countries, excited in Your Reverence such a desire of being fully and very minutely informed about them, that, before we parted from each other, you wished to have from me a reliable promise that I would transmit to you, at least from a distance, a complete and precise account of them'. In fact, during his voyage from Pondicherry up to France, notwithstanding the inconvenience he suffered, the serious illness which afflicted him, and the duties of Chaplain of the ship which were entrusted to him, 'he had nothing more at heart than to fulfil the best way he could the promise he had given'.[1]

Though Desideri asserts that he composed his narrative during the voyage which brought him back to Europe, he must have written it partly in Rome, as it seems to me certain indications would go to show; or at least he must (P. XI) have completed it there. To the Relation, addressed to that ecclesiastic, were added, no doubt by Desideri himself, a few pages of introduction with the title: *Breve e succincto ragguaglio del viaggio all' Indie orientali* (Brief and succinct relation of the journey to the East Indies); and at the end (fols. 264r–272r) an *Aggiunte d' una breve recapitolazione di ciò che appartiene semplicemente a' sopra riferiti viaggi, e alcuni più importanti sentimenti del' autore intorno alle missioni dell' Indie* (Addition (consisting) of a brief recapitulation of what appertains simply to the above-related journey, and some more important ideas of the author regarding the missions of the Indies): after that, comes (fols. 272v–316v) a *Conclusione del presente ragguaglio, e sentimento dell' autors intorno alle Missioni dell' Indie orientali* (Conclusion of the present relation, and opinion of the author regarding the Missions of the East Indies).

The manuscript now owned by the Magliabecchiana is certainly not Desideri's autograph; one recognizes in it very

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[1] In 1726, which Fr. Desideri spent in the Carnatic Mission, the Superior was Fr. Venance Bouchet, one of the most learned and literary men that Mission has produced. His own previous studies could not but make him receive Fr. Desideri with unbounded enthusiasm. He was the very man who would have insisted on having from Desideri a full account of his travels and experience, and of the religion of Tibet. Desideri's Superior, he could exact a solemn promise that the work would be written. Moreover, to Fr. Bouchet is attributed a life of Blessed John de Brito, the Marava martyr, the process for whose beatification was entrusted to Desideri.—*H.H.*

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clearly three handwritings, but all of the time. The Italian orthography is not always well observed; and, in particular, the last of the three writings, which from certain indications appears rather to have been made under dictation, seems to be that of a somewhat ignorant copyist. Nevertheless, the orthography of the Tibetan words, excepting some mistakes, is very well observed; all the Tibetan words and proper names, though transcribed as Desideri had learned to pronounce them, are easily brought back to their literary form by one who has some familiarity with that language, which to us is also a guarantee of the exactness and authenticity of the accounts collected by Desideri and of the knowledge he had acquired of the language of Tibet.[1]

24. Two specimens of Desideri's Tibetan writings.

1. Facing p. 274 of his work, Father Wessels publishes the first page of a Tibetan MS. by Fr. Desideri, which contains 704 oblong pages, 33·5 × 18·5 cm., having 35 lines to the page. The opening page is dated June 24, 1718.

2. The second specimen, also facing p. 274 of the same work, is the first page of another Tibetan MS. by Desideri, containing 128 narrow strips, 33·5 × 13·5 cm., with 7 lines to the page. The MS. is undated. Both MSS. belong to the Society of Jesus in Europe. We have commented somewhat on these two Tibetan MSS. and two others by Desideri at pp. 106-107, note 8.

25. Bibliographical notes on Fr. Ippolito Desideri.

From: Sommervogel, Carlos, S.J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Vol. 2 (1891), cols. 1963-1964.

*Desideri, Hippolytus*, born at Pistoia in 1684, entered the novitiate, May 9, 1700; left for the East Indies in 1712, and was from there sent to Tibet. In 1727 he was sent to Rome, to carry thither the process for the beatification of Blessed John de Britto, and he died there on April 14, 1733.

1. Letter of Father H. Desideri to Father Ildebrandus Grassi (Translated from the Italian). On Tibet. At Lassa, April 10, 1716;—in the *Lettres édif.*, 15e recueil, pp. 183–208;—(edn. 1843), t. II, pp. 531–535.—Reprinted, t. VII, chapt. 7 of *Histoire des Voyages*, by the Abbé Prévot (Paris, 1746–1789).

Translated into German in Father Stöcklein's *Welt-bott*, No. 175.

2. A letter dated Febr. 13, 1717; in the *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis* of Father Zaccaria, pp. 185-186.

[1] If the Desideri MS. used by Puini was written mostly on board ship, one might expect it to have been worked out less carefully than the two MSS. noticed by Fr. Wessels, both of which are divided into Books and Chapters.—*H.H.*

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3. Alla sacra congregazione da propaganda fide Difesa I della Compagnia di Giesù in ordine alla missione del Tibet, e difesa del M. R. P. Generale della medesima Compagnia contro le scritture del R. P. Felice da Montecchio Cappucino, *Sine loco* (Roma), Typis Giannini et Mainardi, 1728, 4to, pp. 18 unnumbered.—Alla sacra . . . . Difesa II della Compagnia di Giesù e del P. Ippolito Desiderj della medesima Compagnia, contro le . . Ibid., id., 1728, 4to, pp. 31 unnumbered.—Alla sacra . . . . Difesa III della Compagnia di Giesù contro la scrittura del P. Fr. Felice da Montecchio Cappuccino, intitolata Risposta alla relazione della missione del Tibet data da' PP. della Compagnia di Giesù. Ibid., id., 1728, 4to, pp. 19 unnumbered.

4. Notes géographiques sur le Tibet,[1] recueillies par N. Delisle et publiées par Klaproth;—in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1831, t. VIII, p. 117–121.

5. Travels into Tibet in 1714. By Hippolit Desideri, an Italian Jesuit. Now first translated from the French; in t. IV of Astley's *Collection of Travels*, and at pp. 302–308 of Markham's *Magazine*.

I believe it is the translation of No. 1.

6. (Advice of Fr. Desideri to travellers);—in the *Rivista Europea*, June and July 1876.

7. In No. 1 he says that he has composed two works in Tibetan: the first to refute the error that all can save themselves by following their law; the second against metempsychosis. He began to translate the second in verse.

A. Map of Hindustan.

B. Letter (in Italian), dated Agra, 1714, 4to, pp. 4.—In the Library of Stonyhurst, England (A.I. 36, 2nd part).

C. Translation of the Sahorim or Kangiur. (Zaccaria: *Bibl. Pistoriensis*, p. 186.)

D. An Italian, Mr. Carlo Pruini announced that he had found back a MS. of Father Desideri which he intended publishing. It is perhaps the one of which there is question in Markham's *Magazine*. He gives details on this Missionary (1876, No. 1, p. 21, and No. 9, pp. 233–254) and adds that an inhabitant of Pistoia possessed one of his MSS., dated 1727, and containing 500 pages: *Di una Relazione inedita del viaggio del P. Ippolito Desideri da Pistoia, scritta da lui stesso*;—in the *Bulletino italiano degli studii orientali* (Firenze), anno 1, Luglio, 1876, pp. 33–42.

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From Sommervogel, Carlos, S.J., *Bibl. de la C. de J.*, Vol. 9 (1900), cols. 204-205.

Desideri, Hippolytus:

Born on Dec. 21, 1684, admitted on April 27, 1700 . . . He spent 5 years in Tibet.

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[1] Read: Tubet.—*H.H.*

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8. Di alcune lettere inedite o ignorate del P. Ippolito Desideri, d. C. d. G., Missionario nel Tibet;—*in Lavori presentati al professore Giovanni Marinelli nel venticinquesimo anniversario delle sue nozze*. Firenze, tip. M. Ricci, 1895, in 8vo, pp. III–104. (By Carlo Puini.)

9. Letter, from Kutti, Sept. 21, 1721, to the Sovereign Pontiff; in La *Revista Europea*, July 1876, p. 293.

Narucci[1] (Gherardo). Intorno al Padre Ippolito Desiderj de Pistoia d. C. d. G.,—in *La Revista*, July 1876, pp. 289–294.—He mentions therein the Relazione (see D) owned by Mr. Phil. Rossi-Cassigoli of Pistoia. At MS. D. correct *Pruini* to *Puini*.

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From Ernest M. Rivière, S.J., *Corrections et Additions à la Bibliothéque de la Compagnie de Jésus, Supplément au 'de Backer-Sommervogel', Troisième Fascicule, Toulouse, Chez l' Auteur, 7. Rue Boulbonne*, 1913, cols. 431-432.

10. Viaggio nel Tibet del P. Ippolito Desideri, dal Prof. Carlo Puini—in *Rivista geografica italiana*, t. VII (1900), pp. 562–582.—The chapter relating to Tibetan Buddhism was published by Puini in *Studi Italiani di filologia Indo-iranica*, t. III.

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Carlo Puini: Il P. Ippolito Desideri e suoi Viaggi nell' India e nel Tibet (1712–1727). Il Buddhismo nel Tibet secondo la rela zione inedita del viaggio del P. Ippolito Desideri. Firenze, G. Carnesecchi e Figli, 1899. In 8vo, pp. XXXII–63.

Carlo Puini: Il Tibet. (Geografia, Storia, Religione, Costumi) secondo la Relazione del Viaggio del P. Ippolito Desideri (1715–1721).

Roma, presso la Società geografica italiana, 1904. In 8vo, pp. LXIV–402. (*Memorie della Società geografica italiana, Volume Decimo.*)

A. Magnaghi: Il Tibet nella Relazione del P. Ippolito Desideri,—in *Rivista geografica italiana*, t. XI (1904), pp. 76–108, according to the previous work.

Henri Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, 2nd edn., cols. 2904-2905.

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Comments: (1) What does Sommervogel mean by Markham's *Magazine*? Desideri's letter of Lhasa, April 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi, S.J., is at pp. 302–208 of Clements R. Markham's *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa*, London,

[1] *Sic*, for Nerucci.

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Trübnar and Co., Ludgate Hill, 1876. In his preface, p. vii, Markham says simply: 'The narratives of Grueber, Desideri, and Horace della Penna, Catholic priests who visited Lhasa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, are given in an Appendix'.— For 'fifteenth and sixteenth centuries' read '17th and 18th centuries'.

At p. lix he writes: 'The manuscript containing the narrative of his (Desideri's) journey to and residence in Tibet has recently been examined by Signor Carlo Puini. That learned scholar reports that it is in the library of a private gentleman at Pistoia, and consists of a large folio volume, dated 1727, of about 500 pages, closely but very clearly and legibly written. It contains a great abundance of notices respecting the geography of Tibet, and the manners and customs, and religion of the Tibetans. There are two other documents of Desideri in the library of the Congregation of the Propaganda at Rome. The first is another narrative, dated February 17, 1717,[1] soon after his arrival at Lhasa, and addressed to the Pope, and the second is a letter written in autograph by Desideri to the Pope.

'Father Desideri also translated the "Kangiar" of the great reforming Lama, Tsong-khapa, into Latin.'

Markham adds in a note at p. lix: 'Signor Carlo Puini examined the manuscript at Pistoia on November 19, 1875, and he will be furnished with copies both of it and of the documents at Rome. He will then write an exhaustive paper on Father Desideri and his travels, and eventually he hopes to publish the manuscript itself, with the necessary elucidations. I am indebted to Colonel Yule for this important news respecting the Desideri manuscripts, and their contemplated publication, which ought to be promptly followed by an English edition'.

(2) No. 7 in Sommervogel (II, cols. 1963-1964) should have been marked as a MS. under one of the letters of the alphabet.

(3) Not in Sommervogel's No. 1, but in Sommervogel's No. 2 does Desideri mention the two treatises. On the Italian treatise on the one way of salvation and the Italian treatise against transmigration, see Desideri's letter to the General (Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717), and his letter to an unknown person in Zaccaria's *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis*, pp. 185-186.

(4) See the same two letters on his translation into Tibetan verse of the two Italian texts mentioned under our No. 3. These two Tibetan texts are likely to exist still among the MSS. preserved by the Society of Jesus in Europe. See on it note 8 of my section No. 10.

(5) On the composition of a Catechism, a Grammar and a Dictionary, see Desideri's letter to the General (Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717), p. 375 in Puini. The Catechism appears to have been added to the treatise on transmigration and to the refutation

[1] February 13, 1717, in Puini, *Il Tibet*, p. xlii.

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of the chief error of the Tongpa-gni. Cf. note 6 of my section No. 10.

(6) Zacharia is our authority for the statement that Desideri translated into Latin a compendium of the Sahorim or Kangiur by Tsongkhapa. Is not this the Lam-rin-chhen-ba, or Precious Doctrine by Tsongkhapa, of which we speak in note 3 of our section No. 14?

(7) To Sommervogel-Rivière must be added as published by Fr. C. Wessels the letter in the Stonyhurst Library (Agra, Aug. 21, 1714), to which I refer in my introduction.

(8) Sir E. Denison Ross, Director of the School of Oriental Studies, London, writes to Sir Edward Maclagan on 31-11-1929 that Sir Filippo de Filippi 'is working on an entirely new manuscript, which he is editing and of which he is giving us an English translation for the Broadway Travellers. He speaks in his last letter of having "completed the annotation of Books I and II, which will form Volume I of the publication"'. Since one of the MSS. described by Fr. C. Wessels is divided into 3 books, whereas Puini's has no divisions, we cannot be far wrong in guessing that the MS. used by Sir Filippo de Filippi is the identical MS. described by Fr. Wessels or a copy of the same. This, indeed, is good news.

(9) The notes on Tibet collected by N. Delide and annotated by Klaproth (*Journal Asiatique*, 2$^{e}$ serie, Vol. 8, pp. 117–121, do not quote Desideri textually. Nothing shows from what MS. by Desideri these notes were obtained.

(10) Prof. Puini's study and extracts from Desideri's MS. in *Studi italiani di filologia indo-iranica*, Vol. 3 (1899) (comprise pp. I–XXXII; 1–63. It was republished in book-form at Florence the same year. Cf. above Rivière: Carlo Puini, *Fr. P. Ippolito Desideri e suoi Viaggi* . . . .

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In Robert Streit, O.M.I., *Bibliotheca Missionum*, Erster Band, Munster i. 3., 1916, Verlag der Aschendorffschen Buchhandlung, we find that Desideri's letter of Lhasa, dated 10.4.1716, and addressed to Fr. Grassi, appeared in the following publications:—

(1) Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, XV Recueil, Paris, M. DCC. XXII, pp. 183–209. Cf. Streit, p. 377.

(2) Joseph Stöcklein, S.J., 'Welt-Bott', Sibender Theil, Augspurg and Grätz, 1726, No. 175, pp. 90–94 (the date is here given, erroneously, as 10.4.1715 by Streit). Cf. Streit, p. 385.

(3) Astley's Collection (New General Collection of Voyages and Travels, London), Vol. IV (M. DCC. XLVII), pp. 655–658, the title being: Travels into Tibet, in 1714. By Hypolito Desideri, an Italian Jesuit. (This collection also contains: Travels through Tibet, to and from China, by several Missionaries,

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pp. 649–651.—Travels from China to Europe, in 1661. By John Grueber, Jesuit, pp. 651–655.)

(4) Prévost's Histoire Générale des Voyages . . . La Haye, Vol. IX, M. DCC. XLIX: Voyage d'Hipolyte Desideri au Tibet, 1715, pp. 455–460. Cf. Streit, p. 450.

(5) Allgemeine Historie der Reisen zu Wasser und Lande . . . . , Leipzig, bey Arkstee und Mervus (a translation of Astley's Collection), Band 7 (1750): Reisen nach Tibet, Im Jahre 1714, durch Hypolitus Desiderius, einen italienischen Jesuit, pp. 562–568. Cf. Streit, p. 451.

(6) Cartas Edificantes Curiosas, Madrid, En la Officina de la Viuda de Manuel Fernandez, Tomo Decimo, MDCCLV, pp. 50–61. Cf. Streit, p. 465.

(7) Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses . . , Paris, Tome XII, M. DCC. LXXXI, pp. 430–446. Cf. Streit, p. 537.

(8) Choix des Lettres Edifiantes, Paris, Tome VIII, MDCCCXXVI, pp. 268–278. Cf. Streit, p. 577.

From H. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, IV. 2905-2906.

(1) Desideri's letter of Lhasa, 10.4.1716, appears also in *Pant. litt.*, III, pp. 531–535.

(2) Hugh Murray, *Historical Account*, I, Ch. IX, pp. 441-445.

(3) Puini's *Il Tibet* was reviewed in the *Geographical Journal*, XXV, No. 1, January 1905, pp. 84-85. By A. H. Keane.

(4) C. Puini.—Il Matrimonio nel Tibet. (*Riviste Italiana di Sociologia*, amo W, 1900, pp. 149–168.

Review: *L'Anthropologie*, XI, 1900, pp. 629–633, by Ch. de Ujfalvy.

(5) Carlo Puini's Lhasa (*Rivista geog. italiana*, X, 1903, pp. 546–548.

26. Letter of Fr. Francis Borgia Koch, S.J., to Fr. Anthony Mordax, S.J., Vienna (Goa, 1706).

(From Fr. Stöcklens *Welt-Bott*, Vol. 5.)

(*P.* 83, *Col.* 2) Num. 117.
Brief
Patris Francisci Borgiae Koch,
der Gesellschaft Jesu Missionarii, aus
der Oester reichischen Provintz
An
R.P. Antonium Mordax,
des Probhauses gedachter Societät bey

(P. 83, *col.* 2). No. 117.
Letter
of Father Francis Borgia Koch,
Missionary of the Society of Jesus,
of the Province of Austria.
To
the Rev. Father Anthony Mordax,
Rector of the House of Probation of the said Society near

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Sanct-Anna in Wien Rectorem und Novitzen Miestern.

Geschrieben zu Goa in Indien um das Jahr 1706. Der Tag und Monat seynd nicht angemerckt worden.

Innhalt.

Betrifft seine Vorhabende Reis von Goa biss Agra, der Hauptstadt in Mogor, und ferners nach dem West-Tartarischen Königreich Thibet.

Ehrwürdiger Pater in Christo'.

P.C.

Euer Ehrwürden eifferigem Gebett und Mess-Opfern schreibe ich es zu/dass/da so viel andere aus dem Schiff gestorben seynd/ich/der sie in ihren Kranckheiten fleissig bedient/ und viel Gutes zu würcken Gelegenheit gewonnen hab nach einer Kranckheit/so zwey Monat gewähret/nichts desto-

Sanct-Anna, Vienna, and Novice Master.

Written at Goa, in India, about the year 1706. The day and month were not noted.[1]

Contents.

Concerning his forthcoming journey from Goa to Agra, the Capital in Mogor, and further to the Kingdom of Tibet in Western Tartary.

Reverend Father in Christ, The Peace of Christ.

I ascribe to Your Reverence's fervent prayer and Sacrifices that, while so many others died on board the ship, I, who served them assiduously in their illness and had the opportunity of doing much good, did nevertheless arrive here alive after an illness which lasted two months.[2] Accord-

[1] The date of this letter should be 1709 rather than 1706. Fr. Stocklein says that the day and the month of the letter were not known to him; the year must have been omitted too; else, Fr. Stocklein would not have said that the letter was written 'about' 1706. We have several clues for the date 1709.

(1) Franco's list mentions as having left Lisbon for India in 1709: 'Fr. Francis Borgia, a German.' The party was one of 4 Portugese and three Germans, the two other Germans being 'Christophorus Mater' and 'Fr. Francis. Filiscus.' None are noted as having died on the way.

(2) Fr. Martinetti, with whom Fr. Koch was to go to Tibet, writes in 1713 that he had during three years taken information on the Tibet Mission. The three years in question would be 1709-12.

(3) Neither Martinetti nor Koch appears in the Mogor Catalogue of January, 1708; both are mentioned in the Catalogue of January 2, 1710.

(4) The Provincial Manoel Sarayva wrote to the General on January 3, 1710, that Frs. Martinetti and Koch had been charged to go to Tibet from Agra. (Wessels, 207.) Now, as Fr. Koch says that, soon after his arrival at Goa, he was destined to Agra and Tibet, his departure for Agra would naturally fall at the end of 1709, if he is the 'Fr. Francis Borgia, a German,' who arrived at Goa, (about Sept. ?), 1709. Martinetti being also a newcomer of 1709, it was natural to appoint both him and Koch for Tibet, as two others destined for Tibet in 1708 had had to be turned away to Mysore, for want of men on that side.

[2] Franco mentions none of the Jesuits of 1709 as having died between Lisbon and Goa; neither does Fr. Koch; but the party of 1709 may have

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weniger noch lebendig allhier angelangt bin. Derenwegen seynd Euer Ehrwürden in dem Vorgeben/als könte man seinen Eyffer auf der Reis nicht ausüben/übel berichtet worden; allermassen ich gäntzlich dafür halte/dass/wann ich auch bald nach meiner Ankunfft allhier gestorben wäre/es wegen so mancherley Wercken Christlicher Liebe mich einer dergestalt mühseligen Schiffahrt dannoch nicht reuen solte. Obbesagter mein Zustand ist vielmehr von unanständiger Nahrung/als einiger andern Ursach entsprungen/weil wir acht Wochen lang nichts als Bohnen in Oehl/Reis in Oehl/wie auch Brod in Wasser und Oehl gesotten genossen haben: allhier aber in Indien gewöhnen wir uns allein an Reis und abgeschmacktes Wasser/als wo kein kühler Trunck zu bekommem ist: ja seit ich aus Teutschland verreiset bin/darf ich wohl sagen/dass ich niemals kalt getruncken habe. Ubrigens lebt man sonst hier zu Land in unsern Collegilis zimlich gut/als in welchen an Fleisch und Wein Kein Abgang ist. (*P.* 84, *col.* 1)

ingly, your Reverence was badly informed when you were told that one could not exercise one's zeal on the journey; anyhow, I am quite of opinion that, even had I died soon after my arrival here, I should not on account of so many works of Christian mercy regret so toilsome a voyage. My aforesaid condition was due to improper food rather than to any other cause: for during eight weeks we had nothing else to eat than beans in oil, rice in oil, and also bread boiled in water and oil. However, here in India we accustom ourselves to rice only and insipid water, since no cooler drink can be had there: indeed, from the time I left Germany I daresay I have not drunk anything cold. For the rest, here in our Colleges one lives tolerably well, as there is no lack of flesh-meat and wine. (P. 84, *col.* 1)

Die Missionarii hingegen müssen die Seelen/so sie bekehren wollen/mit Gebett und Fasten gewinnen/angesehen die Heyden dieser Orten zwar Häuffig/aber zugleich dergestalt haessstarrig seynd/dass der abgöttische Teuffel/welcher in innen steckt/sich mit keinem andern Mittel lässt austreiben.

On the other hand, the Missionaries must gain with prayer and fasting the souls they wish to convert, considering that the pagans of these parts are indeed many, but at the same time so stubborn that the idolatrous devil in them does not let himself be expelled by any other means.

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overtaken the party of 31 Jesuits of 1708, which did not reach Goa till Sept. 25, 1709, and lost 5 of its members on the voyage. Martinetti belonged to the party of 1708.

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Dessen ungeachtet seynd deren Heyden in diesem Land Indien so viel/deren Christen hingegen so wenig/dass ich beyderseits ungleiche Zahl nicht füglicher vorstellen kan/ als wann ich sage/der Kleine Hauffen deren Glaubigen/ wann er mit der uneindlichen Schaar/deran Unglaubigen verglichen wird gebe nicht mehr aus/als ein eintziger Kern gegen zehen Metzen Getreids: doch seynd die Salsettische Inseln gantz Catholisch.

Die Provintz Goa versiehet ausserhalb der Landschafft dieses Nahmens anderwärtig dermalen folgende Missionen: die in dem Reich von der Sunda, allwo nur etliche tausend Christglaubige zu finden seynd: die in dem Reich Mayssur: die in dem Königreich Schitur: die bev denen Kafferen in Africa: und letzlichen die in dem grossen Reich Mogor, in dessen Haupt-stadt Agra würcklich drey unserige denenselben Unglaubigen das Evangelium predigen; ein wahrhafftif gar zu geringe Zahl Arbeiter für einen so volckreichen Ort/ in welchem eine Besatzung von zweimal hundert tausend Mann unterhalten/die übrige Inwohner aber Million-Weise gezehlt werden. Das Glück hälte mich bald getroffen/dass ich von meinen Obern wäre dahin geschickt worden/um allda zu varbleiben; allein/indem ich dieses schreibe/wird mir angedeutet/ich solle auf einem Schiff/so gantz segelfertig ist/ nach Surate fahren/und mich

Besides, the pagans in this land of India are so many, and the Christians on the other hand are so few that I cannot represent more suitably the uneven number on both sides than by saying that, when the small number of the faithful is compared to the countless host of the infidels, it amounts to no more than a single grain compared to ten measures of wheat; however, the islands of Salsette are entirely Catholic.

In addition to the district of the name of Goa, the Province of Goa provides now elsewhere for the following Missions: the Mission in the Kingdom of Sunda, where are to be found only some thousands of Christians; the Mission in the Kingdom of Mayssur; the Mission in the Kingdom of Schitur; the Mission among the Kaffirs in Africa; and finally the Mission in the great kingdom of Mogor, where in the capital thereof, Agra, three of ours zealously preach the Gospel to its infidels; [1] truly much too small a number of labourers for so populous a place, which has a garrison of two hundred thousand men, while the other inhabitants are counted in millions. Soon I had the good fortune of being destined by my Superiors to remain there; and however, while I write this, I am told to go to Surate by a ship which is quite ready to sail, and from there to go to Agra, there to learn the Tibetan tongue, and then

[1] The Catalogue of Mogor for January 1708 has 3 Fathers in Mogor; that of January 2, 1710, notes four, besides Martinetti and Koch.

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von dannen zwar nach Agra verfügen/um daselbst die Thibetische Sprach zu erlernen/ demnach aber meine Reis mit Patre Martineti, einen Wälschen Jesuiter ferners nach dem Reich Thibet fortsetzen/welches zwischen Mogol, Persien/ der Kalmukischen und grossen Tartarey, und dem Ertz-Reich Sina light; weil nemlich der König von gedachtem Thibet sehnich um Missionarios anhält/und wir in dessen Gebiet die ersten Christum verkünden werden. Ich brech ab/und eile auf das Schiff/damit ich die Gelegenheit nicht versäume; befiehle also um des Bluts Christi willen uns beyde/wie auch unsere Mission und die Heyden/welche unser warten /in Euer Ehrwürden und gesamter allerliebsten Provintz Oesterreich HH. Mess-Opfer und Andachten.

Euer Ehrwürden
Goa, Anno 1706.
Diener in Christo,
Borgias Koch, der Gesellschafft
Jesu Missionarius.

to continue my journey with Father Martineti, an Italian Jesuit, towards the Kingdom of Tibet, which lies between Mogor, Persia, Kalmuk Tartary and the Empire of China; for the king of the said Tibet eagerly asks for Missionaries, and we shall be the first to preach Christ in his dominions.[1] I stop, and hasten to the ship, lest I lose the opportunity; so, by the Blood of Christ, I commend both of us, as also our Mission, and the heathens awaiting us, to the Holy Sacrifices and prayers of Your Reverence and of the very dear Province of Austria.

Your Reverences,
Goa, 1706.[2]
Servant in Christ,
Borgias Koch, Missionary of the Society
of Jesus.

27. Fr. Francis Anthony Zacharia, S.J., on Fr. H. Desideri, S.J., with letter from Lhasa, Febr. 13, 1717.

(From *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis* a Francisco Antonio Zacharia, Augustae Taurinorum, MDCCLII, pp. 185-186.)[3]

(*P.* 185) *Desideri* (*Hippolytus*).

XIII. Kal. Januar. A. CIↃIↃCL-XXXIV. ortus est

(P. 185) *Desideri* (*Hippolytus*).

On the 13th before the Kalenda of January (Dec. 20) in the

[1] I find these indications as unsatisfactory as ever. By 1708 the Capuchins had gone to Nepal; therefore, the Jesuits could not expect to be the first Missionaries on that side. From what side, then, had a king of Tibet sent invitations for Missionaries.?

[2] In the hurry of the departure, it is possible that Koch forgot to date his letter.

[3] As this extract, copied for us in London by Sir Edward Douglas Maclagan (188 West Hill, Putney, London, S.W. 15) reached us on

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Hippolytus, tum Romae Societati Jesu nomen dedit VII. Idus Maias a. CIↃIↃ CC sed a. CIↃIↃCCXII ad Thibetanas Missiones profectus est. Inde XIII. Februar. a. CIↃIↃCCXVII. literas scripsit, quas heic recitare non inutile visum est.

Alla fine di Luglio 1716. scrissi altra, dando nuova de' miei lunghissimi, e difficilissimi viaggi, e del mio arrivo in questa Capitale di Thibet a' 18. di Marzo del detto anno, ed insieme notizia del succedutomi quì sino a detto tempo.

A'nove d' Agosto fui mandato a chiamare al Palazzo del Re, dove ebbi lunga, e famigliare udienza per ricerca del fine, per cui ero venuto, e dimoravo in questo Thibet; risposi, che unicamente per inseguare la S. Fede. Io fui interrogato, quanto tempo quì mi tratterrei risposi, che fino alla morte, se essi volessero abbracciare la S. Fede; la risposta fu, che volevano essere in tutto

year 1684, was born Hippolytus, who gave his name to the Society of Jesus at Rome on the 7th before the Ides of May (May 9) in the year 1700, and left for the Tibetan Missions in 1712. From there he wrote on the 13th of February, 1717, a letter which we think it useful to quote here.

At the end of July 1716, I wrote another letter,[1] giving news of my very long and very difficult journeyings, and of my arrival in this capital of Tibet on the 18th March of the said year,[2] and at the same time an account of what happened to me here up to the said date.

On the 9th of August,[3] I was summoned to the King's Palace, where I had a long and familiar audience, at which they asked me for what object I had come and was staying in this Tibet. I answered that it was solely to teach them the Holy Faith. I was asked how long I would stay here. I answered I would stay until my death, if they wished to embrace the Holy Faith.

December 2, 1929, we have placed it here, so as not to disturb what we wrote above. Desideri's letter enclosed in the extract, and dated February 13, 1717, is evidently from Lhasa. The name of the addressee is not given. The letter may have been written to a Jesuit or to a person of Desideri's family. There is a request to be remembered in the addressee's prayers, but no reference to 'Holy Sacrifices'. It is evidently not addressed to the Pope, though he wrote a letter to the Pope on the same date. The letter must be compared with the one he wrote to the General of the Society two days later. It was but natural that he should dwell on the same topics in both. It is worth remarking that there is no direct allusion to the arrival and doings of the Capuchins.

[1] This letter too remains to be discovered. In his letter of Lhasa to the General, Febr. 15, 1717, Desideri begins by saying that he wrote to the General at the end of July, 1716, by way of Goa and Portugal. We do not possess that letter to the General, and it is possible that this courier did not reach.

[2] The same date in other letters.

[3] The same date in the letter to the General (Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717).

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instruiti della mia S. Fede, e Legge, e che perciò restassi quivi, ed imparassi bene la lingua. Dipoi mi furono fatte molte, ed efficacissime esibizioni, ed of ferte dalla regia liberalità, ma io tutto efficacemente ributtai, non volendo altr' onore, che la gloria di Dio, nè altro bene, che la salute dell' anime loro. Al principio di Settembre fui invitato, e condotto ad un Giardino, e Palazzo in Campagna del Re, dove fui esaminato del profitto fatto nella lingua specialmente, nell' intelli genza de'libri, e mi furono domandate varie cose della mia S. Legge. Al principio di novembre essendo già arrivata una lettera latina del Papa a questo Re, io la tradussi in questa lingua. Essendo stato alcune volte richiesto, e privatamente, e pubblicamente della differenza tra la mia, e la loro legge, nè arrischiandomi a tratt are *ex professo* a voce sì delicati punti sino a non possedere perfettamente questa lingua, aveva promesso di spiegare loro tutto a poco a poco con alcuni libri: a tal fine ne'mesi di Giugno, Luglio, ed Agosto composi due libri; il primo in confutazione del pessimo, e tanto sparso errore, che dice potersi ognuno salvare nella sua legge, ed il secondo in confutazione del diabolico er-

Their answer was that they wished to be fully instructed in my Holy Faith and Law, and that accordingly I should stay there and study the language well. After that, many and very strong offers and invitations came to me from the King's liberality, but I strongly declined it all, not wishing any other honour than the glory of God, and no other good than the salvation of their souls. In the beginning of September,[1] I was invited and conducted to a Garden and Palace of the King outside the town, where I was examined on the progress I had made in the language, especially in the understanding of the books, and I was asked various things about my Holy Law. In the beginning of November, as there had already arrived a Latin letter from the Pope for this King, I translated it into this language.[2] Having been asked sometimes, both privately and publicly, the difference between my law and theirs, and not wishing to venture on treating *ex professo* and orally points so delicate, until I possessed this language perfectly, I had promised to explain the whole to them little by little in certain books: with this object, during the months of June, July and August,[3] I composed two

[1] The same date, *ibid.*

[2] The Capuchins arrived at Lhasa on Oct. 1, 1716, and, though part of their presents for the King was lost, the letter from the Pope and some money arrived, apparently somewhat after the arrival of the Capuchin Fathers. The letter of the Pope was presented to the King on Dec. 4, 1716. Cf. Letter to the General, Febr. 15, 1717 (p. 375 in Puini).

[3] The same period of time in the letter to the General, Febr. 15, 1717.

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rore del trasmigrazione Pittagovica. Agli otto di Settembre comincial da me stesso a tradurre in questa lingua, e in versi Thibettani il primo di detti due libri, e dopo averlo posto bene all' ordine, a' 6. di Gennajo 1717. dopo detta, ed applicata a questa fine la S. Messa, andai a palazzo del Re, dove fui ammesso nella Real Sala dell' udienza, ove stava il Re nel suo trovo circondato da un molto copioso consesso di Grandi, e persone della corte, e di Lammâ, che sono i loro Religiosi e Dottori. Il Re ricevè il mio regalo, e prese nelle sue mani il mio libro, e mi fece sedere in faccia al suo trono, e mi fece bere il Cià. Dipoi con le sue sciolse, e aprì il mio libro, e mi domando, quanto tempo ancora resterei in questo (p. 186) Thibet. Risposi, che fino alla mia morte, il che cagionò molta tenerezza in tutto il consesso; indi mi domandò, qual fosse il mio Dio. Risposi, che io non riconosco, nè adoro, se non un solo Dio creatore del tutto, Mi domandò, quanti Dei vi siano, Risposi che un solo, unico nell' essenza, e trino nelle persone. Mi domandò i nomi delle tre divine persone, e presa occasione del nome del Spirito Santo, essendo egli di gran mente, e di molto capace ingegno, da se stesso si pose a farmi varj argomenti contro la purissima spiritualità, ed incorporità di Dio, e udì le mie risposte a detti argomenti, e come essen-

books: the first in refutation of the very bad and so widely spread error which says that everyone can be saved in his law; and the second, in refutation of the devilish error of the Pythagoric transmigration. On the 8th of September[1] I began by myself to translate in this language and in Tibetan verses the first of the said two books; and, when I had put it in good order, on the 6th of January, 1717, having said and applied Holy Mass to this end, I went to the King's Palace,[2] where I was admitted into the Royal Hall of audience, where the King was on his throne, surrounded by a very great assembly of Grandees, and persons of the court, and Lammâs, who are their Religious and Doctors. The King received my present, took my book into his hands, bade me sit in front of his throne, and made me drink the Cià. Then with his own hands he untied and opened my book, and asked me how much longer I would remain in this (p. 186) Tibet. I answered I would remain until my death, which caused much emotion in the whole assembly. Next, he asked me what my God was like. I answered that I acknowledge and worship only one sole God, creator of all things. He asked me how many Gods there are. I answered: Only one, sole in essence, and trine in persons. He asked me the names of the three divine persons, and, taking occasion

[1] The same date, *ibid.*
[2] The three Capuchins went with him on that occasion.

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do Iddio di sua natura incorporeo, per amore, e salute nostra, si era fatto uomo. Dipoi da se stesso lesse tutta la dedicatoria del Libro, che è un elogio del Re medesimo in versi Thibettani, poichè ad esso è dedicato il libro. Indiancorchè gia sapesse il tutto, come stesse la cosa, per farmi quest' onore appresso gl' altri, mi domandò, chi avesse composto, e posto in questa lingua quel libro; risposi, che io stesso senz' aiuto di verun uomo. In oltre mi domando, chi l'avesse posto in versi Thibettani, risposi, che io solo da me medesimo. Dopo di ciò lesse un buon pezzo del primo capitolo, e di poi diede il libro in mano di uno di detti Dottori, che fra tutto il consesso era il più vicino al Re, e dal medesimo dottore il fece leggere. Di poi da se stesso si pose a farmi argumenti in difesa della transmigratione, e a ciaschedumo argomento udì le mie risposte, dopo le quati continuò a farsi a leggere il libro da detto Dottore, ed in quel mentre arrivato il mezzo giorno, fu licenziata l' udienza, senza che il Re in tanto tempo avesse udito altri, nè parlato ad altri. Pochi giorni dopo mi mandò ad interrogave a casa molto per minuto sopra quel punto, che la via, o legge della salute è una sola, e tutte le altre sono d'eterna dannazione. Il Re tiene appresso di se e va leggendo il libro, e facendone conferenze. Faccia Iddio, nelle cui mani sta l'esito, ed al quale tocca a parlare al cuore. Varie altre

of the name of the Holy Ghost, he, being a man of great intelligence, and very penetrating mind, began of himself to make various arguments against the pure spirituality and incorporeity of God, and listened to my answers to the said arguments, and how God, being of his nature incorporeal, had become Man for our sake and salvation. Next, by himself he read the whole dedication of the Book, which is a eulogy of the King himself in Tibetan verses: for the Book is dedicated to him. Then, though he knew quite well how things were, in order to give me that honour before the others, he asked me who had composed that book and put it into that language. I answered I had done it myself, without help from anyone. Moreover, he asked me who had put it into Tibetan verse. I answered I had done it by myself alone. After that, he read a good portion of the first chapter, and then gave the book to one of the said Doctors, who of all the assembly was nearest to the King, and he made the said Doctor read. Next, by himself he began using against me arguments in defence of transmigration, and he listened to my answers to each argument; after which he continued to make the said Doctor read the book. Meanwhile, midday came, and the audience was dismissed, and during all that time the King had not heard any others, nor spoken to any others. Some days after, he sent to my house to question

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volte con varie persone ho ayute private dispute di sì fatti punti di Religione. Da un mese in quà sono stato un poco travagliato nella sanità, a causa delle passate, fatiche. Quanto prima ripiglierò lo studio, e le fatiche, che è quanto posso per ora dar di nuovo.

Non si scordino giammai di pregare per me nelle loro orazioni, *ne forte cum aliis praedicaverim, ipse reprobus efficiar*, e acciocche i miei peccati non pongano impedimento alla conversione di queste genti, e caramente abbracciandola, resto pregando Iddio a darci grazia di rivederci in Paradiso, Amen.

Neque hos solum libros scripsit P. Hippolytus quorum in superioribus libris[1] mentio. Nam in latinam linguam (quod sane Missionariis ad dignoscendos illius gentis errores usui maximo esse potest) convertit Tibettanarum *Sahorim*, seu *Kangiur* qui Bibliorum instar ipsis est in centum et octo

me very minutely on the point whether there is but one way and law of salvation, and all the others are of eternal damnation. The King keeps the book near him, and he goes on reading it and having discussions about it. May God, in whose hands is the issue, and to whom it belongs to speak to the heart, (grant success). Several other times I have had private discussions with various persons on such points of Religion. This last month I have been a little troubled in health, owing to the past fatigues. As soon as possible I shall resume my study and my labours, which is all the news I can give for the present.

Never forget to pray for me in your prayers, *ne forte cum aliis praedicaverim, ipse reprobus efficiar* (lest perhaps, when I have preached to others, I myself should become a castaway),[1] and that my sins may not place an obstacle in the way of the conversion of these peoples; and, embracing you lovingly, I remain praying that God give us the grace of meeting each other in Paradise. Amen.

The books mentioned in the above letter are not the only ones written by Fr. Hippolytus: for he translated into Latin (which can be of the greatest use to Missionaries for learning the errors of that nation) a compendium of the *Sahorim* or *Kangiur* of the Tibetans, a collection of one

[1] Literis ?

[1] 1 Cor., 9. 27.

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grandia volumina tributi compendium a Zonkabà quodam magna apud eos sanditatis fama percelebri elucubratum. Alia etiam parabat, quum a Thibetanis regionibus in Italiam remeandum fuit P. Hippolyto A. CIↃIↃCCXXVII. Romae autem pro suis Missionibus adversus P.P. Cappuccinerum postulata tres non uno temp ore libellos Edidit, obtulitque Sacrae Congregationi *de propaganda fide*. Quod tamen optabat maxime, ut Thibetanum in Regnum rediret, obtinere non potuit, morte intercedente, quae illum ex Collegio Romano ad Superos evocavit XVIII Kal. Majas a. CIↃIↃCCXXXIII.

hundred and eight large volumes, which is like their Bible, the compendium having been written by a certain Zonkabà, who is held by them in very great opinion of holiness. Fr. Hippolytus was also preparing other things when in the year 1727 he had to return from Tibet to Italy. At different times, while at Rome, he published for his Missions and laid before the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* three small books written against the postulata of the Capuchin Fathers. He could not obtain what he desired most, to return to the Kingdom of Tibet: for death supervened, which from the Roman College called him to Heaven on the 18th before to the Kalends of May (April 14) of the year 1733.[1]

28. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to His Holiness the Pope, Clement XI.

(Lhasa, February 13, 1717.)

(*P.* 1) *Copia.* B'mo Padre. 517

Quella somma benignità degna veram.te d'yn Vic.o di Dio in Terra,. che ebbi la sorte di sperimentare, allorche prima di partir di Roma per le Missioni, ebbi la pregiatissima sorte di prostrarmi vmile, e riuerente à Piedi della Stà sua, mi dà adesso animo di pormi di nuouo, se non in persona,

(P. 1) *Copy.* Most Blessed Father,[2] 517

That extreme kindness, truly worthy of a Vicar of God on earth, of which I had the good fortune to be the object, when, before leaving Rome for the Missions, I had the most esteemed fortune of prostrating myself humbly and reverently at the Feet of Your Holiness, encourages me now to place

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[1] I am indebted to Dr. Filippo de Filippi (La Capponcina, Settignano, Florence) for the rotographs of this document which Mgr. Mercati, Prefect of the Vatican Library, ordered to be made at his request. The document must be carefully compared with Desideri's letter to the General of the Society of Jesus (Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717). Cf. our No. 9.

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almeno con q'sto mio foglio, riuerente, e supplicheuole à med. mi ueneratissimi Piedi di sua Stà. Doppo d'esser passato il Tibette piccolo, in cui l'empia seta di Maometto chiude ogni porta all' industrie de Missionari Euangelici; e doppo d'hauer fatto qualche diligenza nell' altro 2.0 Tibette, in cui à cagione della dipendenza, non pare si possa per adesso impiegar con frutto l'industria de Zelanti Missionari; A 7. di Settembre 1715. col fauor di Dio entrai in questo 3.0, e principal Tibette. Indi à 18. di Marzo 1716. arriuai a q'sta Citta di Lhassa, Capitale, e Regia di q'sto Tibette. Qui mi fermai, e benche solo, senza verun Religioso, nè d'altra Relig.ne, nè della Compagnia, non dimeno animato da vn viuissimo desiderio della gloria di Dio, e dell' amoreuoliss.o Gesù Saluatore di tutto il Mondo; con ogni sforzo mi posi all' ardua impresa di trattare de negozi della S. a Fede. Per tal fine giorno, e notto mi applicauo allo studio traua gliosiss.mo di q'sta lingua; p.tal fine mi posi di tutto proposito à leggere, e scrutinare con ogni studio i libbri principali di questa setta: per tal fine da varie perite persone andauo indagando meglio l'origini, i Riti, et opinioni di q'sta setta: per tal fine andauo con varie industrie e spese ancora introducendomi con varie percone, e già m'ero insinuato in vna considerabiliss.a amicizia nella Corte, anzi m'ero insinuato col Re med.mo, fino à sperimentarne finiss.me di-

myself again reverently and suppliantly, if not in person, at least with this paper of mine, at the same most venerated Feet of Your Holiness. Having traversed Little Tibette, where the impious sect of Maomet closes every door to the efforts of Evangelical Missionaries, and having made some diligence in the other second Tibet, where owing to dependency it does not seem that the industry of zealous Missionaries can for the moment fruitfully employ itself, with the help of God I entered this third and chief Tibet on the 7th of September, 1715. Next, on the 18th of March, 1716, I arrived at this City of Lhassa, the Capital and Royal Court of this Tibet. Here I stayed, and, though alone, without a single Religious, either of another Religion, or of the Company, yet, animated by a most lively desire of the glory of God and of the most lovable Jesus, Saviour of the whole World, I began with all ardour the arduous task of dealing with matters of the Holy Faith. For the purpose, day and night, I applied myself to the very laborious study of this language; for that purpose, I started whole-heartedly reading and examining with all zeal the chief books of this sect; for that purpose, I kept seeking out better from various able persons the origins, Rites, and tenets of this sect; for that purpose, with various industries and with expenses too, I became introduced to various persons, and I had already

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mostraz.ni; per tal fine e non dimandato, e dimandato da priuati, e interrogato da Grandi, e interrogato solennem.te per parte del Rè, haueuo chiaram.te manifestato, e publicato, che il mio intento era d'insegnar in q'sto Regno la S.a Fede; per tal fine interrogato yna volta solennem.te p' parte del Rè, e vn altra volta solenissimte, e con gran publicità dal Rè med.mo, posta la mia risoluzione d'insegnar in q'sto Regno la S.a Fede, quanti anni mi tratterei in q'sto Regno; mi dichiarai, e assolutam.te mi protestai, che se Essi abbracciassero la S. a Fede, resterei quì sino alla morte, e auendomi risposto, che voleuano esser in tutto ben informati della S.a Fede, e che per ciò assolutam.te quì rimanessi; Promisi più volte di restar quì sino alla Morte; p' tal fine, acciòche l' intento di promouer, e di piantar qui la S.a Fede, più facilm.te s'insinuasse in queste Anime, aueuo costantem.te ributtate le molte, liberalissime, e anche importune offerte (p. 2) di questo Rè, efficacem.te protestandomi, non voler Io ne i loro onori, nè loro grandezze, nè loro ricchezze, mà vnicam.te la Gloria di Dio, e la loro eterna salute. Vltim.te per tal fine auendomi Essi varie uolte ricercato della differenza trà la Nostra, e la loro Legge e perchè in punti si dilicati, doue ogni minima parola è vn gran che, *a sic* non mi arrischiauo ancora à spiegar *ex professo*, in publico à voce;

insinuated myself considerably into the friendship of the Court, and had even reached the King himself, so much so that I received from him most delicate attentions; for that purpose, when not questioned or questioned by private persons, when requested by Grandees and interrogated solemnly in the King's name, I had clearly made known and declared that it was my intention to teach the Holy Faith in this Kingdom; for that purpose, when asked once solemnly in the King's name,[1] and another time most solemnly and with great publicity by the King himself, given my resolution to teach the Holy Faith in this Kingdom, how many years I would spend in this Kingdom, I declared and protested absolutely that, should they embrace the Holy Faith, I would stay on until my Death, whereupon, as they answered that they wished to be well informed of the Holy Faith, and that therefore I should remain here altogether, I promised many times to remain up to my Death; for that purpose, in order that my design of promoting and planting here the Holy Faith might the more easily find favour with these Souls, I had constantly refused the many very liberal and even importunate offers (P. 2) of this King, strongly protesting that I wanted neither their honours, nor their greatnesses, nor their riches, but only the Glory of

1. At the meeting with the Tartar, the principal Minister of the King, on Aug. 9, 1716.

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m'ero obligato à spigar loro tutto à poco à poco con vari libri: E *ex vi* di ciò aueuo qui composto due libri, nel p.mo de quali confuto l'errore, che ogn'vno nella sua Legge si puô saluare, mostrando, che vna sola è la via della salute, e tutte l'altre sono vie d'eterna dannazzione; e nel 2.o confuto il diabolico errore della Trasmigrazione, e questo in due Trattati; il p.mo contro la Trasmigrazione de cattiui; il 2. o contro la Trasmigraz.ne de Buoni. E già haueuo da me stesso tradotto nella lingua, e per più allettatiuo ancora in versi Thibettani, sino alla meta il p.mo di detti due Libri, il quale di poi finito, hò già con molta solennità, e publicità offerto al Rè, il quale ne hà fatte publiche demostraz. i di stima, lo tiene appresso di se, e lo và leggendo, e in quel giorno publicamte da se stesso mi fece argom.ti, e vdì le mie risposte sopra due questioni, cioe, p.mo sopra la purissima immaterialità, e incorporeità di Dio; presa l'occasione del nome dello Spirito Santo. 2.o sopra la Trasmigraz.ne dell' Anime, e alcuni giorni doppo mi mandò à interrogare per minuto sopra quel punto, che fuori d'vna sola Legge, tutte l' altre sono d'eterna dannazione. Le cose per aiuto, e misericordia di Dio cosi correuano; quando al p.mo di Ottobre 1716. arriuarono trè PP.

God and their eternal salvation. Lastly, for that purpose, when they had asked me many times what difference there was between our Law and theirs, I, considering that in points so delicately, the smallest word is a great one, (said) I did not yet venture to explain it *ex professo*, in public, by word of mouth, but I pledged myself to explain it to them little by little in different books. And, on the strength of this, I had here composed two books, in the first of which I refuted the error that everyone can be saved in his Law, showing that the way of our salvation is but one, and that all the other ways lead to eternal damnation; and, in the second, I refuted the devilish error of Transmigration, and this in two Treatises, the former being against the Transmigration of the wicked, the second against the Transmigration of the Good.[1] And I had already translated by myself in this language, even in Tibetan verse, as a greater enticement, up to the middle, the former of the said two Books;[2] which, when it was completed, I have by now offered to the King with much solemnity and publicity.[3] The King showed in public that he esteemed it; he keeps it near him, and continues reading it. And, on that day, of himself he argued with me publicly, and heard my answers

[1] The letter to the General (Febr. 15, 1717), does not mention the treatise on the transmigration of the wicked.

[2] He began the translation of his first treatise on Sept. 8, 1716; he may therefore have reached the middle of the translation of that treatise by Oct. 1, when the three Capuchins arrived.

[3] The first treatise was presented to the King on January 6, 1717.

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Capuccini Missionari Ap'lici, con vn Decreto, in cui à tutti, *etiam Patribus Societ.tis Jesu*, non ostante qualunque priuilegio in contrario dalla S. Sede conceduto, sotto Ecclesiastiche pene è proibito l'esercitare qualsiuoglia azzione di Missionario in Luoghi, doue siano già Missionari mandati dalla S.a Cong.ne di Propaganda. Non ostante tal Decreto, attese tutte le soprascritte premesse, guidicai non poter Io senza peccato mortale e senza vn grandiss.o aggrauio della mia coscienza, lasciar questa Missione. In oltre giudicai, che il Decreto non cadesse sopra di me, ne potesse essere intimato à me, poiche in Esso si proibisce il por doue già stiano Missionari di Propaganda; ed Io ero entrato in questo Regno, e stauo attualm.te esercitandomi in questa Missione (p. 3) vn Anno, e 24, giorni p.ma che quà arriuassero i soprad.i trè PP. Capuccini. Con che par manifesto, che chi arriua in q'sta Missione al p.mo di Ottobre del 1716., non possa intimare vn tal Decreto e tali pene Ecclesiastiche à chi antecedentem.te fino da 7.di Settembre del 1715. si trouaua già attualm.te in questa Missione, e in essa con sì considerabili, e publici impegni. Tutto ciò propongo, e riuerentem.te ripongo nelle Mani della Stà sua, vmilm.te chiedendo i suoi comandi, i quali tutti,

on two questions: to wit, first on the pure immateriality and incorporeity of God, the name of the Holy Ghost having offered the occasion; secondly on the Transmigration of Souls. And, some days later, he sent to question me minutely on this point, whether besides one sole Law, all the others lead to eternal damnation. With the help and mercy of God, things were progressing thus, when on the first of October, 1716, there arrived three Capuchin Fathers,[1] Apostolic Missionaries, with a Decree, wherein to all, even to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, notwithstanding any privilege to the contrary granted by the Holy See, it is forbidden under Ecclesiastical penalties to exercise any action as a Missionary in Places where be already Missionaries sent by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda.[2] Notwithstanding such a Decree, all the above-written premises considered, I judged that I could not without mortal sin and without a very heavy burden on my conscience, leave this Mission. Moreover, I judged that the Decree did not apply to me, and that it could not have been intimated to me, because in it is forbidden to enter where be Missionaries of Propaganda; and I had entered this Kingdom and was actually labouring in this Mission (P. 3) one Year and 24 days before the above-

[1] Frs. Domenico da Fano, Prefect; Orazio della Penna, and John Francis of Fossombrone.

[2] The letter to the General (Febr. 15, 1717) says that the Capuchins had not formally served that Decree on Desideri.

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anche à costo della mia vita, sempre puntualm.te eseguirò. Non per q'sto però, che dico esser Io antecedentem.te entrato in q'sto Regno, pretendo in ciò dimandare, che siano essi richiamati, anzi con ogni efficacia supplico, che siano qui lasciati, sapendo, che doue manca la fiachezza mia, e della Comp.a, con gran vantaggio supplirà il talento, lo spirito, e lo zelo di si degni, e si bene scelti Apostolici Missionari; trà quali, e Me, è corsa, e corre in tutto vna totale, e più che fraterna concordia, e amoreuolezza, tanto in casa, che è vna med.ma, quanto in publico; molto perciò desiderando, e supplicando, che i med'mi P.ri rice-uano le douute lodi, e ringraziam.to di si esemplar carità verso di me, e si profitteuole concordia in tutte le cose. Ad istanzia de med.mi PP. tradussi fedelm.te in questa lingua la Lettera, con cui la Santità sua onorò q'sto Rè, che sommam.te hà gradito, et apprezzato si alto onore. Seruo ancora i med.mi PP. con insegnar loro, per quanto mi permette la mia debolezza, q'sta lingua, e con andar à poco à poco, à loro requisizione, ordinando con diligenza vna Dottrina, vna Grammatica, e vn Dizzionario di q'sta lingua. Seruo ancora loro con aiutarli dalla metà di Ottobre sino al fine, ò più di q'sto Mese, ogni giorno à sodisfare à loro oblighi di Messe. In somma procuro di non mancare in niente verso si degni Missionari della S.a Sede, e verso con me si caritateuoli Religiosi. Non vna Lettera, mà vn grosso

said three Capuchin Fathers arrived here. Therewith it seems plain that who arrived here in this Mission on the first of October 1716 may not intimate such a Decree and such Ecclesiastical penalties to who previously, from the 7th of September, 1715, was already actually in this Mission, and that too under such weighty and public obligations. All this I propose and lay reverently in the Hands of Your Holiness, humbly asking your orders, all of which, even at the cost of my life, I shall always punctually execute. But, on the score of what I say, that is my having entered this Kingdom earlier, I do not on that account request that they be recalled; nay, with all efficacy I beg that they be left here, knowing that where my weakness fails, and that of the Company, the talent, the fervour and zeal of such worthy and such select Apostolic Missionaries will supply; between whom and me there has existed and exists in everything a perfect and more than fraternal concord and affection, as well in the house, which is the same, as in public; wherefore, I greatly desire and beg that the same Fathers may receive due praise and thanks for such exemplary charity towards me, and such profitable concord in all things. At the request of the same Fathers I translated faithfully into this language the Letter with which Your Holiness honoured this King; he was extremely pleased therewith and extremely valued so great an

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volume sarebbe necessario, se volessi fondatam.te, e veram.te ragguagliare sua Stà di tutto ciò, che appartiene à notizie di q'sto Regno, e alla Seta di queste Genti; perciò lasciando di porre in ciò la penna, rimetto vna tal cosa alla lingua di chi auerà la sorte di porre (p. 4) in persona riuerente la bocca à Piedi di sua Stà. E prostrato con la bocca, e col cuore al bacio de veneratissimi Piedi della Stà sua, vmilm.te dimando la sua Paterna, et Ap'lica Benedizione, et Indulgenza.

Della Santità Sua.

Lhassa 13. di Feb.ro del 1717.

Minimo, e Riuerentiss.mo Figlio, seruo, e suddito

*Ippolito Desideri*,
della Comp.a di Gesù.

honour. I also serve the same Fathers by teaching them, as much as my weakness allows, this language, and by arranging diligently little by little, at their request, a Doctrine, a Grammar and a Dictionary for this language.[1] I also serve them by helping them daily from the middle of the month of October till the end, or more than this Month, in satisfying their obligations for Masses. In fine, I try not to fail in anything towards such worthy Missionaries of the Holy See, and Religious so charitable to me.[2] Not one Letter, but a big volume would be necessary, if I wished fully and truly to report to Your Holiness whatever concerns information regarding this Kingdom and the Sect of these Peoples; wherefore, without turning my pen to such work, I commit such a matter to the tongue of him who will have the good luck of (P. 4) personally kissing with reverence Your Holiness' Feet. And, prostrate to kiss with mouth and heart the most revered Feet of Your Holiness, I humbly ask Your Paternal and Apostolic Blessing and Indulgence.

Of Your Holiness.

Lhassa, the 13th of February 1717.

The Least and Most Reverent Son, servant and subject,

*Ippolito Desideri*, of the Company of Jesus.

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[1] From the letter to the General (Febr. 15, 1717) we could not conclude that this triple work was already begun.

[2] In this letter, Desideri, considering himself in the right, deprecates the recalling of the Capuchins. In his letter to the General (Febr. 15,

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29. The case of Fr. Ippolito Desideri as represented to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda by Fr. Felico da Montecchio, Capuchin, in *Summario A* (1728).

Through the kindness of Dr. Filippo de Filippi, we obtained from Mgr. Mercati, Prefect of the Vatican Library, rotographs of *Sommario A*, which places before the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda the case of Fr. Desideri from the Capuchin point of view. It is like a preliminary document, which drew answers from Fr. Desideri and counter-answers from the Capuchins. The case was examined by Propaganda between 1728 and 1732, when it was decided against the Jesuits.

The *Sommario A* is a printed document, of 7 pages, of which only a few copies were printed. The rotographs do not show any pagination; in fact the pages have had to be paginated by the photographer. In parts the lines are numbered. We indicate this numbering wherever we find it.

We subjoin a translation of the whole of this rare publication.

(*P.* 7)

Alla Sagra
CONGREGATIONE
*De Propaganda Fide*
Emo, e Rmo Sig. Card.

NICOLO SPINOLA
PONENTE

*Risposta alla Petitione del R.P. Ippolito Desideri da Pistoia della Compagnia di Gesù per la Causa del Thibet.*

CONTRO
E PER

F. Felice da Montecchio Cappuccino

*Sommario A.*

Typis Giannini, and Mainardi 1728.

(P. 7)

To the Sacred
CONGREGATION
*Of the Propagation of the Faith.*
The Most Emin. and Most Rev. Lord Card.

NICOLO' SPINOLA
PONENT

*Answer to the Petition of the Rev. Fr. Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia, of the Company of Jesus, for the Cause of Tibet.*

AGAINST
AND FOR

Friar Felice of Montecchio, Capuchin.

*Summary A.*

Printed by Giannini, and Mainardi 1728.

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1717), he is not without fear that the Capuchins will urge his recall. They must have done so already from Nepal, before advancing on Tibet. The first decisions against Desideri were taken at Rome on March 1, 1717, Sept. 20, 1717, and Dec. 12, 1718.

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20. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to Fr. Felix da Montecchio (Patna, March 19, 1722) and his Appeal to the Pope addressed to Frs. Dominic da Fano and Felix da Montecchio (Patna, March 19, 1717).

(*P.* 1.) A

SOMMARIO.

I.

*Copia di vna Lettera scritta al P. Felice da Montecchio/ dal Padre Ippolito Desiderij da Pistoia della/ Compagnia di Gesù.*

Molto Reuerendo Padre Colendissimo—Pattnà 19. Marzo 1722. —Dice il Prouerbio—Patti chiari and amicizia lunga. Con che il parlar chlaro non pregiudica alla buona amicizia. Non ascriua dunque la P.V.M.R. à rottura d'Amicizia se Io con tutta chiarezza/[5] le manifesto alcun.mio sentimento. Attribuisca à sgrauio della mia conscienza ciò, che à prezzo del proprio sangue non vorebbe esser stata posta nell' impegno in cui si troua.

Lettera del P. Hippolito Desiderii al P. Felice da Montecchio.

2. M.R.P. Mi costa chiaramente, che non v'era occasione/[10] di porre in compromesso la Compagnia di Gesù in quel modo, che v'è stata posta.

Euidenze in generale, ma non indicate.

Primo-non esser stato necessario metter la Compagnia in impegno.

Secondo-Ricorsi

(P. 1.)

SUMMARY A.

I.

*Copy of a Letter written to Fr. Felice da Montecchio*[1] *by Father Ippolito Desiderij of Pistoia of the Company of Jesus.*

Very Reverend and Most Venerable Father, Pattnà, the 19th of March, 1722.

The Proverb says: Short reckonings make long friends. Wherefore, speaking clearly does not damage good friendship. Let not Your Very Reverend Paternity think that our Friendship is broken, because with all clearness I manifest to you a sentiment of mine. Attribute it to the discharge of my conscience: for, not at the price of my own blood, would my conscience have wished to be placed in the obligation in which it finds itself.

Letter of Fr. Hippolytus Desiderii to Fr. Felix da Montecchio.

2. Very Reverend Father, it appears to me clearly that there was no occasion for compromising the Society of Jesus in the manner in which she has been compromised. I

Proofs in general, but not pointed out.

First: that it was not necessary to implicate the Company.

[1] On December 14, 1721, Fr. Desideri left from Kuti for Khatmandu with Fr. Felix da Montechhio, who in 1721 had gone (from Patna) to Lhasa. Desideri arrived at Patna on February 6, 1722, and left it for Agra on March 23, 1722. It would have been natural if, at Patna, he had been the guest of the Capuchin Fathers. The Superior there would have been the ex-Prefect, Fr. Felix da Montechhio.

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essere illegittimi.
Terzo-contro ogni ragione, e verità in tutto il corpo della Lettera solamente qui si nomina la Sacra Congregazione.
L'espultione del P. Hippolito, e della Compagniam dal Thibet diretto impedimento della promulgatione del Vangelo, e Popoli no conuertiti.

Conosco euidentemente, che le Informazioni, e reclamazioni mandate in Roma non sono state legitime. Mi costa apertamete, ch'è stato contro ragione, e contro la verità il procurare con non intie-/[15] ri ragguagli alla Compagnia di Gesù quel da essa non meritato sfreggio, che in faccia á tutto il Mundo alla medesima ridonda da quelle parole—Immò contra Decreta eiusdem Sacrae Congregationis. In fine mi costa euidentemente, che lo sforzo vsato in discacciare me, e la Compa-/[20] gnia di Gesù dà Regni, e Missioni del Thibet è stato vn sforzo direttamente impeditiuo della Conuersione di molte genti, e direttamente opposto alla propagatione della S. Fede Cattolica. Coll' euidente, e sperimentale cognizione di tale incontrastabile verità, incontrastabilmen-/[25] te mi giudico grauissimamente obligato in Coscienza di reclamare, di protestare, e d'appellare in tal causa al supremo, ed immediato formalissimo Tribunale del Sommo Pontefice. Di tal mio appello (che in questo mio foglio aggiungo) ne porto notizia alla P.S.M.R., accioche/[30] ella possa auere quella commodità di dire presso il detto supremo-Tribunale le sue raggioni, la quale non hò auuta-io appresso qualche altro Tribunale, nell' agimento della prima causa. Quando la P.V.M.R. potrà apportarmi.

know to evidence that the Informations and claims sent to Rome have not been legitimate. It appears to me clearly that, against reason and against truth, through incomplete accounts, was obtained for the Society of Jesus that slap, by her unmerited, which she received before the whole World from these words—Nay, against the Decrees of the same Sacred Congregation. Finally, it appears to me to evidence that the effort made in expelling me and the Company of Jesus from the Kingdom and Missions of Tibet has been an effort directly tending to impede the Conversion of many peoples, and directly opposed to the propagation of the Holy Catholic Faith. With the evident and experimental knowledge of such uncontrovertible truth, I judge irrefragably that I am most seriously obliged in Conscience to complain, to protest, and to appeal in such cause to the supreme and immediate most formal Tribunal of the Sovereign Pontiff. Of this my appeal (which I add to this paper I notify Your Very Reverend Paternity, so that you may have, for stating your reasons before the said supreme Tribunal, that convenience which I have not had before any other Tribunal, in the discussion of the first cause.

Secondly: that the recourses were unlawful.

Thirdly: (that they were) against all reason and truth.
In the whole body of the Letter, the Sacred Congregation is named only here.
The expulsion of Fr. Hippolytus and of the Company from Tibet a direct obstacle to the promulgation of the Gospel, and a reason for the non-conversion of Peoples.

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(*P.* 2) Raggioni conuincenti, che mi mostrino non essere io ob-[35] bligato grauemente in Coscienza a tali riclami, ed appelli, sarrò subbito pronto à desister da essi. Quando poi ella conosca in me vn tal obbligo, la supplico a non auer per male, che Io persista nell' intrapreso appello, e vada à dire à voce (se Iddio così vorrà) le mie ragioni appresso il [40] Sommo Pontefice; e con bagiarle diuotamente le sacremani, mi dico e soscruio qual mi glorio d'essere della P. V. M. R. Vmilissimo, ed Obligatissimo, e Deuotissimo Seruitore. Ippolito Desiderij della Compagnia di Gesù.

Si darle non esser stato auertio nell' agitarsi la prima causa.

(P. 2) When Your Very Reverend Paternity will be able to give me convincing reasons, which show to me that I am not seriously obliged in Conscience to make such complaints and appeals, I shall at once be ready to desist therefrom. But, as you know in me such an obligation, I beg of you not to take it amiss if I persist in the appeal I have undertaken, and if I go (God so willing) to state by word of mouth my reason before the Sovereign Pontiff. And, kissing devoutly your sacred hands, I call and sign myself what I pride myself to be,

Your Very Reverend Paternity's Most Humble, Most Obliged, and Most Devoted Servant.

Ippolito Desiderij, of the Company of Jesus.

To grant him that he was not told that the first cause was being discussed.

*Copia della Citazione.*

In Nomine Domini. Amen.

Ego Hippolitus Desiderij Societatis Iesu Saceerdos, and olim in [45] Missione Thibettensi ex parte Tibi Admodum Reuerendo Patri Dominico à Fano Societatis Iesu superior, Ca-puccino, and ex parte Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fibe Præfecto; nec non Tibi Admodum Reuerendo P. Felici à Montecchio Predicatori Ca-

Appellatione del P. Hippolito al Sommo Pontefice contro li PP. Domenico da Fano, e Felice da Montechhio.

*Copy of Summons.*

In the Name of the Lord, Amen.

I, Hippolytus Desiderij, Priest of the Society of Jesus, and in the name of the Society of Jesus former Superior in the Tibet Mission make known to you, Very Reverend Father Dominic da Fano, Capuchin, and in the name of the sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide Prefect,[1] as also to You, Very Reverend Father Felix

Appeal of Fr. Hippolytus to the Sovereign Pontiff against Fathers Dominic da Fano, and Felix da Montecchio.

[1] Fr. Dominic da Fano was then in Tibet.

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puccino Missio- [50] nario Apostolico, and ex Præfecto notum facio: Me vt obbedirem Eminentissimis, and Reuerendissimis DD. Cardinalibus Sacræ Congregationis de Propaganda Fide discessisse jam à Regnis Thibethi, and quam primum profecturum ex tota hac Missione Regnorum Thibethi, and eius fini-[55] bus, transiturumque ad alia loca, quae vllo modo possint ad eamdem Missionem pertinere.[1] Antequam verò ex his Regnis perficiscar[2] aperte dilucideque profiteor me vllo modo[3] juri illi cedere posse, quod Societas Iesu in Missionem Thibethensem legitimè habuisse, and habere videtur [60] donec aliter à Summo Pontifice statuatur. Hac de Causa in Nomine Sanctissimae Trinitatis, and inuocato Nomine Iesu appello ad immediatum supremumque Tribunal Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Domini Clementis XI. Summi Pontificis, vel eius successoris. Eoque vos aduoco, vt omnia [65] ea, quae à me contra vestrum conatum expellendi meipsum necnon Societatem Iesu ab omnibus Regnis Thibethi in Indicium deferri possint a vobis metipsis, si ratio-110[4] nes suppetant auertere conemini. Datum in Vrbe Pattanà die 19. Martij 1722. Hippolitus Desiderij. Socie- [70] tatis Iesu manu propria

da Montecchio, Capuchin Preacher, Missionary Apostolic and ex-Prefect: that, to obey the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lords Cardinals of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, I have now left the Kingdom of Tibet, and shall relinquish this entire Mission of the Kingdom of Tibet and its limits,[1] and shall proceed to other places which may not belong in any way to the same Mission. However, before I go from these Kingdoms, I declare openly and clearly that I cannot in any way yield that right which the Society of Jesus appears lawfully to have had and to have on the Tibet Mission, until it be decided otherwise by the Sovereign Pontiff. For which Reason, in the name of the Most Holy Trinity, and after invoking the name of Jesus, I appeal to the immediate and supreme Tribunal of Our Most Holy Lord the Lord Clement XI., Sovereign Pontiff, or of his successor. And to it I summon you, that you may try to avert from yourselves, if reasons there be, whatever can be produced in Judgment by me against your endeavour to expel me and the Society of Jesus from all the Kingdom of Tibet. Given at Pattanà, the 19th day of March, 1722.

Hippolytus Desiderij, of the Society of Jesus. In his own hand.

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[1] We expect: ad alia laca, quae nullo modo . . . . pertinere; or: exiis locis quae ullo modo . . . . pertinere.
[2] We should have proficiscar.
[3] We expect: nullo modo.
[4] I cannot say how these figures got in here.

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[1] That is, also the districts around Patna which had been assigned to the Capuchins.

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(*P.* 3.)

Lettera del Rmo P. Preposito Generale della Compagnia di Gesu al P. Felice da Montecchio.

Copia d'vna Lettera al p. Felice da Montecchio Cappuccino nel Thibee scritta dal Reuerendissimo P. Tamburini Generale della Compagnia di Gesù—Prima via—in altra seconda via—

Reuerendo Padre Padrone Osseruandissimo:—Gli officij d'-Ospitalità, ed ogn'altra attenzione auutasi da miei Religiosi in Ponticheri, ed in Bengala à V.P.R., era talmente douuta al suo merito, che le cortesi espressioni, che si compia-[s] ce farmene non sono, che effetti d'vna speciale, e distinta cortesia. La ringrazio per tanto di si gentili suoi sentimenti, e sia V.P.R. pur certa, che m'obbliga non poco il gradimento, che me ne mostra. Desidero altre maggiori congiunture à codesti miei Padri da poterle mostrare l'os-[10]-sequio, che se le deue, ed in cniò incontraranno sempre il mio genio, che è tutto rispetto, e stima verso la sua persona à cui rassegnando la mia più diuota osseruanza mi protesto etc. Della P.V.R.—Roma—30. Aprile 1710.—Deuotissimo, ed Obligatissimo Seruo Michelangelo Tam-[15]burini-nel soprascritto: Al Reuerendo Padre Felice da Montecchio Vice-Prefetto del Thibet—Thibet—

(P. 3.)

Letter of the Rev. Fr. Provost General of the Company of Jesus, to Fr. Felice of Montecchio.

Copy of a letter to Father Felice of Montecchio, Tibet, written by the Very Rev. Fr. Tamburini General of the Company of Jesus. First *via*.—The second *via* is in another.

The services of Hospitality and every other attention shown to Your Reverend Paternity by my Religious at Ponticheri and in Bengala were so greatly due to your merit that the polite expressions which you are pleased to use to me thereon are but prompted by a special and distinct courtesy. I thank you, nevertheless for such kind sentiments, and Your Reverend Paternity may, however, be sure that the pleasure which you show to me in the matter obliges me not a little. I wish those Fathers of mine may find other and greater opportunities to show the kindness they owe you, and herein they will meet my own inclination, which is one of unreserved respect and esteem for your person. Assuring you of my entire devotedness and respect, I declare myself, etc.

Your Reverend Paternity's

Rome, the 30th of April 1710.

Most Devoted and Most Faithful Servant,

*Michelangelo Tamburini.*

On the address: To the Reverend Father Felice of Montecchio, Vice-Prefect of Tibet.—Tibet.

Ordine del Rmo P. Preposito Generale al P. Hip-

Copia dell Ordine del P. Generale mandata al P. Dessiderij per vscir dal Thibet.

Order of the Most Rev. Fr. Provost General

Copy of the order of the Father General sent to Fr. Desiderij, for leaving Tibet.

Very Reverend

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polito per vscir dal Thibet.

Molto Reuerendo Padre in Christo. Pax Christi. Sino dall Anno passato scrissi al Padre Prouinciale di Goa, che richiamasse V.R. dalle missioni del Thibet per essere tale l'Ordine datomi dalla Sacrà Congregazione de Propaganda[5] Fide à cagione d'esser state assegnate le missioni d'ambedue i Regni di Thibet à i PP. Cappuccini ad esclusione d'ogni altra Religione, l'istesso Ordine hò replicato quest' anno al Padre Prouinciale, ed à V.P.R., nella mia risposta alla sua, che hò già rimessa à Portogallo peressere inuiate per[10] la via ordinaria delle Naui di Goa.

to Fr. Hippolito for leaving Tibet.

Father in Christ. The Peace of Christ. Already last year I wrote to the Father Provincial of Goa, telling him to recall Your Reverence from the Missions of Tibet, such being the Order given me by the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, the Missions of both the Kingdoms of Tibet having been assigned to the Capuchin Fathers, to the exclusion of every other Religion. This year I have repeated the same order to the Father Provincial, and to Your Reverend Paternity in my answer to your letter, which I have already sent to Portugal to be sent by the ordinary way of the Goa ships.

Secondos. Benche non posso dubitare della pronta esecuzione di questi miei oridini replicati, con tutto ciò per auere auto doppo vn'nouo impulso da Monsignor Secretario de Propaganda Fide rinuouo ancor Io il medemo ordine[15] con questa mia che sarà inuiata à V.R. per altra strada; poiche assai me preme, che si esequiscano i commandi della Sacra Congregatione massime per i Decreti de—15.—Gennaro 1665. —e di 28.—Aprile—1698.—, nè quali si (*P.* 4) ordina, che nessuno fondi nuoue Missioni senza licenza[20] espressa della Sacra Congregatione ne luoghi assegnati ad altre Religioni per le Missioni.

Second. Though I cannot doubt of the prompt excution of these my repeated orders, yet, having since had a new push from Monsignor the Secretary de Propaganda Fide, I too renew the same order with this my letter, which will be sent to Your Reverence by another route; for he greatly urges me that the orders of the Sacred Congregation, as expressed chiefly in the Decrees of the 15th of January, 1665, and of 28th of April, 1698, be executed, wherein (P. 4) is ordained that no one without express leave of the Sacred Congregation found new Missions in the places assigned for the Missions to other Religious.

Terzo. Quando diedi à V.R. licenza d' andare al Thibet non mi era noto quest' assegnamento fatto dalla Sacra Congregatione alli PP. Cappuccini della Missione del[25] Thibet; anzi mi fù supposto, che dopo d'auer fondata P. P., ed esserui dimorati sino al 1650, quando ne furono discacciati per

Third. When I gave Your Reverence leave to go to Tibet, I did not know of this assignment of the Mission of Tibet made by the Sacred Congregation to the Capuchin Fathers; rather, I supposed that after our Fathers had founded that Mission and had stayed therein till 1650, when they

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vna persecutione; non si era più riaperta da altri. E però V.R. non si merauigli di questa noua disposizione per le nuone notizie aute-[30]dalla Sacra Congregazione. V.R. dunque in riceure questa mia subbito si diaponga à partire da cotesta missione col merito che auerà acquistato appresso Dio in intraprendere così disastroso viaggio, ed in promouere con luoni principij, e non tanto Zelo la cognizione della no-[35]stra Santa Fede in codesto. Regno, aggiunga quello, della pronta vbbidienza assai più grata à sua Diuina Mæstà, che se conuertisse alla Fede tutti cotesti Regni, e subbito, che potrà mi dia auuiso dell' esecuzione data à questo mio ordine, e mi raccommando à suoi Santissimi Sacrificij, ed Orazioni-Roma 16. Gennaro-1719, D.V.R. Seruo in Christo Michelangiolo Tamburini—Al Molto Reuerendo Padre in Christo. Il P. Hippolito Desiderij della Compagnia di Gesù—Thibet.

were expelled from it by a persecution, it had not been reopened any more by others. And so, let not Your Reverence be surprised at this new disposition due to the new informations received from the Sacred Congregation. Therefore, on receiving this my letter, let Your Reverence prepare at once to leave that Mission with the merit which you will have acquired before God by undertaking so disastrous a journey and by promoting through good principles and with so much zeal the knowledge of our Holy Faith in that Kingdom. Add to it the merit of a prompt obedience, which will be much more pleasing to His Divine Majesty than if you should convert to the Faith all those Kingdoms; and, as soon as possible, inform me of the execution of this my order. And I commend myself to your Holy Sacrifices and Prayers.

Rome, the 16th of January, 1719.

Your Reverence's Servant in Christ.

*Michelangiolo Tamburini,*

To the Very Reverend Father in Christ, Fr. Hippolito Desiderij, of the Company of Jesus, Tibet.

Vltimo Decreto della Sacra Congregazione di lasciarsi da' PP. della compagnia alla Missione del Thibet.

Decretum Sacræ Congregationis Generalis Fidei Propagandae habitae Die—12. Decembris 1718.

Referente Eminentissimo, and Reurendissimo DD. Cardinali Barberino Sacra Congregatio inherendo, ac confirmando Decreta alias edita sub diebus 15. Ia-

Last Decree of the Sacred Congregation, by which the Fathers of the Company must leave the Mission of Tibet.

Decree of the General Sacred Congregation Propaganda Fidei, held on the 12th of December, 1718.

On the report of the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lord, Lord Cardinal Barberini, the Sacred Congregation adhering

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nuarij—1656. 28 Aprilis—1698. prima Martij, and 20. Septembris superioris anni-1717. statuit, and mandauit seriò, atque distinctè iniungi, e[1] ac pracipi[2] P. Præposito Generali Societatis Iesu, vt juxta eiusmodi Decreta, ominò dimittat Missiones in Regnis Thibeti, vtpote P. P. Cappuccinis Italis diu jam assignatas, atque inde quacuque[3] dilatione tergivexatione,[4] ac mora sublata reuocet, ac remoueat suos Religiosos, qui ad easdem excolendas Missiones, inconsulta Sacra Congregatione, immo, and contra eius Decreta se contulerunt. Datum Romae etc.

to, and confirming, the Decrees issued at other times, on the 15th of January, 1656, on the 28th of April, 1698, on the 1st of March, and the 20th of September, of last year 1717, decided and earnestly ordered and distinctly enjoins and ordains that the Father Provost General of the Society of Jesus, according to the said Decrees, give up altogether the Missions in the Kingdoms of Tibet, as long assigned by now to the Italian Capuchin Fathers, and recall and remove thence, without any postponement, tergiversation or delay his Religious, who, without consulting the Sacred Congregation, nay, even against its Decrees, went to cultivate the same Missions. Given at Rome, etc.

Decretum Sacrae Congregationis Generalis Fidei Propogandæ habitae—die. 11. Januarij 1704.

Decree of the General Sacred Congregation Propagandæ Fidei held on the 11th day of January, 1704.

Decreto della S. G. per il[5] quale il P. Felice da Montecchio fu dichiarato Missionario nella prima spedizione.

Referente R. P. D. Carolo Augustino Fabrono, Secctario, Sac. Congregatio Missionarium Apostolicum in Regnis Thibet ad Decennium declarauit P. Felicem à Montecchio Ordinis Cappuccinorum sub directione tamen, and dependentia Patris Ioannis Francisci à Camerino Præfecti, vel alterius Præfecti, seu Vice-Præfecti, à Sacra Congregatione deputandi, cui omnino parere debeat, ac necessarias facultates ad Missiones exercendas ab eodem juxta sibi tributam

Decree of the Sacred Congregation by which Fr. Felice of Montecchio was declared a Missionary in the first expedition.

On the report of the Rev. Fr. Dom Charles Augustine Fabronus, Secretary, the Sacred Congregation declared Father Felice of Montecchio, of the Order of Capuchins, an Apostolic Missionary for ten years, under the direction, nevertheless, and dependence of Father John Francis of Camerino, Prefect, or of another Prefect or Vice-Prefect to be appointed by the Sacred Congregation, as one whom he must obey in all things and from whom he must receive in

[1] *Iniungit.* [2] *Praecipit.* [3] *Sic.*
[4] *Sic.* [5] *Sic.* for *il.*

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authoritatem in totum, vel in partem recipiat, seruata semper ipsius Præfecti, vel Vice-Præfecti tam circa facultates, quam circa locâ, and tempus easdem exercendi moderatione; Nullo verò modoextra fines suæ Missionis ijs vti quæat, ad quam donec, and quousque peruenerit nulla prorsus exemptione, aut priuilegio gaudere possit. Datum Romae—Die etc.

whole or in part the necessary faculties for exercising Missions, according to the authority granted him, always observing the said Prefect's or Vice-Prefect's control respecting both the faculties and the places and the time for exercising them; insuchwise, however, that he may not in any way use them outside the limits of his Mission and may not enjoy any exemption whatever or privilege until and up to what time he reaches it.

Given at Rome. On the day, etc.

Franciscus Berberius[1] pro-Præfectus—Eño Carulo[2] Barberino

C. A. Fabronus, Secr.

Francis Berberinus, Prefect for the Most Eminent Charles Barberini,

C. A. Fabronus, Secretary.

Decsioni replicate della Sacra Congregazione in ordine alla prima causa.

Rescriptum Sacræ Congregationis Generalis Fidei Propagandae abitae[3] prima Martij— 1717.— Communicetur Decretum Patri Generali Societatis Iesu, qui curet omninò seruari-item sub Die 20. Septembris—1717. ad Patrem Generalem Societatis Iesu pro sollicita reparatione.

Repeated Decisions of the Sacred Congregation respecting the first cause.

Rescript of the General Sacred Congregation Fidei Propogandæ held on the first of March, 1717.

Let the Decree be communicated to the Father General of the Society of Jesus, and let him strictly observe it. Likewise (the rescript?) of the 20th of September, 1717, (addressed) to the Father General of the Society of Jesus for his careful attention.

Decretum Sacræ Congregationis Generalis Fidei Propagandæ habite Die 28. Aprilis 1698. Relatis per Eminentissimum, and Reuerendissimum DD. Cardinalem Noricium Infrascriptis dubijs propositis à PP. Cappuccinis Prouinciæ Touronensis in Vrbe Surattensi Missionarij[4] videlicet.

Decree of the General Sacred Congregation Propagandæ Fidei held on the 28th of April 1698.— The Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lord, Lord Cardinal Noricius, having reported the under-written doubts proposed by the Capuchin Fathers of the Touraine Province, Missionaries in the Town of Suratte, *viz.*:

[1] *Sic.* [2] *Sic.* [3] *Sic.* [4] *Sic.* for *Missionaries.*

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Primo. An licitum sit Religionis cuiiusque Ordinis, vel Congregationis, etiam Societatis Iesu, fundare nouam Missionem, absque speciali mandato istius Sacræ Congregationis in locis, vbi alij Religiosi jam habent fundatam. Eminentissimi PP. rè maturè perpensa decreuerunt negatiuè, and dari Decretum—11 Ianuarij 1656.

Risposta della Sacra Congregatione su'lnon douersi fondar Mission[1] da altri Religiosi anco Gesuiti, ne luoghi da altri (*P.* 6) occupati senza espressa permisione della medesima.

Decretum Sacræ Congragationis Propagandæ Fidei die 11. Januarij 1656.

Sacra Congregatio censuit nullo modo in posterum licere pro bono Religionis Catholicæ ad tollendas inter Missionarios dissentiones, and litigia in locis, in quibus existunt Missionarij Apostolici vnius Oridinis nouam Missionem aliorum Religiosorum, etiam Societatis Iesu fundare, vel illam sub quouis prætextu, aut auctoritate exercere absque expressa licentia eiusdem Sacræ Congregationis, sub pæna priuationis Officij Priuilegij, and facultatis ipso facto incurrenda. Non obstantibus quibuscunque in contrarium facientibus.

Decreto sopra cio di essa S.C.

First. Whether without special order from that Sacred Congregation, it is allowed to the Religious of any Order or Congregation, also of the Society of Jesus, to found a new Mission in places where other Religious have already founded one. The Most Eminent Fathers, having maturely weighed the matter, declared negatively, and ordered to issue the Decree of the 11th of January, 1656.

Answer of the Sacred Congregation about forbidding the founding of a Mission by other Religious, also Jesuits, in the places occupied by others, (P. 6) without the express permission of the same.

Decree of the Sacred Congregation Propagandæ Fidei, the 11th January, 1656.

The Sacred Congregation judged that in the future, for the good of the Catholic Religion, and to remove from among the Missionaries dissensions and disputes, it be not allowed in any way, in the places where there are Missionaries Apostolic of one Order, to found a new Mission of other Religious, also of the Society of Jesus, or under any pretext whatever or authority to exercise the same, without express leave from the same Sacred Congregation, under pain of privation of Office, Privilege, and faculty to be incurred by the very fact. Anything to the contrary notwithstanding.[1].

Decree thereon of this Sacred Congregation.

[1] *Sic.*

[1] Our *Sommario A* is different from the *Sommario* seen by Puini, and containing four letters from Desideri, reproduced by Puini, who also published

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30. Letter of the Viceroy Count de S. Vicente to the King of Nepal.

(Goa, Febr. 23, 1667.)

(*Arch. da India, Livro* 2.0 *dos Reis Vizinhos, fol.* 53*v.*)

(P. 135) The fame of Your Highness' greatness made me wish for an occasion when I could offer to Your Highness the friendship and all the good relations of this Estate with that of Your Highness: all the more as I was recommended to do so by His Majesty the King of Portugal, my Master, who, great and powerful (P. 136) King as he is, wishes to show love and good-will to all good Princes, such as Your Highness. And, as I was informed that the Fathers, the bearers of this, were going to Your Highness' Court, to live and settle in Your Kingdom, I thought it good to write through them, and not to defer any longer my expressing to Your Highness the desire I have that there should exist good friendship between Your Highness and His Majesty the King of Portugal, my Master.

The Fathers who go to Your Highness' Court are priests of the true God and doctors in his law. They teach good customs, and the way to heaven to those who wish to hear them. They have no other intention than that of pleasing God and Your Highness; they do not meddle with trade or the acquisition of temporal goods, but aim only at obtaining the everlasting goods of the other life. And, as they need Your Highness' favour and help, I ask Your Highness to be willing to receive them under your protection, and not to allow anyone to harm them or to prevent their teaching freely the truths which God has revealed and which all must believe to attain bliss. All the kindness which Your Highness will do to these Fathers, I shall esteem as done to my person, and I shall thank you for them on the occasions which will offer themselves. May God keep Your Highness, and enlighten you in his divine grace, and with it have your Royal Person and Estate in his keeping.

Goa, the 23rd of February, 1667.

The Count Viceroy.[1]

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from it part of a long letter by Fr. Joseph of Ascoli, containing his itinerary from Patna to Lhasa (1707). This *Sommario* is not the only document still to be explored and published.

[1] Cf. Julio Firmino Judice Biker, *Collecção de Tratados e concertos de pazes* . . . . . , Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, Tom. IV, 1884, pp. 135-136.

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Article No. 25.

# Life and Work of Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad Bakhshī.

By Baini Prashad, *D.Sc., F.R.A.S.B., Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

In 1911 Mr. Brajendranath De offered to prepare for the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series a properly collated edition of the text and an English translation of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* which deals with the history of India for some six hundred years from the early Musalmān invasions to the end of the 38th year of the Emperor Akbar's reign (377–1001 A.H. *ca.* 987–1592 A.D.). The first fascicles of both the text and translation were published in 1913, but the issue of the succeeding parts was greatly delayed and the concluding volume of the translation from a manuscript left by Mr. De has only recently been issued under my editorship.

Unfortunately very little information is available about the life of the author Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad Bakhshī in the usual works of reference, and I, therefore, thought it desirable to include in a preface a detailed account of his life compiled from his own work and other contemporary sources. Bibliographical notices of the various authorities mentioned by the author in the introduction as the sources of the *Ṭabaqāt*, with notes regarding its importance as a comprehensive history of India up to 1592 A.D., and on its literary merits are also published in the same preface. In order to make this information more easily available to the general readers these sections of the preface are reprinted with a few additions in the *Journal* of the Society.

## Life of Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad Bakhshī.

The author is variously styled as Mīrzā Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, Khwājah Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad or Niẓāmī (*vide* Lowe's translation of '*Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh*', vol. II, p. 479, 1924). In *Maāthīr-ul-Umarā* he is called Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad, while by Abū-l-Faḍl [1], Mīr Abū Turāb [2], Firishtah, and

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[1] *Akbarnāma*, text edition, vol. III, p. 605 (1886) and Beveridge's translation of vol. III, p. 924 (1912–1939). In these notes various volumes of the *Akbarnāma* and the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* are cited as they have been issued in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series. It may, however, be noted that the *Ā'īn*, which has been issued in three volumes, really formed the third and final volume of *Akbarnāma* (see Blochmann's Preface to the first volume of the *Ā'īn*, Phillott's edition, p. v, 1939).

[2] Mīr Abū Turāb Valī's *History of Gujarat*, edited by E. Denison Ross, p. 104 (1909).



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others the appellation of *Bakhshī* is added after his name. Blochmann[1] in the *Ā'īn* also designates him as 'Niẓām of Hirāt'.

Unfortunately the information about the life of the author is very limited, and the two accounts in *Maāthīr-ul-Umarā*[2] and by Elliot[3] seem to be based only on casual references in *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, *Akbarnāma*, *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* and *Muntakhab-ul-lubāb*. None of the authors give the date or year of the birth of Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad, and the information in this connection from contemporary sources is rather conflicting. Mrs. Beveridge in her translation of *Bābur-Nāma*[4] states that Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad was not born till 20 years after Bābur's death. As Bābur died on Jumādā I, 937 A.H. (December 26, 1530 A.D.) this would mean that the Khwājah was born in 956 or 957 A.H. (1549 or 1550 A.D.). According to Al-Badāonī (*vide* Lowe, *op. cit.*, pp. 411, 412) Mīrzā Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad died at the age of forty-five in the 38th year of Akbar's reign of a burning fever on the 23rd Ṣafar, 1003 A.H. (7th November, 1594 A.D.), which would mean that he was born some time in 958 A.H. (1551 A.D.). According to Shaikh Ilāhdād Faiḍī Sirhindī, the author of *Akbar-Nāma* (*vide* Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VI, p. 130, 1875), he died at the age of nearly 48 years on the 22nd Ṣafar, 1003 A.H. in the 39th year of Akbar's reign. Al-Badāonī's statement, in view of the fact that he was a close friend of Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad, and was actively associated with him in the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*, appears to be more reliable, and I have little hesitation in accepting it as correct. The year of his birth may, therefore, be taken as 958 A.H. or 1551 A.D.

Unfortunately we have very little information about Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad's ancestry[5] beyond the fact that he was the son of Khwājah Muqīm Harawī (of Herāt), who was one of Bābur's officials and about the close of his reign was the *Dīwān-i-buyūtāt*[6]. After the death of Bābur, when Gujarāt was conquered by Humāyūn and the province of Aḥmadābād

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[1] Phillott's edition of Blochmann's translation of the first volume of the *Ā'īn*, p. 55, note 2 (1939).

[2] *Maāthīr-ul-Umarā* by Samsāmud-Dowla Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Bibliotheca Indica* edition, vol. 1, pp. 660–664 (1887–1894).

[3] Elliot's *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India*, pp. 180–184 (1849) and *Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, pp. 178–180 (1873).

[4] *Bābur-Nāma*, vol. II, p. 704 (1921).

[5] Rieu in the *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. I, p. 220 (1879), stated that the author in his preface claims descent from the celebrated saint of Herāt Khwājah 'Abdullah Anṣārī, but this is not mentioned in the text edition of the *Ṭabaqāt* issued by Mr. De.

[6] According to Mrs. Beveridge "a Barrack-officer" (*Bābur-Nāma*, vol. II, p. 703, note 2), but Dowson translates *Dīwān-i-buyūtāt* as the *Dīwān* of the household (*Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, p. 178, 1873).

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was entrusted to Mīrzā 'Askarī in 1535 A.D., Khwājah Muqīm was appointed his *wazīr*. He accompanied Humāyūn to Āgra when the latter fled after his defeat by Sher Khān Sūr at Chausa in Bihār on 26th June, 1539. Khwājah Muqīm also, according to the *Ṭabaqāt* (De's translation of vol. I, p. i) and *Maāṯhīr-ul-Umarā*, served under Akbar; this is again referred to in the *Ṭabaqāt* (De's translation of vol. II, p. 336) where in the account of the twelfth year it is stated "the author's father remained in Āgra, performing government work."

We know very little about the earlier years of life or the education of the young Khwājah, but according to Dowson [1] he was one of the pupils of 'Mullā Alī Sher', a learned man, and the father of Faiḍī Sirhindī, the author of *Akbar-Nāma*. There can be little doubt, however, that Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad was a well-educated and well-read young man who, "according to the instructions of his worthy father [2], occupied himself with the study of historical works, which brightens the intellect of the studious and inspires the intelligent with awe; and by the study of the accounts of the travellers in the stages of the journey of existence, which is like a progress of the soul rubbed off the rust of his nature." [3] In addition to being a student of history and literature Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad was a patron of poets and apparently himself used to write poetry, though except for the few stray verses in the *Ṭabaqāt*, no extensive poetical work by the author is known. A reference, however, to Al-Bādāonī [4] shows that various poets such as Amānī, Baqā'ī, Hayātī and Ṣarfī were invited to Gujarāt by the Khwājah during the seven years of his stay in that province, and they flourished under his patronage. It was also during this time that he started writing his *Ṭabaqāt*, and had as his associate Mīr Ma'ṣūm of Bhakkar, who was distinguished as a man of learning and historian [5]. The interest of Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad in historical matters and his skill as a writer is evidenced by the fact that when the Emperor Akbar ordered the preparation [6] of a history of

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1 *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VI, p. 116 (1875).

2 In this connection also see Mrs. Beveridge's remarks where she conjectures that Khwājah Muqīm lived long enough "to impress the worth of historical writing on his son" and probably "transmitted his recollections to him" (*vide Bābur-Nāma*, vol. II, p. 693, 1921).

3 *Ṭabaqāt*, De's translation of vol. I, p. iv (1911).

4 *Muntakhabu-'t-tawārīkh*, Haig's translation of vol. III (1925).

5 See *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, translation of Blochmann, vol. I, Phillott's edition, p. 579 (1939).

6 *Vide Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, Lowe's translation of vol. II, p. 328 (1924). This is the famous *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*, the introduction of which was written by Abū-l-Faḍl, but curiously the Emperor commanded its preparation in 990 A.H. even though the history was to deal with the events that had happened "in the seven zones for the last one thousand years." See *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, translation of Blochmann, vol. I, revised by Phillott, pages xli and 113 (1939).

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the Kings of Islām in 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.) he employed the Khwājah as one of the seven authors for its compilation. According to Elliot (1849, *op. cit.*, p. 179) "the compiler of the Sahīhu-l-Akhbār attributes another work on Indian History under the name of Tārīkh-i-Ī'rich, to the author of the Tabakāt-i-Akberī, but I am not aware that there is any good authority for the statement." I have also not been able to find any other reference beyond a reference in the account of Sarūp Chand's 'Sahīhu-l-Akhbār' in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VIII, p. 314 (1877).

His interest in Sufism and theology is indicated by his association with Ṣūfīs [1], Shaikhs and religious people in general. He may thus be assumed to have had a religious frame of mind, and his writings and the regard in which he was held by such bigoted Muhammadans as Al-Badāonī seem to indicate that he must have been quite orthodox in his views and observances [2]. Miyān Kamāl-ud-dīn Ḥusain of Shīrāz [3], a well-known religious leader, wrote to Al-Badāonī after the Khwājah's death as follows: "For a long time I endured great grief and sorrow from hearing of the death of that repository of humanity, inseparably connected with liberality, him (*sic*) who had acquired all perfections, Mīrzā Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, and from the passing away of all the excellence of that phoenix of the age and of his love and faithful affection for you, my lord." After his recall from Gujarāt in 1589 A.D., when he came into closer contact with the Emperor Akbar, he became less orthodox—apparently in accordance with the prevailing atmosphere of the Royal Court, and does not appear to have looked askance at the innovations of the Divine Faith (*Dīn Ilāhī*) of the Emperor. Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad's ruse in mentioning Shaikh Ḥusain's name when some of the orthodox leaders [4] were summoned to the Imperial Court, also indicates the skillful way in which he managed to keep himself safe from his own religious beliefs being questioned. This view is confirmed by Blochmann (*loc. cit.*, 1869, p. 138) who in commenting on the change in the religious feelings of Al-Badāonī resulting from his past misfortunes and exclusion from Akbar's Court, sums up the situation in the following sentences: "He may have found it necessary to assume a more conciliating attitude towards the 'heretics' of the Court, and the members of Akbar's 'Divine Faith', who were in office and had partly brought about his pardon. He may have imitated the example

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[1] *Vide Muntakhabu-'t-tawārīkh*, Haig's translation of vol. III, p. 167 (1925).

[2] See Al-Badāonī in Ranking's translation of vol. I of *Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh*, p. 9, where he is described as "a kind and complaisant man of wealth, orthodox and religiously disposed."

[3] *Vide Muntakhabu-'t-tawārīkh*, Haig's translation of vol. III, pp. 186, 187 (1925).

[4] *Vide* Haig's translation of *Muntakhabu-'t-tawārīkh*, vol. III, pp. 137, 138, 151; and Lowe's translation of vol. II, p. 309.

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of his friend Nizāmuddīn, the historian, who, though a pious Muslim, managed to rise higher and higher in Akbar's favour by keeping his religious views to himself."

In addition to being a scholar he was a good soldier and administrator, as is clear from the meagre records available from such sources as the *Ṭabaqāt* and the *Akbarnāma*. There is practically no reference anywhere to any office held by the Khwājah up to about the thirty-fifth year of his life, the 29th year (*vide infra*) of Akbar's reign, though according to the *Dhakẖīrat-ul-Khwānīn*[1], he was, at the beginning of his career, Akbar's *Dīwān* of the presence (*Dīwān-i-Ḥuḍūr*), but no mention of this appointment is made in any other work. In the account of the 12th year of the reign (974 A.H., 1567 A.D.) the author states (De's translation of vol. II, p. 336) that when the Emperor went to attack 'Alī Qulī Khān the author remained at Āgra with his father, and spread a vague rumour about the heads of Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān having been brought to Āgra. From the 12th to the 27th year (1567–1582 A.D.) of the reign there is no mention anywhere of Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad, but he was apparently closely associated with the Emperor as one of the Court officials, for after crossing the Sind Sāgar, the Emperor sent him with a message to Shāhzāda Shāh Murād (*vide* De, *loc. cit.*, p. 549, but Al-Badāonī says "to the prince Shāh Murād and the *Amīrs*" *vide* Lowe's translation of vol. II, p. 302). He traversed seventy-five *karohs* "in one day and night" and after delivering the message to the Shāhzāda, returned with his reply to the Emperor at Peshāwar. He then accompanied the Emperor on his march to Kābul and must have held some important post, for when the Emperor[2] had a list of all pious people (Lowe translates اهل سعادت as the people of piety), who were accompanying the army or were absent, prepared by the *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*, he arranged that Al-Badāonī, who was absent, be shown in the return as sick. In the 29th[3] year of

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[1] *Vide Maāṯhīr-ul-Umarā*, text vol. I, p. 661, and Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, p. 178 (1873).

[2] See Lowe's translation of *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, vol. II, p. 305. A curious inaccuracy to which reference may be made occurs here. Al-Badāonī here states that he had become acquainted with Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad about a year back, *i.e.*, about 989 A.H. or 1581 A.D., but Blochmann (*op. cit.*, p. 122), apparently misinterpreting the reference to Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad's activities at Āgra in 974 A.H. referred to above and in the *Muntakhab* (text vol. II, p. 99), states that Al-Badāonī met him at Āgra in 974 "and became his warm friend."

[3] Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad in the *Ṭabaqāt* (De's translation of vol. II, p. 561, 1936) includes this in the account of the events of the 29th year which begins on page 558 and is followed by Al-Badāonī (Lowe's translation of vol. II of *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, p. 332) and in *Maāṯhīr-ul-Umarā* (text edition, vol. I, p. 661). Abū-l-Faḍl in *Akbarnāma* (vol. III, text edition, p. 403, English translation, p. 596) states, these appoint-

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Akbar's reign (991 A.H., 1583 A.D.) the government of Gujarāt was transferred from Shihābuddīn to I'tmād Khān who, after the murder of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, had been the virtual king of Gujarāt till its conquest by Akbar in 980 A.H., and Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad was appointed the *Bakhshī* [1]. Abū Ṭurāb's account (*loc. cit.*, pp. 100, 101) of these appointments is rather vague, but in the *Ṭabaqāt* (p. 563) the author refers to his joining I'tmād Khān at Bījāpūr *en route* to Aḥmadābād after his appointment as the *Bakhshī*. The vacillating policy in reference to the affairs in Gujarāt[2] adopted by I'tmād Khān and the disturbances due to the intrigues of Shihābuddīn Aḥmad Khān and Quṭbuddīn Khān led to Aḥmadābād being occupied by Nannū or Muẓaffar Gujarātī, and the rout of the Imperial forces outside

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ments took place in the 28th year of the reign. In this connection reference may be made to De (*Ṭabaqāt*, English translation of vol. II, p. 559, note 1) where several discrepancies in the dates between *Akbarnāma* and *Ṭabaqāt* are pointed out; the former places the various events enumerated by De a year advance of the dates given in the latter. Inaccuracies in regard to the reckonings of the years of Akbar's reign on the part of Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad are pointed out by Al-Badāonī (*vide* Lowe's translation of vol. II, pp. 353, 363), and he explains these as being due to the author having not taken into account "the intercalated days, which every three years makes a difference of one lunar month, there is a difference in each cycle of a whole year, between the solar and lunar years", and his being away from the Imperial Camp in Gujarāt. After the death of Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad the dates in the *Ṭabaqāt* were checked and at least one corrected by his son Muḥammad Sharīf. In spite of the above, as Al-Badāonī follows the *Ṭabaqāt*, it seems that the dates as they now stand in the *Ṭabaqāt* are the corrected dates.

According to Denison Ross (*A History of Gujarat*, introduction, p. 5, 1909) the year in which 'I'timād Khan was made governor of Gujarāt' was 992 A.H. (1583 A.D.).

[1] Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad's name is included in the list of *Bakhshīs* of Akbar's reign (*vide* Phillott's edition of Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 596), and apparently at this time no distinction was made between *Bakhshī* and *Mīr Bakhshī*, as what is called *Bakhshī* in the *Ṭabaqāt* is *Mīr Bakhshi* in *Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh*. Abū-l-Faḍl in his introduction of the *Ā'īn* (*vide* Phillott, *loc. cit.*, p. 5) mentions the *Mīr-bakhshī* as one of the nobles of the State, and Blochmann gives "Paymaster of the court" as its equivalent. For an account of *Bakhshī* see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan* (1932), page 276, from which it appears that this officer "was the head of the Military Department, and looked after recruitment, reviews, and other similar affairs connected with the army." Further distinction had been introduced in reference to the *Mīr* or Chief *Bakhshī*, while separate *Bakhshīs* were attached to each division during military campaigns. According to Sarkar (*Moghul Administration*, p. 24, 1924) there were three subordinate *Bakhshis* at the end of 'Aurangzib's reign'. In view of the above and the active part played by Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad in the military campaigns and the administration of Gujarāt, the equivalents pay-master (De, *op. cit.*) and paymaster-general (Lowe, *loc. cit.*, p. 393) hardly appear to be appropriate. For a detailed discussion of *Bakhshī* and its various grades see Irvine—*The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 37–40 (1903).

[2] See Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, vol. III, pp. 607–611; and *Ṭabaqāt*, De's translation of vol. II, pp. 563–567.

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the town. The Khwājah sent an account of all that had happened to Akbar, and as a result Mīrzā Khān [1] son of Bairām Khān was sent with a well-equipped army to quell the disturbances in Gujarāt. It is not necessary to deal here with the campaign against Sulṭān Muẓaffar of Gujarāt, but a review of the period distinctly shows that throughout the campaign and earlier Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad proved a very valuable officer, and whether as a commander, and even as an active fighter, he gave a very good account of himself.

He successfully carried out negotiations with Shihābuddīn, made arrangements for the defence of Aḥmadābād in the absence of the main force, defeated the forces of Sher Khān at Jūtānah, arranged for the attack on Muẓaffar's forces by Quṭbuddīn Khān from Bahroj and Baroda, attacked Muẓaffar's army from the rear at Sarkhej which resulted in its defeat, and later was mainly responsible for the defeat of Muẓaffar in the hills of Nādot. For his services in the Gujarāt campaign he was honoured with the gift of a horse and a robe of honour and an increase in his stipend. Later he carried out a successful campaign in Sorath and in the Ran of Kach. Mīrzā Khān, who had meanwhile been honoured with the title of *Khān Khānān*, was, at his own request, recalled to the Royal Court, and Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad with Qulīj Khān and Naurang Khān was left in charge of Gujarāt. During the *Khān Khānān's* absence Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad proved a very energetic officer, and successfully carried out a protracted campaign against Muẓaffar and his partisans in the Ran of Kach, and later subjugated the *Kolīs* and *Grāssiyahs* in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadnagar. His skill as a commander and administrator is indicated throughout all these campaigns by the fact of his skillfully arranging the movements of the troops, attacking the enemy before its forces could be consolidated, his ruse for the relief of Ākẖār, launching vigorous rear attacks in various battles, the establishments of *thānas* or military posts and the construction of forts.

This very successful term of office culminated in the Khwājah's being summoned to the Imperial Court in 996 A.H., when A'ẓam Khān was appointed as the Governor of Gujarāt [2]. Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad traversed a distance of some 600 *karohs* in the course of twelve days, and reached Lāhore on the 3rd *Nauroz* of the 35th year of Akbar's reign. According to Al-Badāonī [3], Akbar gave orders that the camel-drivers should appear before him in the *Maḥjar* in the same condition in which

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[1] *Ṭabaqāt*, De's translation of vol. II, pp. 567, 571, 572, and Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, vol. III, p. 613.

[2] For details see *Ṭabaqāt*, De's translation of vol. II, pp. 563–595, where references to other works and several discrepancies in dates and the different accounts are noted.

[3] See Lowe's translation of *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, vol. II, p. 384.

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they had arrived, and they were a wonderful spectacle. After that he received boundless favours from the Emperor, and gained a great ascendancy over the mind of his royal patron. It was about this time that he was appointed in-charge of the provinces of Ajmīr, Gujarāt and Mālwah, apparently of the *Ḵẖālṣa* lands [1]. Towards the end of *Sha'bān*, 999 A.H., he was granted the *parganah* of Shamasābād as his *jāgīr* and was allowed five months' leave of absence to arrange matters there. In the year 1000 A.H. (1591-92 A.D.) when Āṣaf Ḵẖān *Bakẖshī* was appointed to the Kābul campaign, Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad was appointed as the *Bakẖshī* [2] in his place.

Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad accompanied Akbar to Kashmīr, and apparently was a great favourite of the Emperor at this time. His account of Kashmīr is not very detailed and the history of Akbar terminates with the end of the 38th year of his reign. The author describes it as having been written "in a summary manner by the pen of broken writing" .... "but most of the great events have been succinctly narrated". "If life helps (me) and God's favour helps (me), the events of the coming years also, if the dear God so wills, will be noted down, and will be made a part of this worthy book. Otherwise, anyone who may be guided by the grace of God, having engaged himself in writing it down, will attain to great good fortune." [3]

While staying at Lāhore in attendance on the Emperor, Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad laid out or purchased a garden, and it was in this garden that he was buried after his death. At this time he is described by Al-Badāonī as having "entered on affairs with great energy and activity. He became the focus of all sorts of favours from the Emperor, and the recipient of his perfect trust with regard to his ability, good sense, sincerity, honesty and perseverance." He would probably have risen to much greater heights, but "suddenly at the very acme of his eminence, and the height of his activity, to the disappointment of the hopes of friends and strangers a dreadful blow was received from Fate, and at the age of forty-five he succumbed to a burning fever." [4]

The events preceding his death are described in greater detail in *Akbarnāma* [5] where it is stated that on 14th *Ṣafar*, 1003 A.H. (19th October, 1594 A.D.), at Shāham 'Alī, near Lāhore, he developed high fever while on a hunting expedition with the Emperor. His sons obtained leave to convey him to

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[1] See Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, vol. III, p. 924.

[2] See Lowe's translation of *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, vol. II, p. 393. According to Lowe, *Bakẖshī* was the paymaster-general.

[3] *Vide Ṭabaqāt*, De's translation of vol. II, p. 652. The last sentence is quoted incorrectly in the life of the author in *Maāṯẖīr-ul-Umarā*.

[4] Lowe's translation of *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, vol. II, p. 411.

[5] Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, vol. III, p. 1005.

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Lāhore, but he died on the 23rd[1] *Ṣafar* (28th October, 1594 A.D.) on the banks of the river Rāvī.

In the *Akbarnāma* (*loc. cit.*) it is stated that Akbar's "discerning heart was somewhat grieved, and he begged for forgiveness for him at the court of God. Strangers and acquaintances mourned, and honesty (*rāstī*) indulged in grief."

Al-Badāonī's account (*vide* Lowe, *op. cit.*, p. 412) is more detailed and is quoted here to indicate the regard and reverence in which he was held by all:

> "There was scarcely anyone of high or low degree in the city, who did not weep over his bier, and recall his gracious qualities, and gnaw the back of the hand of regret."

The last line of the *Qiṭ'ah* which was composed on this occasion gives the year (1003 A.H.) of his death:

گوهرِ بي بها ز دنيا رفت [2]

(A priceless pearl has left the world.)

## *TĀRĪKH-I-AKBARĪ* : ITS SOURCES AND IMPORTANCE.

Before dealing with the work itself it would be useful to add a note here regarding the various names assigned to it. The author in his introduction [3] designated it the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbar-Shāhī* and stated that the word *Niẓāmī*, the name of the author, gives the chronogram of the date of its compilation. In *Rauḍat-uṭ-Ṭāhirīn* by Ṭāhir Muḥammad, the work is called *Tārīkh-i-Sulṭān Niẓāmī* [4], but this name has not been adopted

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[1] Faiḍī Sirhindī in *Akhbar-Nāma*, as noted already, gives 22nd Ṣafar, 1003 A.H. as the date of death of Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad Bakhshī (*vide* Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VI, p. 130, 1875); this is certainly incorrect.

[2] Text edition of *Muntakhab Al-Tawarikh* by Lees, Kabir al-Din Ahmad and Ahmad Ali, vol. II, p. 398 (1865).

[3] See De's translation of vol. I, p. 6 (1911). The date comes to 1001 A.H. (50+900+1+40+10) or 1592 A.D. The author died in 1003 A.H., 1594 A.D., and he was apparently working at it for several years before his death. See Ranking's translation of *Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh*, vol. I, pp. 9, 10, footnote 2, 1898). In this connection reference may also be made to Al-Badāonī's remarks where in his description of the events of the year 1002 A.H. he says "Let not the intelligent reader be ignorant of the fact that as to that which has been written up to this point the source of the greater part of it is the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī Shāhī* (*sic*), the date of which, I, this erring author, after much thought found to be *Niẓāmī*. Having persuaded the said author to allow me, I wrote a part of the book myself." (Lowe's translation of vol. II, p. 403).

[4] *Vide* W. H. Morley, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Historical Manuscripts*, p. 68 (1864), and Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, p. 177 (1873). For details of the work *Rauḍat-uṭ-Ṭāhirīn* see Beveridge, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* (*n.s.*) vol. XIV, pp. 269–277 (1918). Unfortunately the only manuscript of this work in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society

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by any of the later writers. The work is called the *Tārīkh-i-Niẓāmī* by Muḥammad Hāshim Khāfī Khān in *Muntakhab-ul-lubāb* (*vide* text-edition in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, vol. I, p. 238, 1869). The same name was also used by 'Abd-ul-Qādir, also known as Al-Badāonī[1], in his *Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh*, but he also calls it '*Niẓāmu-t-Tawārikh*' (*vide* Ranking's English translation in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, vol. I, pp. 9, 10, 1898). Firishtah (*Tārīkh-i-Firishtah*, Persian text, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, p. 4, 1884) designated it as the *Tārīkh-i-Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad Bakhshī*, and Col. Briggs in his translation (*History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, vol. I, Author's Preface, p. xlviii, 1829) calls it '*History of Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud Bukhshy*'. Blochmann (*loc. cit.*, p. 115), as noted already, calls it '*Ṭabaqāt i Niẓām i Bakhshī*'. Several manuscripts, however, bear the name *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, and under this name the work is cited in various descriptive catalogues of Persian Manuscripts in most well-known European libraries (for details see M. Hidāyat Ḥosain's preface to *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī*, p. vii, footnote 1, 1939). This name was apparently first adopted by Elliot[2] who remarked that "the name by which it is best known in literary circles is Tabakāt-i-Akberī", and this was also selected for the edition issued by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in preference to *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbar-Shāhī*, to avoid confusion with a work of the same name by Khwājah 'Aṭā Beg Qazvīnī written about 1014 A.H., 1605 A.D. According to Ranking (*loc. cit.*) the work is simply known as 'Tabaqāt,' while Lees (*Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* (*n.s.*) vol. III, p. 455, 1868) erroneously designates it as the '*Tārīkh-i-Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbar-Shāhī*'.

Beveridge[3] in dealing with the sources of *Akbarnāma* stated that the 'Tabaqat-Akbari' and 'Badayuni's abridgment thereof' (*Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh*) "were probably written under Akbar's orders or inspired by his action." In the introduction to *Akbarnāma*[4] while referring to Abū-l-Faḍl's love for sources or the *Quellen*, he remarked that "to him we owe not only the *Akbarnāma* but also the Memoirs of Gulbadan Begam, Jauhar the ewer-bearer, Bajazat (Bāyazīd) Biyat and perhaps Niẓāmu-d-dīn's history". Neither of the two views is upheld by a study of the contemporary sources. The work was started

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of Bengal (No. 42, *vide Ivanoff's Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, p. 13, 1924) is incomplete, and I have not, therefore, been able to verify this reference.

[1] For a critical note in reference to *Al-Badāonī* see Blochmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 119, 129 (1869).

[2] Elliot's *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India*, vol. I (the only volume ever issued), p. 179 (1849). Also see *Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, p. 177 (1873).

[3] *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal* (*n.s.*) vol. XIV, p. 469 (1919).

[4] *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation of vol. III, introduction p. xi (1939).

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and completed by the author at his own initiative and there is no mention anywhere of either Akbar or Abū-l-Faḍl having sponsored or inspired its compilation. He certainly was helped [1] in the work by such friends as Mīr Ma'ṣūm of Bhakkar [2], 'Abdul Qādir Al-Badāonī [3] and others, but the major part of the work was his own composition, based on a study of several historical works and such independent information as he could collect from various sources by research and industry [4]. His history of the Akbar's reign is based on personal observations, on information obtained from firsthand sources and probably to some extent on Abū-l-Faḍl's *opus magnum* the *Akbarnāma* [5].

In the introduction and dedication of the *Ṭabaqāt* Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad explains the genesis of the work as follows:

> "It came to the dull understanding of the author that he should, with the pen of truth and candour, write a comprehensive history which should present in a clear style, in its different sections, an account of the Empire of Hindustan from the time of Sabuktigīn which began with the year 367 A.H., when Islam first appeared in the country of Hindustan, to the year 1001 A.H., corresponding with the thirty-seventh year of the Divine era, which was inaugurated at the epoch-making accession of His Majesty, the vicegerent of God; and should embellish the end of each section with the story of the victories of His Majesty's glorious army, which is as it were an introduction to the sublime chronicle of renown; then he should give a comprehensive account of all the victories and events and occurrences of His Majesty's reign each in its own place. The details of these events are contained in the great history called the Ākbar-nāmah, which that embodiment of all excellence, the learned in all truths and knowledge, the personification of worldly and spiritual perfection, the favoured of his Majesty the Emperor, the most erudite Sheikh Abul Fazl who is the preface of all excellence and

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1 *Maāṯhīr-ul-Umarā*, text edition, vol. I, p. 663.

2 For an account of this great author, historian and administrator see *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, Phillott's edition of Blochmann's translation of vol. I, pp. 578–580 (1939).

3 Lowe's translation of *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, vol. II, p. 403.

4 The words in *Maāṯhīr* (*loc. cit.*) are

و چون چز رسی و دقت در تنقیح اخبار وسعی تمام بفراهم آوردن مواد بکار برده *

5 I have included *Akbarnāma* as one of his sources, as it is mentioned in the introduction, but in view of various discrepancies in the accounts in the *Ṭabaqāt* and *Akbarnāma* it is very doubtful whether he really utilized it to any extent in the compilation of his own History.

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eminence has written with his wonder-inscribing pen, and has made a chronicle for all times."[1]

The history actually starts from about 377 A.H. corresponding to 987 A.D., and not 367 A.H. as stated by the author in the introduction; an account of the earlier years in a few lines merely introduces Amīr Nāṣiruddīn Sabuktigīn and can by no stretch of imagination be regarded as a history of those years. According to the author, as will be seen from the quotation above, he deals with the history of India up to the year 1001 A.H. corresponding to the thirty-seventh year of Akbar's reign, and apparently it was this which was responsible for Mr. De describing it on the title-pages of volume I, both of the text and the translation, and of the text edition of volume II, as 'A History of India from the early Musalmān Invasions to the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Akbar'. The work, on the other hand, as is clear from a perusal of the author's concluding paragraph of the account of Akbar's reign[2], succinctly narrates the events up to the end of the 38th year corresponding to 1002 A.H. (1593-1594 A.D.), and this is confirmed by a reference to the

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[1] De's translation of the *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. I, p. v. The corresponding passage of the Persian text runs as follows:

بخاطر فاطر رسید - که تاریخی که جامع و مشتمل بر تمامي احوال ممالک هندوستان باشد - بعبارتی واضع از زمان سبکتگین، که سنه سبع و ستین و ثلثمائه - و ابتدا ظهور اسلام در بلاد هندوستان است - تا سنه احدی و الف - موافق سی و هفتم سال الهی - که مبداء آن از جلوس ابد قرین حضرت خلیفهٔ الهي است - طبقه بر طبقه مرقوم خامهٔ صدق و سداد گرداند - و خاتمهٔ هر طبقه را بفتحِ موکب عالی آنحضرت که عنوان رفعت نامه مفاخر ست - اتصال دهد آنگاه مجملی از جمیع فتوحات و واقعات و واردات حضرت خلیفهٔ الهي که این مختصرتر باید بجای خویش عرضه نماید - و تفصیل این اجمال - مفوض به کتاب عالیخطاب اکبرنامه است - که افضل پناه - معارف و حقایق آگاه - جامع کمالات صوري و معنوي - مقرب الحضرت السلطانی - علامي شیخ ابوالفضل که دیباچهٔ مکارم و معالیست - بقلم بدائع رقم نگاشته صحائف ایام ساخته *

It will be seen that جامع و مشتمل بر تمامي احوال has been translated by Mr. De as "comprehensive", خامهٔ صدق و سداد as "with the pen of truth and candour" and بعبارتی واضح as "in a clear style".

[2] *Ṭabaqāt*, De's translation of vol. II, p. 652 (1936).

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*Akbarnāma* [1]. The consultation with the Khān Khānān regarding the Deccan campaign, which took place after the 8th Dai (or Dī) of the 38th year near the town of Sulṭānpūr (or Shaikhūpūr), is mentioned in the penultimate paragraph of the account of Akbar's reign in the *Ṭabaqāt*. The mistake was corrected on the title-page of the translation of volume II, but to avoid ambiguity it would have been better to add the words 'the end of' before "the thirty-eighth year" or still better to use 'to the thirty-ninth year of Akbar's reign'.

Excluding the *Akbarnāma* the author cites the following twenty-eight works which he utilized in the compilation of his *Ṭabaqāt*:

1. *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī.*
2. *Tārīkh-i-Zain-ul-Akhbār.*
3. *Rauḍat-uṣ-Ṣafā.*
4. *Tāj-ul-Maāthir.*
5. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī.*
6. *Khazāin-ul-Futūḥ.*
7. *Tughluq-Nāmah.*
8. *Tārikh-i-Fīrūzshāhī* by *Ḍiyā Barnī.*
9. *Futūḥāt-i-Fīrūzshāhī.*
10. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī.*
11. *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn.*
12. *Tārīkh Maḥmūdshāhī Hindwī* (*Manduī* according to Rieu).
13. *Tārīkh Maḥmūdshāhī Khurd Hindwī* (*Manduī* according to Rieu).
14. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Maḥmūdshāhī Gujarātī.*
15. *Maāthir-i-Maḥmūdshāhī Gujarātī.*
16. *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī.*
17. *Tārīkh-i-Bahādurshāhī.*
18. *Tārīkh-i-Bahamanī.*
19. *Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī* [2].
20. *Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarshāhī.*
21. *Tārīkh-i-Mīrzā Ḥaidar.*
22. *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr.*
23. *Tārīkh-i-Sind.*
24. *Tārīkh-i-Bāburī.*
25. *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī.*
26. *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmshāhī.*
27. *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī.*

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[1] *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation of vol. III, p. 996 (1910–1939).

[2] Rieu (*Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. I, p. 220, 1879) cites numbers 19 and 20 as a single work under the title '*Tārīkh-i-Nāsirī-u-Muzaffarshāhī*', but in the text the two read as: تاریخ ناصری و تاریخ مظفر شاهی *

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28. *Wāqi'āt-i-Ḥaḍrat Jannat Āshiyānī Humāyūn Bādshāh.*

Unfortunately some of the works cited in the *Ṭabaqāt* are not traceable, but I give below short bibliographical notes on the authorities referred to in the above list.

1. *Tārikh Al-Yamīnī* [1] by Abū Naṣr Muḥammad *bin* 'Abd-al-Jabbār al-'Utbī is a history of the first two Ghaznavid sovereigns Subuktigīn and Maḥmūd. It was written about 411 A.H. (1020 A.D.). This work has been translated into Persian, and an English translation of the Persian version by Reynolds was published for the Oriental Translation Fund, London, in 1858. Full bibliographical details of this work were published by M. Hidāyat Ḥosain in his *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Buhar Library*, vol. II, pp. 260, 261 (1923).

2. *Kitāb Zain-ul-Akhbār* by Abū Sa'īd 'Abd-ul-Ḥayy *bin* aḍ-Ḍaḥḥak *bin* Maḥmūd Gardezī is a very rare historical work. Only two incomplete manuscripts [2] of this work are known, one in the library of King's College, Cambridge (213), and the other in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Ouseley, 240); it has further been suggested that the Bodleian manuscript is only a copy of the one at King's College, Cambridge.

*Zain-ul-Akhbār* is a general history of Persia from the Pishdādiyān dynasty, dealing particularly with the governors and rulers of Khurāsān up to *ca.* 440 A.H. (1048 A.D.). Unfortunately a large portion of the work is lost, but an edition of the first thirteen sections of the text was published by Muḥammad Nāẓim [3].

As is pointed out by Muḥammad Nāẓim, Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad Bakhshī was the first author to utilize this work for his account of the Ghaznavid sovereigns in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, and the discovery of this rare work must remain to his credit. Firishtah also includes *Zain-ul-Akhbār* amongst the sources of his *Tārikh*, but in view of the fact that his account of the period dealt with in the *Zain* was based mainly on the *Ṭabaqāt*, it seems likely that he had only taken this reference from Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad's list.

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[1] ترجمهٔ يميني in Firishtah and '*Turjooma Yemuny*' in Briggs (*loc. cit.*, p. xlix).

[2] For details see pages 1–4 of the Preface to Muhammad Nāzim's edition of sections i–xiii of *Kitab Zain 'l-Akhbar* (E. G. Browne, Mem. Ser. I, 1928).

[3] *Vide* note 3, p. xxii. The editor cites *Elliot's History of India*, 1869, as the first notice of this work. This is incorrect, as Elliot in his *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India*, p. 83 (1849), had published a detailed note regarding the Ouseley Manuscript No. 240 which is now preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; this was reprinted in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. IV, pp. 557, 558 (1872), while the 1869 reference cited by the editor is only a casual notice of the work in vol. II of the same publication (p. 432).

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3. *Rauḍat-uṣ-Ṣafā* by Muḥammad *bin* Khāwand Shāh *bin* Maḥmūd. Very little information is available about the birth or early life of the author, but he is stated to have died at Herāt in 903 A.H. (1497 A.D.). *Rauḍat* is a work on general history, from the creation of the world to the author's time. For details see *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar*, Bombay edition, volume II, pp. 198, 339, and Rieu's *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. I, p. 87 (1879). A full account of the work and translations of some extracts by Sir H. M. Elliot are published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. IV, pp. 127–140 (1872).

4. *Tāj-ul-Maāthir* by Ḥasan Niẓāmī of Nishāpūr deals with the history of part of the reign of Mu'izuddīn (assassinated 602 A.H., 1206 A.D.), the entire reign of Quṭbuddīn Aibak (602–607 A.H., 1206–1210 A.D.) and the first seven years of the reign of Shamsuddīn Iltutmish (1211–1217 A.D.). A detailed account of the *Tāj* was published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. II, pp. 204–243 (1869), while Ethé in the *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office*, vol. I, p. 209 (1901) gives full bibliographic references.

5. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* by *Minhāj* Sirāj Jūzjānī is a very valuable historical work from the earliest times to 658 A.H. (1259 A.D.). The author in honour of his patron Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd Shāh, king of Delhī (644–664 A.H., 1246–1266 A.D.), named it *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. A detailed account of the work is given in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. II, pp. 259–383 (1869) and vol. VIII, pp. i–xxxi (1877), and full bibliographical references are included in Rieu's *Catalogue*, vol. I, pp. 72, 73 (1879). The text of sections xi and xvii–xxiii edited by W. Nassau Lees, Khādim Husain and 'Abdul Ḥayī was issued in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series in 1863-1864, and an English translation of sections vii–xxiii and an epitome of the first six sections by H. G. Raverty was issued in the same series from 1873–1881; a fascicle of indices was issued in 1897.

6. *Khazāin-ul-Futūḥ* or the *Tārīkh-i-'Alāī* by Amīr Khusrau is a short but very important contemporary history of the reign of 'Alāuddīn dealing with the period 695–711 A.H. (1296–1312 A.D.). The work is very rare [1], only two manuscripts, one in the British Museum (Or. 1638) and the other in King's College Library, Cambridge, are known. A lithograph edition [2] based on the British Museum manuscript was published under the editorship of 'Moinul Haq' in 1927, but, as has been pointed out by Dr. Mīrzā [3], it is "full of mistakes, due either to faulty transcription or to careless editing."

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[1] For details see Mohammad Wahid Mirza—*The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, p. 225, footnote 1 (*Punjab Univ. Orient. Pub.*, Calcutta, 1935).

[2] *The Khazainul Futuh* edited by Syed Moinul Haq (*Publications of the Sultania Hist. Soc.*, Aligarh, 1927).

[3] M. W. Mirza, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

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In his excellent study of Amīr Khusrau Dr. Mīrzā (pp. 222–225) has given a detailed list of contents of the historical material of the *Khazāin-ul-Futūḥ* and discussed its literary peculiarities; Prof. M. Ḥabīb [1] in his introduction to the text edition had also dealt with the literary characteristics and the historical importance of this work.

7. *Tughluq-Nāmah* by Amīr Khusrau was quite unknown till recently, as no copies of it are preserved in any of the European or Indian libraries. Al-Badāonī (*Muntakhbu-t-tawārīkh*, Ranking's translation of vol. I, p. 301) remarks that it was the last of Amīr Khusrau's works, and "was written in verse in honour of the Sulṭān and in obedience to his order". Ethé in his *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office*, p. 405, in the account of *Haft Iqlīm*, notes that the work consisted of 3,000 *baits* (verses). A manuscript entitled *Jahāngīrnāmah* by Ḥayātī Kāshī in the personal library of Maulānā Ḥabīb-ur-Raḥmān Shirwānī of Ḥabībganj was recently identified as the *Tughluq-Nāmah* of Amīr Khusrau by the late Maulvī Rashīd Aḥmad Anṣārī. A detailed introduction, a summary of this work by the editor Saiyid Hāshmī Farīdābādī, an incomplete descriptive note by Maulvī Rashīd Aḥmad in Urdū, and the text was published at Aurangābād, Deccan, in 1352 A.H. (1933 A.D.).

Relying on the statements in *Kashf-uẓ-Ẓunūn* and 'Abd-ul-Qādir Al-Badāonī's *Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh* the *Tughluq-Nāmah* is believed to have been composed in 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.), but some part of the work had been lost even in Akbar's time, and in 1019 A.H. (1610 A.D.), Jahāngīr commissioned Ḥayātī Kāshī to supply the missing parts to complete the work. The work, as published, is believed to be what has been preserved of Ḥayātī's revised version, and consists of 2,920 verses. In view of the presence of a ترک (catch-word) on the last page of the manuscript and a statement by Ḥayātī (*vide* verses 168–177) that he intends to complete the work by adding some further verses at the end, it is surmised by the editor that some of the folios at the end are missing. 179 verses in the beginning of the work are definitely identified as Ḥayātī's work, leaving a balance of 2,742 verses [2] by Amīr Khusrau. The editor in his introduction directs special

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[1] English Introduction by M. Ḥabīb to M. Haq's text edition, pp. 1–15 (*vide* Note 2 *supra*).

[2] There is apparently a mistake in the number of verses assigned to Amīr Khusrau, as after deducting 179 of Ḥayātī's verses from the total number of 2,920 verses in the work, the number should be 2,741 and not 2,742 as given on p. 2 of the work. In this connection also see the critical account of M. W. Mirza, *op. cit.*, pp. 245–253. He rightly does not include the *abyāt-i-silsilah* or the rubrics in verse in the number of verses, and is of the opinion that only 2,717 verses should be accepted as being by Khusrau. For a detailed analysis of the work also see Ḥusain's *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq* (London, 1938).

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attention to the historical importance of the work in connection with the following:—the murder of Sulṭān Quṭbuddīn, the last of the Khaljī kings (716 A.H., 1316 A.D.), annihilation of the 'Alāī dynasty; Khusrau Khān's short-lived reign of a few days [1], insurrection of the Tughluq (Ghāzī Malik later Ghiyāthuddīn Tughluq I), his correspondence with various *Amīrs*, advance to Delhī and victory over the usurper Khusrau Khān after two big battles, capture of Khusrau Khān and his brother, and finally his execution. This period (1316–1320 A.D.) marks the fall of the Khaljī and the rise of the Tughluq Dynasty. On comparing the accounts in *Tughluq-Nāmah* with that in the *Ṭabaqāt*, it appears almost certain that the author of the latter did not make much use of the former in compiling his account of the period under reference.

8. *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī* by Ḍiyā Barnī is a history of the Sulṭāns of Delhī from the accession of Ghiyāthuddīn Balban, 662 A.H. (1266 A.D.), to the sixth year of Fīrūzshāh's reign, 758 A.H. (1357 A.D.). It is the most important history of the period and was apparently the authority on which Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad and Firishtah based their works. The work was published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series (1860–1862). A translation of the introduction and of the major part of the work was published by Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. III, pp. 93–268 (1871).

9. *Futūḥāt-i-Fīrūzshāhī* by the King Fīrūzshāh Tughluq (752–790 A.H., 1351–1388 A.D.) is a record of "the edicts and ordinances of his reign, the abuses and evil practices which he has put down, the buildings, monuments and works of public utility which he has carried out." A translation of the entire work is published by Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. III, pp. 374–388 (1871).

10. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī* by Yaḥya *bin* Aḥmad *bin* 'Abdullah Sirhindī is a history of the Sulṭāns of Delhī from the time of Mu'izuddīn *bin* Sām, the founder of the Ghūrī Dynasty, to 838 A.H., 1434 A.D. It is the most reliable and in fact the only source for the history of the first three kings of the Saiyid Dynasty from 817 A.H. (1414 A.D.) to 838 A.H. (1434 A.D.), and the accounts in the *Ṭabaqāt* and Firishtah's History are not only based on it, but in most cases are *verbatim* copies of Yaḥya's account. An account of this work with extracts is published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. IV, pp. 6–88 (1872) and the entire work was issued in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series in 1931 under the editorship of M. Hidāyat Ḥosain. An English translation by

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[1] The period of Khusrau Khān's reign, who took the name of Nāṣir-ud-dīn Khusrau, was exactly two months, *vide Tughluq-Nāmah*, pp. 18, 19, from the 1st of Jumādā II to 1st Sha'bān, 720 A.H. (9th July to 6th September, 1320 A.D.).

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K. K. Basu was published in the *Gaekwad Oriental Series*, No. lxiii, in 1932.

11. *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn* by 'Iṣāmī (Khwājah 'Abd-ul-Mulk 'Iṣāmī according to Ethé [1]) is a very important historical work in verse, from the time of Subuktigīn of Ghaznī to Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq. The *Futūḥ*, like the *Kitāb Zain-ul-Akhbār*, is a very rare work and only two manuscripts [2] of it are known. Like the *Zain* it was first mentioned in the sources of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* by Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad, and it appears that the references in Firishtah [3] and Al-Badāonī [4] are only taken from the *Ṭabaqāt*. Briggs [5] was not personally acquainted with the work, but remarked that the *Futūḥ* is an unimportant book of historical romances.

The text [6] of the *Futūḥ*, based on the manuscript in the India Office Library, was issued in 1938 by Dr. A. Mahdī Ḥusain of Āgra. In the Urdū and English prefaces of this edition the editor briefly discusses the historical and literary merits of the *Futūḥ*, while a short critical notice is published in his monographic study [7] of Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq. Prof. A. S. U'sha of Madras has also published an *'Iṣāmī Nāma* and discussed the merits of 'Iṣāmī's publications, but I have unfortunately not been able to refer to his publications [8]; his views have been adversely criticized by M. Ḥusain and M. Ḥaq [9]. A critical review [10] of the work is also being published in the Urdū monthly *Ma'ārif* by Ṣabāḥuddīn 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān.

*Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn* originally consisted of about 12,000 verses, but according to the editor, only 11,524 verses were found in the India Office manuscript; of these, nineteen verses (Nos. 11294–11312) are quite illegible. The work was completed in five months and nine days (10th December, 1349–14th May, 1350 A.D.). For his sources the author does not specify any special works, but states [11] that he based his

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[1] Ethé, H. *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, p. 559, No. 895 (1903).

[2] *Vide* page 1 of the English Preface of the text edition of the '*Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn*' edited by A. Mahdi Husain (Agra, 1938).

[3] *Tārīkh-i-Firishtah* (Lucknow edition), p. 132 (1884).

[4] *Muntakhab Al-Tawarikh*, text edition, vol. I, p. 236 (1868). Ranking in his translation of this volume, p. 314 (1898), note 9, remarks: "I can find no mention of this work."

[5] Briggs, J. *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, vol. I, p. 406 (1829).

[6] *Vide* Note 2 *supra*.

[7] M. Husain, '*The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad-bin Tughluq*', pp. 253, 254 and Preface pp. xiv–xvi (London, 1938).

[8] References to Prof. U'sha's contributions are given in M. Ḥusain and M. Haq.

[9] M. Haq, *Muslim Univ. Journ.*, vol. V, No. 2, pp. 30–32 (1938).

[10] *Ma'ārif*, vol. XLIV, Nos. 2–4, pp. 109–127, 201–216, 279–298, in progress (1939).

[11] *Vide* page 579, verses 11437–11443 of the text edition.

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account on the *Ḥadīṯ*, various descriptive works, old legends, information gathered from friends and personal observations.

Dr. M. Ḥusain sums up the historical importance of the work as follows[1]:—"It presents in tolerably accurate chronological order events of the political history of India for over three hundred years, and it also throws light on the beginning of the Bahmani rule in the Deccan; on the psychology of the 14th century India; on the principal towns and their respective distances; on the nature of punishments then inflicted; on the Hindu amirs and princes; and on the Hindi words and idioms then in Muslim usage." He further regards the *Futūḥ* as a literary work of exceptional merit, and 'Iṣāmī as the best epic writer of the age.

Ṣabāḥuddīn 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān in his critical review after comparing 'Iṣāmī's accounts with some contemporary sources, such as the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī* and other works, is of the opinion that most of the legends and stories in the *Futūḥ* are not based on any historical facts. The historical data of the *Futūḥ*, on the other hand, are generally correct, and, even though involved and jumbled at times, are valuable in supplying additional information and for clearing up details of several doubtful events. It is, however, not possible to adjudge the extent to which the *Futūḥ* was utilized in the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*.

12, 13. It has not been possible to identify the two works *Tārīkh Maḥmūdshāhī Mandwī* and *Tārīkh Maḥmūdshāhī Khurd Mandwī*. The works seem to be lost and no accounts of either beyond the references in the *Ṭabaqāt* and Firishtah's History are now available.

14. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Maḥmūdshāhī Gujarātī*. No work of this title is known, and it has not been possible to identify it with any other History of Gujarāt.

15. *Maāthir-i-Maḥmūdshāhī Gujarātī*. This is also an unknown work, but Rieu in his *Catalogue*, vol. III, p. 967 (1883), has suggested its possible identity with *Tārīkh-i-Maḥmūdshāh* of unknown authorship (manuscript No. Or. 1819, pp. 966, 967), and given full details of its contents.

16. *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*. In the absence of the name of the author, and in view of there being several works of this name, it is difficult to be certain regarding the work referred to in the *Ṭabaqāt*, but if one were to hazard a guess, it seems likely that the work cited is no other than the general history, by Muḥammad Bihāmad Khānī, from the time of Muḥammad to 842 A.H. (1438 A.D.), with special reference to India, which is described in detail in Rieu's *Catalogue*, vol. I, pp. 84–86 (1879).

17. *Tārīkh-i-Bahādurshāhī*. This work is referred to as a source of reference in various histories, but it has not been

[1] *Vide* page 3 of the English Preface to the text edition.

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possible to trace it. In *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VI, p. 484 (1875), it is referred to as a work by "*another individual* who wrote all the rest of the annals of Sultān Fīroz's reign, as well as those of the Gujarat sovereigns, under the title of *Tarīkh-i-Bahādur Shāhi*."

18. *Tārīkh-i-Bahamanī* is another lost work which is only referred to in several historical works, but no copies of which are now available.

19. *Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī*. The work referred to is probably the History of Mālwah entitled *Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirshāhī* by an unknown author described by Rieu in his *Catalogue*, vol. III, p. 968, MS. No. Or. 1803, and not the famous *Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī* by Abū-l-Faḍl Baihaqī which was edited by W. H. Morley and printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series in 1862.

20. *Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarshāhī* by an unknown author is apparently a very rare work. The only known manuscript (No. Add. 26, 279) of this history, so far I am able to find from the various sources, is preserved in the British Museum, London. It is described by Rieu in his *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 287 (1879), as being an account of the siege and capture of Mandū by Muẓaffar Shāh II, king of Gujarāt, in 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.).

21. *Tārīkh-i-Mīrzā Ḥaidar*. The correct title of the work is *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, but in the *Ṭabaqāt* it is cited as the *Tārīkh* of Mīrzā Ḥaidar, after the name of its author. This work is of special value in connection with the history of Kashmīr. An English translation with annotations was published by N. Elias and E. D. Ross (1895).

22. *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*. The name of the author is not mentioned, but the work referred to in the *Ṭabaqāt* is probably the Persian translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in Sanskrit which was completed by Mullā Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād and revised by 'Abd-ul-Qādir Al-Badāonī in 999 A.H. (1590 A.D.). A full account of the work is given in Rieu's *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 296 (1879).

23. *Tārīkh-i-Sind* by Mīr Ma'ṣūm Bhakkarī is also known as the *Tarīkh-i-Ma'ṣūmī*. It deals with the history of Sind from the Muhammedan conquest to its final absorption in the Moghul Empire during Akbar's reign in 1001 A.H. (1592 A.D.). A detailed account of it is published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. I, pp. 212–252 (1867), and the work has recently (1938) been printed under the editorship of Dr. U. M. Daudpota in the Government Oriental Series of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

24. *Tārīkh-i-Bāburī*. No work of this name can be traced and it appears as if the author of the *Ṭabaqāt* had confused one of the Persian translations of *Tuzuk-i-Bāburī* under this name (*vide infra*).

25. *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī*. In reference to this work also it is not possible to decide which of the Persian translations of the

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*Tuzuk-i-Bāburī* is referred to by the author of the *Ṭabaqāt*. The translation of Shaikh Zain or 'Zainu'd-din of Khwaf' was made during the lifetime of Emperor Bābur (*vide* Mrs. Beveridge's *Bābur-Nāma*, preface p. xl, 1921, and Rieu's *Catalogue*, vol. III, p. 926), a second one by Pāyandah Ḥasan Ghaznavī and Muḥammad Qulī Mughal Hiṣārī was begun in 991 A.H. (1583 A.D.), and completed in 994 A.H., 1586 A.D. (*vide* Mrs. Beveridge, *op. cit.*, pp. xliii, xliv, and Rieu's *Catalogue*, vol. II, p. 799), and finally a third by 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm Khān Khānān, which "was made at Akbar's orders to help Abū'l-faẓl in the *Akbar-nāma*", and on its completion was presented to Akbar in 998 A.H., 1589 A.D. (*vide* Mrs. Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. xliv, and Rieu's *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 244).

26. *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmshāhī*. No work of this name is known, and appears as if *Ibrāhīmshāhī* is a *lapsus calami* on the part of the author of the *Ṭabaqāt* for *Ibrāhīmī*. The *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī* [1], also known as *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūnī*, by Ibrāhīm *bin* Ḥarīr (probably Jarīr as suggested by Ethé) is "a general history of the world from Adam to A.H. 596 (A.D. 1199)"—see Ethé's *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office*, p. 33, No. 104 (1903).

27. *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī* by Mushtāqī, commonly known as Rizq Ullah, "is a collection of detached narratives and anecdotes relating to the sovereigns of the Lodi, Timuride and Sur dynasties." An account of the work with translations of some extracts is published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. IV, pp. 534–557 (1872), while details regarding the almost unique manuscript in the British Museum are given by Rieu in his *Catalogue*, vol. II, pp. 820, 821 (1881).

28. *Wāqi'āt-i-Ḥaḍrat Jannat Āshiyānī Hūmāyūn Bādshāh*. By this title Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad apparently means the *Tudhkirat-ul-Wāqi'āt* by Jauhar Āftābchī, which is a useful source of reference in regard to Humāyūn's reign. Details of this work are published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, pp. 136–149 (1873).

On comparing the above list with Firishtah's sources it is found that the latter gives a list of 35 main works consulted by him for the compilation of his History, while another twenty are cited in the body of the work. Of the works cited in the *Ṭabaqāt* Firishtah does not mention *Khazāin-i-Futūḥ*, *Tughluq-Namāh*, *Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī*, *Tārīkh-i-Mīrzā Ḥaidar*, *Tārīkh-i-Bāburī* and *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmshāhī*, while I have doubtfully identified Firishtah's *Tārīkh-i-Jāmī* (or *Hājī*) with Muḥammad Bihāmad Khānī's *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī* of the *Ṭabaqāt*. In addition there are twenty works which are mentioned in the body of Firishtah's

[1] Not to be confused with *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī* which is another name for Firishtah's History, *vide* Elliot's *Bibliographical Index of the Historians of Muhammedan India*, p. 336 (1849).

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*Tārīkh* and which are included in a subsidiary list by Briggs. Of these, two, *Futūḥ-i-Salāṭīn* and *Wāqi'āt-ī-Mushtāqī* (? Travels of Abool Nusr Nuskatty—No. 7 of Briggs's list), are also included in the *Ṭabaqāt*. Firishtah's list includes the following additional works [1] which are not mentioned in the list of the authorities in the *Ṭabaqāt*:

1. *Mulḥiqāt-i-Shaikh 'Ainuddīn Bījāpurī.*
2. *Bahman-Nāmah of Shaikh Ādharī.*
3. *Tārīkh-i-Binakītī.*
4. *Tuḥfat-us-Salāṭīn Bahamanī* by *Mullā Dāūd Bīdarī.*
5. *Tārīkh-Alfī.*
6. *Habīb-us-Siyar.*
7. *Tārīkh-i-Bangālah.*
8. *Fawāid-ul-Fuwād.*
9. *Khair-ul-Majālis.*
10. *Nuskhah Quṭbī.*
11. *Siyar-ul-'Arifīn.*

The importance of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* lies in the fact that it was the first comprehensive history of India and that it served as the authority on which several later historical works were based.

The opinion of 'Abd-ul-Qādir, Al-Badāonī, the author of the *Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh*, has already been referred to. Up to the year of Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad's death, his history, though embellished with additional facts, is an abridgment of the *Ṭabaqāt* [2] and *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*. He corrected some of the dates of the *Ṭabaqāt*, but mainly relied on it for the historical facts.

Several chapters of the *Rauḍat-uṭ-Ṭāhirīn* by Ṭāhir Muḥammad, which was written between 1011 A.H. (1602-1603 A.D.) and 1015 A.H. (1606-1607 A.D.) are, according to Elliot (*op. cit.*, p. 300), copied *verbatim* from the *Ṭabaqāt*.

Muḥammad Qāsim Firishtah pronounced the *Ṭabaqāt* to be defective, but "borrowed from it very freely and has formed his own history of Hindustan and the Deccan entirely on the same plan" (Elliott, *op. cit.*, p. 178). This is discussed in greater detail by Raverty [3], who says "Firishtah's materials were chiefly taken from the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī." This opinion is also fully borne out by the running commentary of the *Tārīkh*

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[1] For this comparison I have used the lists as given in Briggs's translation of Firishtah entitled *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, vol. I, pp. xlix–li (1829). Sources of Firishtah are also discussed by Mohl in *Journal des Savants*, pp. 220–224 (1840).

[2] According to *Elliot's Bibliographical Index of the Historians of Muhammedan India*, p. 221 (1849), Al-Badāonī in his work '*Nijātu-r-Rashīd*' designates his own history "as a mere abridgment of the Tabakāt."

[3] H. G. Raverty's Preface to his English translation of the '*Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī*', p. xii (1881).

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provided by Mr. De in his very valuable footnotes in the translation of the *Ṭabaqāt*, particularly in volume III.

The *Tārīkh-i-Shahī* (or *Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīn-i Afāghīna*) was composed soon after the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt* (before 1594 A.D.) and before 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.) when the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* was written (*Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, pp. 1, 2, 1873). The author Aḥmad Yādgār mentions Niẓāmī's History or the *Ṭabaqāt* and *Ma'dan-i-Akhbār* as his authorities and, as M. Ḥidāyat Ḥosain [1] has recently shown, he has copied *verbatim* the account of the reign of Humāyūn from the *Ṭabaqāt*.

*Maāthir-i-Raḥīmī* by Mullā 'Abd-ul-Bāqī Nahāvandī was composed in the year 1025 A.H. (1616 A.D.). The first volume of this work dealing with the general history of India appears, from its contents and descriptions, on almost identical lines, to be based mainly on the *Ṭabaqāt*. *Maāthir's* style and language are superior to those of the *Ṭabaqāt*, but there can be little doubt that the historical part is only a copy of the latter. This view is confirmed by the fact that the detailed account of Akbar's reign in the *Maāthir* ends with the 38th year of his reign; the author in this connection adds that as the narrative in the *Ṭabaqāt* ends with this year and as he has not been able to obtain any detailed history of the remaining fourteen years of the reign, he has not been able to include a detailed account of this period.[2]

M. 'Abdul Muqtadir in the Preface [3] to the *Haft-Iqlīm* (completed 1002 A.H., 1593 A.D.) of Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī remarked that "for the Indian portion of the history he relies mainly upon the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari".

*Muntakhab-ul-lubāb* by Muḥammad Hāshmī, better known by his nickname of Khāfī Khān, is a very valuable general history of India from the Muhammadan conquest to the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, Emperor of Delhī (1719–1748 A.D.). It was published in 1145 A.H. (1732 A.D.). The author [4] states that Niẓāmuddīn Harawī, who was one of the *Bakhshīs* of the Emperor Akbar, wrote a comprehensive history of the twenty-one *Ṣūbas* of the Deccan and included in it the history of Akbar up to the 37th year of his reign. His account of the Sulṭāns of the Deccan in general is not reliable, and with reference to the accounts of the Sulṭāns of this region the author has not come across any other historical work, except that of Muḥammad Qāsim Firishtah, which can be fully relied upon. As Niẓāmuddīn had, however,

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1 *Vide* M. Hidāyat Ḥosain's text edition of *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī*, Preface, pp. 6, 7 (1939).

2 See M. Hidāyat Ḥosain's text edition of *Ma'āsir-i-Raḥīmī*, vol. I, p. 933 (1924).

3 *Bibliotheca Indica* edition of *Haft Iqlīm* by E. D. Ross and M. Abdul Muqtadir, p. vi (1918).

4 *Vide* Kabiruddin Ahmad and Ghulam Qadir's text edition in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, vol. I, pp. 237–243 (1869).

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been in the service of the Emperor Akbar throughout his life; his narrative of the reign of this King can be fully relied upon, and he bases his account of the *Panj hazārī* and *Chahār hazārī Amīrs* and of some of the religious great men and poets on the *Ṭabaqāt*.

*Akbar-Nāma* of Shaikh Ilāhdād Faiḍī Sirhindī is, according to Dowson [1], except for the account of the services rendered by his patron Shaikh Farīd Bukharī and "some scraps of poetry and some wonderful stories", only a compilation from the *Tabaqāt* and *Akbarnāma* of Abū-l-Faḍl. It ends with 1010 A.H. (1602 A.D.), the year in which Abū-l-Faḍl's work was completed.

Various other historical works of a later date have either based their accounts on or borrowed from the *Ṭabaqāt*, but it is not necessary to deal with them here.

Of the authors in English it is only necessary to note that the *Ṭabaqāt* is regarded by Elliot, Erskine, Elliot and Dowson, Lees, Ranking, Wolseley Haig, Beni Prasad and others as "amongst the best Persian histories and the most reliable sources of our information" [2].

It was the first comprehensive work which dealt with the history of India to the exclusion of the other Asiatic countries, and in which the histories of different provinces were dealt in a strict historical sequence. It must also be remembered that the author was primarily a court official, an administrator and a soldier not a *wāqi'ah-navīs* or a court historian. Historical work was with him a labour of love, and being an officer with other more pressing duties, this was carried out by him with the help of his protégés under very unsettled conditions of life. His work also must not be judged by the modern standards. As Elliot admirably summed up in his learned preface [3], the works of the Muhammadan historians can hardly be regarded as ranking higher than annals. "They comprise, for the most part, nothing but a mere narration of events, conducted with reference to chronological sequence; without speculation on causes or effects; without a reflection or suggestion which is not of the most puerile or contemptible kind; and without any observation calculated to interrupt the monotony of successive conspiracies, revolts, intrigues, murders, fratricides, so common in Asiatic Monarchies." With the restraining influences of ostracism and even death under the despotic monarchs during whose times these histories were compiled, there could hardly be any chance for the development of individual character or the expression of unbiassed opinions. In common with the authors of the times, and this was not restricted to Muhammadan authors only, Islam in the *Ṭabaqāt* is lauded above all other

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[1] Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VI, pp. 116–146 (1875).
[2] *Vide* Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 442 (1930).
[3] *Vide* Elliot, *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India*, Preface, pp. v–xxx (1849).

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religions, the Muhammadans are of the true faith and all others are infidels ; when the former are killed in battle or otherwise they drink "the cup of martyrdom", while the souls of the infidels "are despatched to hell". Patriotism and bravery of the *Kāfirs* are condemned in very strong terms, while even cowardice, intrigues, wholesale massacres and desecration and demolition of the religious institutions of the Hindūs are applauded. All the same the author deserves full credit for being far in advance of his times and to a great extent free from religious bigotry when he, as against Ḍiyā Barnī, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, who describes Khusrau Khān on the occasion of his battle with Ghāzī Malik "as the effeminate wretch who could not bear the attack of men", applauds him as "having with great bravery and courage fought to the end of the day." [1]

Similarly in narrating the chivalrous treatment of Sulṭān Maḥmūd at the hands of Rānā Sānkā (Sangrāma Singh, Rānā of Mewār) and restoring to him the kingdom of Mālwah after the former's defeat and capture by the latter, Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn [2] shows himself a true historian untrammelled by any religious bigotry or prejudices. In dealing with Akbar, his king and patron, he employs the usual eulogistic high sounding titles and phrases, but cannot, like Abū-l-Faḍl [3], be accused of uncouth flattery, both in form and style, or of wilful concealment of facts. As a historian he casually mentions the "Divine Faith", but does not go into any great detail regarding the observances of the faith or criticize the Emperor, Abu-l-Faḍl and any of the other followers. He was writing a history of the period from personal observations and information collected from all available sources and has succeeded more than any other author of his time in producing what Dowson [4] rightly styles a contemporary history of very high authority.

The *Ṭabaqāt* does not exhibit much literary talent and is not written in any ornate style. The language is fairly simple and vigorous, but not grandiose and highly polished; it is more of the Afghān type which is quite different from the almost pure Persian of Irān, used by Firishtah or Mullā

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1 *Vide* De's translation of vol. I of the *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 207.

2 *Ṭabaqāt* text edition, vol. III, p. 203 :

بر ضمائر اهل بصیرت پوشیده نماند - که کار رانا سانکا از سلطان مظفر بالاتر ست - چه سلطان مظفر پناه برده را مدد نمود - و رانا سانکا دشمن را در حرب گرفته سلطنت داد - و مثل این قضیهٔ غریب تا غایت معلوم نیست *

3 See Blochmann's *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* (Phillott's revised edition), Preface, pp. vii, viii (1939); Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, vol. III, introduction, pp. xi, xii (1939), and Wolseley Haig in *Cambridge History of India*, vol. IV, p. 111 (1937).

4 *Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, Preface, p. vii (1873).

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'Abd-ul-Bāqī Nahāvandī, the author of *Maāṯhir-i-Raḥīmī*. Arabic quotations are only sparingly used, but the dates are invariably given in Arabic rather than Persian. The narrative, owing to long sentences, is often involved, rather disjointed and even fragmentary, but as few metaphors and similes are used, there is seldom any difficulty in comprehending the exact meaning of the author [1].

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1 Unfortunately widely different schemes for the transliteration of the names of authors and their publications are adopted by different authors. The originals are strictly followed for the citations in the foot-notes, but the transliterations in the text are, except where within inverted commas, in accordance with the scheme recommended by the International Oriental Congress of 1894.

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
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